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Module on The European

Integration and Interregionalism of Europe–Southeast Asia (EIIES)

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The full range of EIIES materials includes university modules on Interregionalism: Concepts and Debates, The Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM): Profile and Roles, Critical Debate and Model of Asia-Europe Meeting, The EU-Asia Relations in the Modern Era, The Politics of Sustainable Development I, The Politics of Sustainable Development II, EU and ASEAN Environmental Diplomacy.

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The module provides an outline for two and an half- hour class but can be used for shorter or longer sessions. All EIIES Modules engage with existing academic research and debates and open to be completed from various sources including opinions, statements, reports or papers of Europe and Southeast Asia experts.

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Introduction

There are growing institutionalized relations between world regions today. There are ASEM, FEALAC, EU-LAC and many more. Those similar acronyms cannot be denied having become a trend in today's international relations. Compared to multilateralism, which is also happening in the global stage with the emergence of MIKTA and BRICS, for example, interregionalism stems from a regional perspective, that 'region' is a significant layer in building or understanding the global governance.

Region itself understood as 'a geographical area consisting of independent states which pursue shared economic, social and political values and objectives' (Hänggi et al. 2006, 4). Regions, therefore, is dynamic. It is full of the interaction process of nation-states responding to both internal and external factors which constitute their interests toward regional cooperation.

Region is not only political, but also social in the way they function differently and so make it different one another. Here the identity issues are expressed very well: is an organisation of nation-states in the region formed for security purposes, economic cooperation, or anything else? The membership might not be the same states for each function and purpose. However, globalisation encouraged by massive development of technology and sciences has blurred such identity boundaries due to increased interaction and communication among states. Regional organisation is now able to develop its external relations and create a new "entity".

European Union (EU) is one of the strongest regime-building institutions in the world. It was aspired to be a supranational institution and is successful. It is originated from the deepening and widening of older regional organisation in the Europe region, the European Communities. The study of interregionalism was first developed through describing this organisation's actorness. Though the actor-centered framework is often criticised because of its lack in explaining the emerging multiple dialogue hubs or network in the current international stage, explanation about how the EU define and translate interregionalism into its relations with the other regional actors is undoubtedly still relevant to learn, especially for ASEAN countries.

In 2017, EU and ASEAN celebrated their 40 years of relations. In addition to being an important trading partner for ASEAN countries, EU and ASEAN has just held the second ASEAN-EU Policy Dialogue on Human Rights in November 2017. The EU and ASEAN agreed to continue cooperation and identified specific areas where they would work more closely together, including trafficking in persons, business and human rights as well aswomen's and children's rights and the rights of migrant workers, and the right to development. The options and opportunities for further institutionalised relations between both regional institutions are still very wide open.

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Module 1

INTERREGIONALISM CONCEPTS AND DEBATES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

Studies of International Relations, especially within the last couple of decades, face a very interesting phenomenon, which is the rise of "regionalism" tendencies as shown by various regional organizations being established, such as The Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN), The Organization of African Union (OAU) and The Organization of American States (OAS). Further examples are micro-regional institutions, such as Vise Grad Pact and Pentagonale in Central Europe, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in the Middle East, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Africa as well as regional defense groupings such as the Conference of Security and Cooperation (OSCE, formerly known as CSCE) in Europe and The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Whereas, within the economics aspect, regional schemes such as Mercado Comun del Sur (MERCOSUR), the Southern Cone Common Market, the Andean Pact, the Central American Common Market (CACM), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), are examples of regionalism blocks in Europe, America and Asia Pacific (Herindrasti 2010, p 2)

The growth of regionalism is not merely marked by interactions and internal relations between same-region members; the 1990's saw the emergence of new international relation phenomenon with inter regional characteristics, also known as "interregionalism". As the phenomenon developed, studies regarding interregionalism also developed and reached its peak between 1990s and 2000s through contributions by Jurgen Ruland, Francis Baert, Mathew Doidge and other researchers.

In order to understand the regionalism phenomenon, especially as theoretical framework in International Relation studies, EIIES Module Series 4 tries to dig the development of regionalism phenomenon as well as regionalism as a theoretical concept and its contribution to International Relation studies. Sub-topics to be discussed are the following:

(i) The definition of interregionalism, (ii) The development of interregionalism as a theoretical concept, (iii) Interregionalism case studies. The module will also be equipped with in-class activity sequences, main readings, additional readings and class evaluations.

Hopefully the interregionalism phenomenon in contemporary international relations can be understood, explored and developed by studying "real-life" case studies within the context of Europe – South East Asia or European Union – ASEAN interregional relations, especially by researchers of International Relations with specialization of Europe regions.

II. PURPOSE OF LEARNING

Results to be expected from the EIIES Module Series 2 are the following:

(I) Students recognize the "interregionalism" phenomenon in International Relations as a relatively new phenomenon to be studied;

(II) Students understand the development of "interregionalism" phenomenon within the dynamic global context, especially from bipolar order to unipolar order and its recent form which is multipolar;

(III) Students understand the "interregionalism" phenomenon as an international relations theoretical perspective as well as its variants;

(IV) Students are able to apply theories within "interregionalism" studies to various interregionalism case studies all the way until now.

III. MAIN TOPICS

A. Definition of Interregionalism

B. Interregionalism and International Relations: Position

C. Development of Interregionalism as Theoretical Perspective for International Relation Studies

D. Critics and Revitalizations

E. (Case Studies: Asia-Europe Interregionalism Relations)

IV. LEARNING ACTIVITIES

A. Understanding Introduction to Interregionalism in Theoretical Perspectives as well as main issues
B. Exploration of Theoretical Development in Interregionalism by understanding and main readings
C. Critical Learning regarding Interregionalism Studies from Theoretical Perspective
D. Reflections

A. Activity 1: Understanding Interregionalism in Theoretical Perspective

Definition of Interregionalism

What is the definition of interregionalism? Do the experts agree on the same definition of regionalism? How do they conceptualize? Are the efforts being done able to give meaningful contributions regarding the effort to build adequate theoretical perspective of interregionalism phenomenon?

Before we further discuss the phenomenon of interregionalism, it will be better for us to step back a little bit and remember the definition of "regionalism" – a concept that develops before interregionalism occurs. Table 1 lists several definitions of regionalism from the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Center) as well as from well-known International Relation scholars.

Tabel 1: Definition of Region, Regionalism and Interregionalism

https://kbbi.web.id/regionalisme	Paham atau kecenderungan untuk mengadakan kerja sama yang erat antarnegara dalam satu kawasan. Contoh: ASEAN
Oxford Learner's Dictionary	*Region: A large area of land, usually without exact limits or borders* *- the Arctic/tropical/desert, etc. regions* *- one of the most densely populated regions of North America* *Regionalism:* *the desire of the people who live in a particular region of a country to have more political and economic independence* *- Regionalism is on the rise in Europe.* *- the cause of English regionalism*
Joseph Nye	*defined an international region "as a limited number of states linked by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence", and (international) regionalism as "the formation of interstate associations or groupings on the basis of regions"*
Jurgen Ruland (Eds.) (2008: 5)	*Regionalism denotes a conscious policy of nation states for the management of regionalisation and a broad array of security and other global challenges. The institutional forms of regionalism vary and range from informal inter-state cooperation into regime-building and the formation of intergovernmental even supranational institutions.*
Hanggi (2006)	*Interregionalism may be defined as institutionalised relations between world regions* *Any external relationship in which a region (however defined) is engaged.*
Jurgen Ruland (2008)	*Interregionalism refers to process of cooperation between regions that are initiated by governments or the bureaucracies of regional organizations. Cptured 2 types of relationships: bilateral interregionalism/bi-regionalism/pure regionalism ann a group-to-group relationship*

Source: compilations from various sources.

Specific within the context of institutional development, the distinction of the term "regionalism" is made between "old regionalism" and "new regionalism". The first wave of regional development was in Europe and Latin America during the 1950s and 1960s, whereas the second wave of regionalism occurred in the mid-1980s. The difference between the two waves, according to Jurgen Ruland (Ruland and Storz 2008: 4) lies in (i) types of membership, in which new regionalism is different compared to old regionalism in ways that the regional organizations are not homogenized anymore, but heterogenized aspects of socioeconomics, politics and cultural; (ii) new regional institutions adapt with the concept of "open regionalism" to be compatible with liberalization of multilateral trading, especially World Trade Organization (WTO)lembaga regional baru menyesuaikan diri dengan konsep "*open regionalism*" agar cocok dengan liberalisasi perdagangan multilateral khususnya World Trade Organization (WTO); (iii) are intermediary institutions between state level and regional level.

Interregionalism

Interregionalism is usually understood as a multi-dimensional phenomenon with "generic" definition, which is "*a situation or a process whereby two (or more) specified regions interact as regions (region-to-region interaction)* (Baert et.al, 2008: 3-4), or "institutionalized interregional relations" as Hanggi referred (Hanggi et.al. 2006: 3). This definition is admittedly to be very broad and not useful for operational goals. The reason is that since the end of the Cold War, the global order develops to be more complex where International Relation theories that try to explain the relations between superpowers and their satellites – within the context of Cold War – are not adequate anymore to explain the ever expanding dynamics. Also, actors of International Relations are not just states, but also non-states which act significantly such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), trans-national companies, international institutions, groups, as well as individuals – all to become parts of international system unit.

Generally, scholars assume that the phenomenon or interregionalism is not something new. For example, European Union (EU) – ASEAN relation which already being established since 1970s as well as loose region-to-region relations of EU – APC which is also historically already established for a long time. However, interregional cooperation and interregionalism as "the state of the art" are seen as new fields within the International Relation studies, both in terms of economic and political studies – in which political studies contribute to the theoretical and conceptual development, whereas economic studies contribute to the analyses of interregional economic interactions, more to the empirical perspectives Ruland and Storz

2008:8-9). Interregional institutions represent the growth of new layers in the International Relations by connecting regional level and global level and after a certain level becoming an autonomous player with "actorness" quality in the international system, where they also develop relations with other regional organizations.

POSITION OF INTERREGIONALISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

According to various researches regarding interregionalism, J Ruland concludes the position of interregionalism studies with seven main points as follow (Ruland 2008: 16-19) :

1. As a dynamic and growing multidimensional phenomenon, no definitions regarding interregionalism dialog forum are agreed yet. Concepts typically differ to differences in time period. For example, old interregionalism which pivots on actors will be different with new interregionalism which pivots on bi-polar post-period system. ASEM (Asia Europe Meeting) is assumed to the prototype of said new interregionalism. Martin Holland also makes distinction regarding relations of EU-ACP between the Lome classical period (1975-2000) and the contemporary Cotonou period (2000-2020). Due to agreed continuity aspects, therefore differences eventually become obsolete as operational constructs.

   "Pure Interregionalism" is the classical definition which refers to a certain form of interregionalism, which is the pure interregionalism relation between two regional organizations.

   In existing efforts of conceptualization and typology, Hanggi mentions the need to differentiate regional groups from regional organizations. Other than interregional relations between two organizations, there are two other types of interregional relations which are between one regional organization (EU) and a certain regional group or between two regional groups. These three types are called 'bilateral interregionalism' or 'bi-regionalism' which allow for increase in diversity within an interregional relation. This concept is related with the concept of transregionalism or hybrid or quasi-interregionalism. According to Ruland, bi-regionalism is group-to-group relations such as EU-ASEAN and EU-MERCOSUR relations, among other examples.

Whereas, "transregionalism" is a concept applied beyond interactions of two regions which are institutionalized within a formal intergovernmental framework. Transregionalism refers to interregional relation between two or more different regions which has a weak actor and no region in a position as a regional organization. Ruland argues that transregionalism can be defined as "*dialogue process with a more diffuse membership which dose not necessarily coincide with regional organizations, and which may include member states from more than two regions and participants without membership in a regional grouping plus some overaching organizational structures (APEC, ASEM, IOR-ARC atau Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation*" (Baert 2008:5). Transregionalism can also be used to encompass what is called *transnational (non state) relations – including transnational networks of corporate production or of NGOs – that involves cooperation among any type of transregionalism* (Anggarwal dan Fogerty 2004:5).

Whereas, Quasi-interregionalism is used to describe a relation between a certain regional organization / group and a third nation in another region. Formally, this is known as region-to-state relation. Quasi-interregionalism is used as residual category and encompasses very broad variation of relations such as Europe-Africa continental process, 'imagined interregionalism', 'inerregionalism without regions' like IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa). Quasi-interregionalism is used for three different reasons as follow: (i) the relation plays important components in a relation between two regions, (ii) quasi-interregionalism is a specific type from interregionalism in which a state or third party is included it is a leader of a region, (iii) relating to region within a quasi or hybrid relation, usually involving one coherent region (regional organization or regional group).

On the other hand, "megaregions" encompasses a very large region or relating two or more region components.

2. Theorization of interregional dialog forum is pivoted on two main themes, which are (i) how far regional organizations have developed actorness quality and (ii) the function of interregional dialog forum in developing global governance architecture. Based on the concept of actorness and three main criteria (respond to actor's action, structural existential and policy process as well as the ability to create and apply policy), regional

organizations such as UE, ASEAN or MERCOSURE are found to have developed actorness in various levels.

On the other hand, various literatures make distinction between five main functions performed by interregional forums reflecting realist logics, institutionalist liberal and constructivist social, which are *balancing, institutional building, rationalising, agenda setting* dan *collective identity-building*.[1]

3. The non-existence of holistic approach to describe interregionalism relation. Most theories operated with combination of theoretical approaches. The approaches vary along processes and applicative according to specific issues. Some scholars also use the concept that accommodates arguments coming from a contradictive paradigm.[2]

4. Many interregionalism literature arguments originated from systematic perspectices and 'outward-in' structural, specifically for the explanation application regarding the origin of interregional dialog which is usually assumed to be coming from twin processes of globalization and new regionalism. Systematic perspective is also visible in the analysis of the effect of interregionalism in regional cohesion and regioinal identity, where systematic arguments and level units are found to be co-existing. Whereas, literatures with actor orientations are almost non-existent except studies with institutionalist liberal model.

5. Empirical researches confirm that interregional forum shows its function through theoretical deductions. In real life, their intensity varies. Balancing and bandwagoning are the most prevalent and intense functions occurring in most interregional forums.

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[1] Balancing within the context of interregional relations refer to soft/institutional balancing, which is the strategic use of interregional forum to respond to the shift of power distribution in either regional level or global level. Institution-building refers to the forming of new institutional layers within the architecture of global governance to show various institutions under the umbrella of interregional dialogs and to give impact to interregional interactions in intra-regional cohesion supported by the needs to determine a general position before an interregional dialog occurs. Rationalizing emphasizes the clearing-house function in interregional dialog within global multilateral organization which usually must face the increase of heterogenic memberships and ever-increasing policy issues. Interregional forum is often used as a tool to voice new themes and agenda and is not limited to form the function of developing collective identity by sharpening regional self through the interaction process with other regions, or referred as 'regionalism through interregionalism' by Hanggi.

[2] Take for example the 'concert of region' concept by Roloff that combines institutionalist and neo-realist arguments.

Without the rationalizing function and effective agenda setting, so far interregional dialog fails to be 'multilateral utility'.

6. Most of empirical information regarding interregional forum comes from Triadic relations between North America, EU-Europe and East Asia. There are varying studies regarding Asia-Europe relations through ASEM. Other findings come from interregional relation of Europe networks such as EU-MERCOSURE. These studies generally give indirect contributions to researches regarding interregional relations because more interested in procedures and processes of external relation between Europe and CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy). Serious studies regarding non-Triadic relations are almost non-existent – something that can relate to Wester Centric Theorizing in international relations in general.

7. As like other international organizations, interregional dialog forum experiences serios democracy deficit. It mostly experiences executive bias because no spots are given for parliaments, non-state actors and solely more centered on 'track one' (government). More developed interregional institutions such as ASEM and ASEAN at the very least are successful in creating business and foundation forums to facilitate interactions of civil society.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERREGIONALISM AS THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

J. Ruland and C. Storz, in their studies regarding Asian-Europe interregionalism, divide three different generations (Ruland and Storz 2008:11-20) of the development of interregional relation researches as the following:

(i) First generation: Finding of the Phenomenon

Studies of first generation generally focus with the European Union and its external networks. Studies by Edwards and Regelsberger (1990) initiate the European Community (EC) group-to-group dialogue theoretical view, followed by the same effort by Piening (1997). Basically, the first generation finds the interregionalism phenomenon in which 1980s studies find comprehensive overview regarding the EC-ASEAN relation at the time. Whereas, studies by Mols provide useful insights regarding dynamics, prospects and challenges in that relation. Other studies from economics scholar, which focus on the Asia-Europe trade relation dimension, analyze potentials and barriers in trade. The main point is that the scholars look at

cooperation between regional organizations as a new and unique phenomenon even though has not appeared as a pattern of global governance (Ruland and Storz 2008:12).

After the birth of ASEM in the mid-1990s, articles and books discussing Europe-Asia relations become more prevalent on the same time as the discovery of interregional relation as a new layer of international relations. Studies in this phase still lack strong theoretical foundation that is descriptive, impressionistic and journalistic in nature – something that can be understood considering authors are dialog actors like diplomats, Europe high-level officials and professional observers regarding Asia whereas international relation experts just start to reflect it more systematically.

According to Ruland, there are at least four main themes in the early studies of Asia-Europe relation, which are as follows:

(a) There are contributions that describe the process of the formation of ASEM, how it is conceive as well as interests which push Asia and Europe to form collaboration, especially in the middle of already existing Triadic relation (EU-Europe-North America-East Asia). The studies are generally policy-oriented and pushed by needs to understand and mature Asia-Europe relations. The main purpose is to give information to the public (Europe) regarding the purposes and interests as well as to give critics of Eurocentric bias tendencies of foreign policies by Europe elites that neglect Asia and the tendency to see Asia as threats rather than opportunities.

(b) Inter-cultural communications are the second theme of the Europe-Asia studies. Tense relations between EC and ASEAN in the first half of 1990s, for example, are seen as "cultural misunderstanding". Most of studies are influenced by the "Asian Values" hypothesis as efforts Asian leaders and intellectuals to construct Asia collective identity based on political and social norms that sharply differ between Asia and West, giving political and economics order variant legitimacies with democracy liberal, individual human rights and European capitalistic prosperity. To understand the lack of empathy from both sides, suggestions are made with cultural studies and understandings through citizen exchange, for example through the forming of ASEF (Asia Europe Foundation). Part of recommendations to Europe policy makers is how to dialogue through Asia's side by accepting relation approach ala ASEAN as a basis of cooperation. Considering ASEAN Way is the collective identity core of ASEAN with norms such as sovereignty, equality, peaceful conflict resolution, non-interventions regarding internal state

member problems, quiet diplomacy, personalism, consensus decision making, respect of each other and tolerances.

(c) The third theme is the EU internal split causes decrease of more cohesive Asia policies. According to this analysis, EU must overcome three main problems, which are splits between big and small states, splits between protectionist states and free market-oriented states and splits in security policies. Big countries such as France, England, German, and Italy which are heavily reliant to export and global competition tend to more pragmatic Asia policies compared to smaller countries such as The Netherlands, The Scandinavia, and Portugal.

(d) Fourth theme pivots on the institutional evolution of ASEM. Although the cooperation culture of ASEM is admitted being "soft institutionalism", fourth generation studies start to dig evidences of cooperation with a deeper institutional level.

(ii) Second generation: Theorization of Asia-Europe Relation

First generation contributions are important especially that they admit beside national level, regional and global political interactions on the higher level occur. However, the first generation focuses more on description of some empirical interregionalism phenomena. In the 1990s, the second generation tries to reach further and apply concepts and theories of international relations and international economics in interregionalism. By benefiting realism perspective, neo-institutionalism and social constructivism, studies of the second generation try to determine functions and effects of interregionalism.

After efforts that place the context of Asia-Europe relation in the emerging global governance system – as the first description with theory-based systematic analysis (Ruland 1996), followed by studies of Maull and Tanaka which are published by CAEC regarding institutional balancing function of ASEM in the Triadic relation and the dialogue integrative effect for involved parties.

Following debates are theoretical debates of functions of interregional forum (Ruland 2002, 2006a), with distinction of five main functions as follow: (a) balancing, (b) institution-building, (c) rationalizing, (d) agenda-setting and (e) identity-building (Ruland and Storz 2008:15). These functions reflect main perspectives in the international relation theory in which functions such as "balancing" are applied to international institutions such as United Nations, WTO, IMF and Triad. Interregional dialogues in the period between 1980s and 1990s, for

example, are believed as sequences of "institutional balancing" triggered by the EU through single market and monetary unification project.

(iii) Third Generation: Theory Test

Even though the second generation has contributed better theoretical understanding of interregionalism, the weakness is that it neglects empirical issues and actors within interregionalism. Like ASEM, although it focuses on economic policy and financial issues, no ASEM points toward policies of environment, cultural, labor, science and technology, education, small and medium enterprise, migration and information technology (IT) issues. Regarding actors, other than track one, track two meetings also evolve which are civil society forum, business dialogues, cultural events and education. By considering issues and concrete actors within interregionalism practices, therefore theories can be applied and tested within the image of new empirical which so far are not yet included into interregionalism relation.

CRITICS AND REVITALISATION

Critics to interregionalism studies can be found from studies by political expert from the Philippines, Alfredo C. Robles (Robles 2008) (Ruland 2013:15-19) through his analytic studies of ASEM (2008). Although the study case is about the Asia-Europe relation through ASEM, Robles' studies can be an inspiration and applied in other irregionalism studies. Some of his opinions are as follow: (i) ASEM studies that develop are not that useful because they fail to evaluate the ASEM's capacity in reaching its goals and accurately capturing ASEM activity results. According to Robles, theoretical description regarding ASEM and further regarding interregionalism '...*commit one or more of the following errors: they contradict the basic assumptions of the theory; they fail to address fundamental objections to these theories or they fail to provide convincing empirical evidence that supports their theoritical claims*' (Robles 2008:11). Ruland at least elaborates two controversial claims which are the non-existent of interregional level in international relations and that used approaches lact in basis / standards. Roble also criticizes that most interregionalism studies lack complex theories (sophistication).

If interregionalism is to last, then intensive researches are required with theory foundation to overcome occurring stagnancies. How to revitalize interregionalism studies? Ruland provides some of his own insights as follow:

(i)   "Balancing" function in interregional dialogue forums are not only understood as external / horizontal institutional balancing actions (APEC as a respond to a stagnancy of WTO Uruguay Spin and anticipation of increasing trade block), but also need to understand internal balancing dimension. Bilateral meetings attached to interregional forums can be seen as opportunities to state agenda, strengthen leadership claims and create intra-institutional alliances against leadership aspirations from other parties. Hence, institutional balancing can change to "hedging".

(ii)   Interregional dialogues also offer options for institutional vertical balancing dimension, as an arena to balance dominances of certain actors within global multilateral institutions. For example, it is interesting to see why Brazil held Latin America-Arab dialogue in May of 2005. Is that part of Brazil's strategy to build third-world coalition to face weakening US and EU positions but still strong nonetheless during WTO meeting in Hong Kong? Vertical balancing by Foreman and Seegar is also mentioned as 'forum shopping' where the actors choose institutional mechanisms that suit their political agenda.

(iii) The concept of institutional balancing, soft balancing and hedging require clarifications to be distinct from 'hard balancing'.[3] The problem is how nations use the interregional forum to perform their own balancing acts.

(iv)   The need to develop network analyses: identifying patterns of social relations (hub, click, broker) and tie those relations with actor capacity and policy result.

(v)   Areas yet to be explored are dimension of interregional relation ideational, the outline is the 'norm reinforcement thesis', 'norm diffusion thesis' and 'cooperative hegemony' approaches.

If points above are frameworks for future researches, therefore three neglected points needing attentions according to Ruland are (i) the necessity to do theorization from third world position because interregionalism researches are generally Europe-centric, (ii) the almost non-

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[3] *Hard balancing* according to He & Feng (2008:365) is *a means of increasing the relative power of the state against a powerful and threatening state through internal domestic military build-ups and external balancing through military alliances.* On the contrary, *Institutional balancing, Soft balancing, and Hedging* are the concepts that acknowledge facts that sole military power are ineffective in influencing policy results of non-military issues so the creation of policies in international relations shift to the institutional arena. Whereas, soft balancing is the concept that widely focuses in 'undermining the reltive power of the strong and threatening state through bilateral and multilateral coordination among other states.' Hedging is a more concept complex involving two simultaneous approaches to push two policies in contrast to each other: return maximation and risk reduction. Ruland, op. Cit., p.24

existence of comparative studies so that development of research and methodology frameworks that can facilitate interregional dialogue forum comparison studies to be highly urgent, (iii) if interregionalism is to become more than international relation and regionalism phenomena, therefore scholars must also act as policy advisors that emphasize on various benefits of pragmatic and flexible global governance system – institutionalized, multi-layered, divided horizontally and vertically. Therefore, contributions of interregional relations are more realized, which are legalization, institutional and can be useful as 'multilateral utility'.

B.   Activity 2: Exploration of Theoretical Development in Interregionalism

Development of Interregionalism Studies

- Tendency of Interregionalism studies: the peak at 1990-2000 and experiences downfall due to change in world situation from unipolar to multipolar (post-America)
- Interregionalism is multi-dimensional and complex (complex interregionalism): tied with other form of relations: Bilateralism, Regionalism, Multilateralism, Quasi-interregionalism
- As a developing concept, there are no agreements regarding conceptualization. The consensus of interregionalism is generic definition (*a situation or a process whereby two or more specific regions interact as regions (region-to-region interaction)* in which three types of dialogue formats are possible:
  (I)   Bi-regional: bilateral regionalism (group to group relations EU-ASEAN, EU-MERCOSURE)
  (II)   Transregionalism: referring to dialogue processes with more spreading memberships. Not just covering regional organizations but also nation members – more than two regions (APEC, ASEM, IOR-ARC)
  (III) Hybrid Interregionalism – is a residual category that encompasses all other format of interregional interactions including continental relations (Europe-Africa), imagined interregionalism (Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific), interregionalism without region (India, Brazil, South Africa), relation between a regional organization and one big nation.[4]

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[4] Further details can be found on https://www.academia.edu/4731354/Quasi-Interregionalism_A_Case_Study_of_EU_-India_Relations_Introduction

- Concepts within the Interregionalism studies: *actorness, balancing, institutional building, rationalising, agenda setting, collective identitiy building, old interregionalism (actor centric) vs new interregionalism (system centred), network analysis,* System Theory, ideational dimension in interregional relation.

C. Activity 3: Critical Learning regarding Interregionalism Studies from Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives

Critical applications of interregionalism studies in an empirical case: ASEM

- Interregional dialogue forum is criticized as not democratic. How about the case of ASEM? What are indicators for being democratic and non-democratic?
- Most of interregionalism studies are criticized for being Eurocentric. Studies by Robles (2004, 2008) are assumed to represent theorization and analysis of the third world position. Explain.
- Interregionalism comparation studies are almost non-existent except for studies done by Maull and Okfen (2006) which compare ASEM and APEC. What can we find from these studies?

D. Activity 4: Reflection

- Find as many as possible research titles discussing interregionalism done by scholars!
- What do you know about interregionalism in the International Relation studies?
- What are contributions of interregionalism researches in International Relation tudies and relation between nations?
- Understanding of existing interregionalism studies theme are highly useful for future studies development. What are the main points being analyzed? (regarding genesis, format, functions, performance, prospects, etc.)
- How does network analysis contribute in the development of interregionalism studies?
- How can the ideational dimension in interregionalism relation be developed? (there are at least three differing approaches: norm enforcement thesis, norm diffusion thesis and cooperative hegemony)
- Describe how interregionalism can affect the future of our lives?

V. MAIN READINGS

- Francis Baert, Tiziana Scaramagli and Fredrik Soderbaum, 2014. "Introduction: Intersecting Interregionalism" in F. Baert et.al. (eds.) *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, United Nations University Series on Regionalism 7.
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- Jurgen Ruland, 2014. "Interregionalism and International Relations: Reanimating an Obsolescent Research Agenda?" in F. Baert et.al. (eds.) *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, United Nations University Series on Regionalism 7.
- Mathew Doidge, 2014. "Interrregionalism and the EU: Conceptualising Group-to-Group Relations" in F. Baert et.al. (eds.) *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, United Nations University Series on Regionalism 7.

VI. ADDITIONAL READINGS

- Krishnan, D. *Quasi-Interregionalism: A Case Study of EU-India Relations* https://www.academia.edu/4731354/Quasi-Interregionalism_A_Case_Study_of_EU_-India_Relations_Introduction
- Ruland, Jurgen, Gunter Schubert, Gunter Schucher dan Cornelia Storz, 2008. *Asian-European Relations. Building Blocks for Global Governance*? Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

VII. LEARNING EVALUATIONS

Evaluations are done in various forms in accordance with discussed materials. According to learning goals mentioned above, therefore evaluations to be done are meant to assess capabilities of students in

- Recognizing the "interregionalism" phenomenon in the International Relation studies as a relatively new phenomenon to be learnt;
- Understanding the development of the "Interregionalism" phenomenon within context of changing global order, especially from bipolar order to unipolar order all the way the current multipolar form;
- Understanding the "Interregionalism" phenomenon as international relation theoretical perspective as well as its various variants;
- Applying concepts/theories in the "Interregionalism" studies for various interregionalism relation case studies which happen until now.

Varying options of learning evaluations can be chosen as follow

(a) Open-ended questions
(b) Written assignment for individuals or small groups

Evaluation Questions

Questions	Answers
1. What is the definition of regionalism?	View or tendency to conduct cooperation between nations within the same region. Example: ASEAN https://kbbi.web.id/regionalisme *the desire of the people who live in a particular region of a country to* have more political and economic independence Oxford Lerner's Dictionary
2. What is the definition of interregionalism?	*Interregionalism may be defined as institutionalised relations between world regions; any external relationship in which a region (however defined) is engaged.* Hanggi (2006)
3. How is the development of interregionalism within the context of changing global order?	Global order experiences shifts from bipolar to multipolar. Effects for interregionalism are change of characters from old interregionalism into new interregionalism: - *Actor centric* vs *system centric*

	- Types of memberships which change from homogenic to heterogenic - Diversity from aspects of social-economics, politics and cultural - New regionalism is closely related with the "open regionalism" concept, adjusting with the multilateral trade liberalization (WTO) - New regionalism is a new intermediation institution that connects regional level and state nations, regional with global and becomes a new layer in international relations (Euroregion in Europe, ASEAN, triangle in Asia).
4. What is the position of interregionalism from various precedent studies in the International Relation studies according to Ruland (2014)?	There are seven points regarding the position of Interregionalism in the International Relation studies: (1) The non-existence of agreed interregional dialogue forum definition (2) Theorization regarding interregional dialogueforum is centered on two themes (i) how far regional organization develops its actorness quality, (ii) the function of interregional dialogue forum in forming global governance architecture. Literatures differentiate five interregional forum functions, which are (i) balancing, (ii) institution-building, (iii) rationalizing, (iv) agenda-setting, (v) collective identity-building (3) The non-existence of holistic approach to describe interregionalism relations (4) Majority of literatures regarding interregionalism argues from 'outward-in' systematic and structural perspectives, especially in describing the origin of interregional dialogue forum which typically is seen as a result from twin processes of globalization and 'new regionalism'. (5) Empirical researches confirm that interregionalism forum functions as theoretical deductions being done, whereas function intensity varies. (6) Most of empirical information regarding interregional forum comes from Triadic relations between North America, EU-Europe and East Asia. Many studies focus on Asia-Europe relations under ASEM. Many studies also do not contribute to researches of interregional relation. (7) Like other international organization forums, interregional dialogue forums face serious deficit of democracy.
5. List three generations of interregionalism development theorization accordint to J. Ruland and C. Storz.	First generation (finding out of phenomenon), second generation (theorization), and third generation (theory test).

6. Describe one of the critics of interregionalism theorization development.	Critics by Robles of interergionalism studies in ASEM: Some of his opinions are as follow (i) developing ASEM studies are evaluated to be not useful because they fail to evaluate ASEM's capacity in reaching its targets and portraying ASEM activity results accurately. According to Robles, theoretical description regarding ASEM and further regarding interregionaliusm '...commit one or more of the following errors: they contradict the basic assumptions of the theory; they fail to address fundamental objections to these theories or they fail to provide convincing empirical evidence that supports their theoritical claims' (Robles 2008:11). Rulland at least elaborate two controversial claims which are the non-existence of interregional level in international relations and that approaches being used do lack in basis / standards. Roble also criticizes that most interregionalism studies are studies lacking complex theories (sophistication).

VIII. REFERENCES

Baert, Francis, Tiziana Scaramagli & Fredrik Soderbaum, 2014. "Introduction: Intersecting Interregionalism" IN F. Baert et.al. (eds.) *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, United Nations University Series on Regionalism 7.

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EIIES Module Series

Module 2

THE ASIA–EUROPE MEETING (ASEM): PROFILE AND ROLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.   INTRODUCTION

Facing challenges in the era of globalization, countries experience interdependence, both from political, economic and social aspects. These dynamics make International Relations changes throughout the time. Countries have begun to believe in inter-state cooperation as one of the solutions to face global challenges. One form of cooperation that can be done is regional cooperation or regionalism. It can be defined as international cooperation within a region. Joseph Nye (1968) defines regionalism as an international area with a limited number of countries connected by geographic location and having a degree of interdependence.

In its historical development, regionalism emerged after the end of World War II which was marked by the regional integration of countries in Western Europe. In a theoretical context, the emergence of regionalism was first driven by two factors. *First*, regionalism as a theoretical explanation for the emergence of cooperation between Western European countries. *Second*, regionalism is considered as a solution to the security dilemma that arises due to anarchic international pressure (Wunderlich 2007, 7). In the last few decades, regionalism has thrived to adapt to the dynamics of international relations, thus giving rise to a new theoretical framework for regionalism, or *New Regionalism* which was marked by the end of the Cold War and the emergence of various regional collaborations such as the South Asian Association (SAARC), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mercado Comun del Sur (MERCOSUR) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

However, in its development, regionalism is deemed incapable of facing external challenges such as problems that arise in the economic and security sectors ((Hänggi, Roloff dan Rüland 2006, 4). Furthermore regionalism institutions began to carry out external cooperation outside the region, known as inter-regionalism. One of the well-known inter-regionalism is the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). ASEM is a forum for dialogue and cooperation with 51 member countries and 2 regionalism organizations which are EU and ASEAN. The purpose of forming ASEM is to provide a foundation for countries in Europe and Asia to carry out political dialogue, enhance economic cooperation and face global challenges together.

There are three pillars that ASEM upholds as a common interest, namely *first*, a political pillar that provides a framework for dialogue in dealing with international and regional issues. *Second*, the economic and financial pillars that support economic cooperation between Asia and Europe. *Third*, the social, cultural and educational pillars, namely strengthening

cultural and educational relations between European and Asian countries, especially people-to people contact.

ASEM as an inter-regionalism organization has gotten a particular attention from researchers in International Relations, because it involves the two longest regional integrations, namely the EU and ASEAN. In addition, the development of inter-regionalism in International Relations is a new and interesting phenomenon to study.

The ASEM Series module tries to explore the development of ASEM, both theoretically and empirically and its contribution to the development of the Science of International Relations. The sub-topics to be discussed in this module are (i) ASEM's profile and history, (ii) ASEM's role as an international dialogue forum for European and Asian countries, (iii) dynamics of European and Asian relations in ASEM and (iv) critics and reflection.

II. PURPOSE OF LEARNING

The results that are expected to be achieved in the EIIES Module Series 4 learning are:

(I)   Students are understanding the ASEM's profile and history.

(II)   Students conceive the role of ASEM as an international dialogue forum.

(III)   Students understand the role of ASEM in supporting European-Asian Relations and the dynamics of their relationship.

(IV)   Critics and reflections.

III. MAIN TOPICS

A. ASEM's profile and history

B. The role of ASEM as an international dialogue forum for European and Asian countries.

C. Dynamics of European and Asian relations in ASEM.

D. Critics and revitalization.

IV. LEARNING ACTIVITIES

A. ASEM Profile and History

ASEM was established in Bangkok in 1996, the initiative came from Singapore's prime-minister, Goh Chok Tong at the Third Europe / East Asia Economic Summit, the forum aimed at improving Asia-Europe relations. This initiative has the support of French representatives. Then together with Germany, France lobbied at the EU level, so that other EU member countries would agree to the initiative. After gaining support from the Council

of Europe, other EU member countries supported the initiative to establish ASEM. Total of 26 members attended at the first ASEM meeting, it included 16 heads of EU member states with representatives of European Commissions, 7 heads of ASEAN member countries, China, South Korea and Japan (Gaens 2018, 11).

The background of establishment of ASEM could not be separated from the emipirical events that had occurred at that time. According to Sung-Hoon Park (2004), there are two factors that trigger the formation of ASEM, namely geopolitical factors and economic factors (Park 2004, 343-350). From the geopolitical's perspective, after the Single European Market at the end of 1992 gave rise to scepticism about the EU's stance on trade policy, although it slowly faded. However, many of the EU's trading partner countries in Asia, including Japan and Korea, were concerned about barriers stemming from protectionism from the EU against goods originating from non-member countries (Park 2004, 343). Another geopolitical background is the motivation that refers to significant economic performance among Asian countries, especially East Asia and sees the pro-active strategy that Asia has taken to the United States (Park 2004, 344). At that time, the EU saw a strategic partnership from Asia emerging from the fast growing Asian market so that the EU made it a top priority in external relations (Park 2004, 344). The EU also started negotiations with various types of cooperation with East Asian countries, emphasizing the strategic values of East Asian countries.

In addition, during the previous two decades Asia had closed cooperation with the United States and Japan, both economically and politically. In 1989, Asia and America were involved in the interregional cooperation Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). With the existence of APEC, other Asian countries want to cooperate with China to guard against economic and political threats originating from regionally and globally. Futhermore, Asian cooperation has focused on regional and external activities with the United States. However, APEC is gradually turning into a platform for US interests in the Asian market. This made Asian countries take steps to escape the influence of the United States, so that support for the formation of ASEM was given (Park 2004, 344).

Another background according to Sung-Hoon Park (2004) is economic factors. There are several interests driving ASEM cooperation, among others, the changing world economy which affects each other and is part of European efforts to gain access to Asian markets (Park 2004, 345).Initially ASEM was a 'product' of the international condition that emerged after the Cold War. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, global economic power has polarised in three regions (tri-polarisation world economy), which are Western Europe,

East Asia and North America (Gaens 2018, 9). These three regions are global economic powers, because 90% of world trade is concentrated in Asia, Europe and North America (Park 2004, 345).

One of the main objectives of ASEM is as a liaison between Asia and Europe, which at that time was less developed than the Trans-Pacific relationship with the existence of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Trans-Atlantic with the existence of the Transatlantic Economy Partnership (TEP). Thus, ASEM becomes a bridge and maintains a balance of relations between the three global economic powers (Gaens 2018, 10).

Figure 1. Illustration of the tripolarisation of the world economy
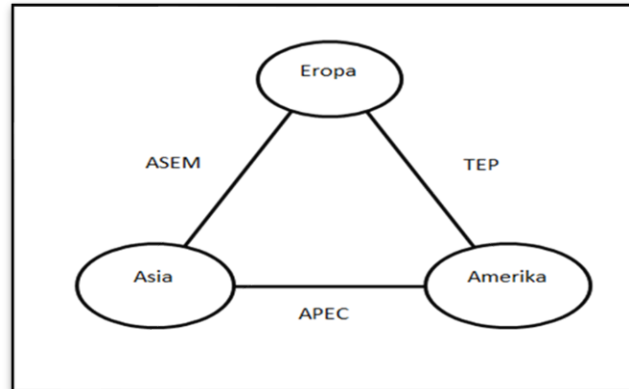
In addition, the strategic value of Asian countries increased due to the economic dynamics of these countries which led to positive conditions. In the 1980s when East Asian countries earned the nickname 'miraculous' in their economic growth, Europe began to show an interest in getting closer to East Asia (Gaens 2018, 10).Meanwhile, from the point of view of East Asian countries, Europe is an export market and a source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Gaens 2018, 10). In addition, Asian countries can also promote themselves as economic partners with the EU. The initiative to form ASEM from both regions is because they both see ASEM as a strategic partner in the economic sector.

After two decades being founded, ASEM has experienced an enlargement of itsmembership. The recent ASEM members consist of 53 member countries, 21 countries from Asian, 30 countries from European, with member countries and 2 countries of regionalism institutions, namely the EU and ASEAN (ASEAN Secretariat). The following is a table regarding the years that ASEM members joined:

Tabel 1. ASEM membership

Year	European Countries	Asian Countries	Total
ASEM 1 1996	EU15, European Commissions	ASEAN7, China, Japan, South Korea	26
ASEM 5 2004	EU25, European Commissions	ASEAN10, China, Japan, South Korea	39
ASEM 7 2008	EU27, European Commissions	ASEAN10, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Pakistan, Mongolia, ASEAN Secretariat, Australia, New Zealand and Russia	45
ASEM 8 2010	EU27, European Commissions	ASEAN10, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Pakistan, Mongolia, ASEAN Secretariat,	48

		Australia, New Zealand and Russia	
ASEM 9 2012	EU27, European Commission, Norway, Switzerland	ASEAN10, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Pakistan, Mongolia, ASEAN Secretariat, Australia, New Zealand, Russia and Bangladesh	51
ASEM 10 2014	EU28, European Commission, Norway, Switzerland	ASEAN10, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Pakistan, Mongolia, ASEAN Secretariat, Australia, New Zealand, Russia, Bangladesh and Kazakhstan	53

Source: (Gaens 2015, 67)

In addition to its memberships, the focus of ASEM has also shifted thematically, from being a partner in economy sector into three sectors, namely politics, economy and socio-culture, which are known as the three pillars of ASEM. Even though working under these three pillars, ASEM has a non-interfering principle, particularly in the area of sensitive issues. Another characteristic of ASEM is informal and non-binding cooperation, because there is no legal framework like other international organizations in general (Gaens 2018, 10). Other features of ASEM cooperation are also often seen as multi-dimentional and evolutionary.

According to Ruland (2002) ASEM as interregionalism cooperations has several functions, *first* as balancing and band-wagoning, ASEM emerged as a response to the shift in power that has occurred in the three regions with the largest economic power, namely North America, Europe and East Asia (Robles 2008, 9). ASEM is a reflection of the EU's fear of a possible market exemption made by APEC. Meanwhile for Asia, ASEM is a counterweight to the strength of the United States. Some opinions suggest that ASEM cooperation can prevent the United States' tendency to be unilateralist (Robles 2008, 9).

Second, ASEM acts as an institution building, if it is properly consolidated ASEM can develop a new institutional framework and contribute to the debate in OSCE Asia (Robles 2008, 9). *Third*, ASEM is an agenda setting, controlling and rationalizing, which functions as a result of the lack of multilateralism. In a negotiation involving more than 200 countries, ASEM assists in agenda setting by introducing new theme and can provide control over the working agenda (Robles 2008, 9)

Fourth, ASEM is an identity building. The participation of Asian countries in ASEM stimulates identity building. According to Bersick (2004), at the time of ASEM 1, Asia was considered an equal partner for the EU. *Fifth*, ASEM has a function as stabilization. ASEM is defined as a regime that arises because of the instability of the international system after the end of bipolarity. *Sixth*, ASEM has function as a development tool, because ASEM is an international forum that can be a facility for countries to exchange capital, resources, RDI, ideas, trade and investment (Robles 2008, 9).

B. ASEM's role as an international dialogue forum for European and Asian countries

Since its establishment, ASEM has been regarded as the only framework that exclusively addresses Asian-European cooperation and enhances the transformation towards the Eurasian forum. In enhancing cooperation, ASEM has principles listed in the Asia Europe Cooperation Framework (AECF) or known as the "ASEM Way" which consists of five basic components (Gaens 2018, 14). *First*, ASEM works in a comprehensive and multi-dimensional manner, which means that the ASEM agenda includes aspects of the cooperative relationship between the two regions, multilateral, interregional, subregional and bilateral. These cooperative relations are related to politics and security, economy and trade and socio-culture. *Second*, dialogue in ASEM is the goal of ASEM, because ASEM is primarily aimed at providing a platform for cooperation in order to increase acidic understanding and awareness in the dialogue being carried out (Gaens 2018, 14)

Third, the basic component of ASEM is openness. This component of openness is implemented both in enlargement and ASEM partners, as well as in handling the themes and topics discussed by ASEM. For this reason, the open nature of ASEM does not rule out that ASEM dialogue and cooperation will be taken in a new (Gaens 2018, 14). *Fourth*, ASEM is informal in carrying out its process in a loose, non-binding and informal manner and the comprehensive scope of the meeting stems from the novelty of dialogue between the EU and Asia. *Fifth*, ASEM has a bottom-up process. Forums in ASEM provide group

to group opportunities and intergovernmental communication. In addition, ASEM also engages groups outside of government, such as civil society, business groups, social actors and youth groups to provide input (Gaens 2018, 15).

As a forum for dialogue and cooperation, ASEM has an institutional design that can be explained rationally (*logic of consequences*) and constructivist (*logic of appropriateness*). ASEM's forum, scope of centralization, control and flexibility can be seen through rational choice. ASEM members use institutions to achieve their respective interests and design institutions according to those interests. Meanwhile, for ASEM members, the institution should provide restrictions, moreover the member countries are subject to the issues at hand, especially when collective action for common goals could not be implemented (Gaens 2018, 15). Meanwhile, the scope of ASEM by rationalists is that dialogue in ASEM is the main objective and enforcement of open issues that could be accessed by the national parliament and non-state actors. In addition to the scope of membership, ASEM has a large number of heterogeneous members.

The focus of ASEM according to a rationalist perspective is the centralization of information, as is mostly done by international organizations. The recent years ASEM has shown the centralization of information, still ASEM occurs because it emphasizes on international dialogue but not showing the tangible results (Gaens 2018, 15). Moreover, ASEM does not have a secretariat so that activities in the forum are not institutionalized as in general, therefore ASEM also does not have a general secretary.

The focus of control in ASEM is on equality and consensus. Both of these are implemented when granting membership to a new country. Candidate countries need to get support from other countries originating from the same region, before getting approval from other region member countries. Along with the increasing number of ASEM members, it is hoped that this will reduce the control of certain countries (Gaens 2018, 16). Although the focus of control has been made in an equal and consensual manner, in reality the asymmetrical relationship among member countries appears along with the enlargement of ASEM membership (Gaens 2018, 16). The rationalists also talked about the high flexibility of ASEM, because ASEM which focuses on process versus outcome and allows for low-level discussion.

In carrying out international dialogue, ASEM has working with some methods, they are:

1. Meetings are held informally and interactively. For this reason, the chairman of the conference (Chair) must be active in making this happen.

2. There is an agenda setting that is focused on several topics, so that the ASEM meeting will be carried out according to the topic.

3. ASEM initiatives or activities should be linked to dialogue and gain support.

4. To increase the visibility of ASEM, reaching the public through the ASEM agenda must be done.

C. Dynamics of European-Asian Relations in ASEM

ASEM has 3 pillars that are the focus in establishing cooperation, namely the political, economic and socio-cultural pillars. ASEM member countries have a dynamic relationship in ASEM which is influenced by empirical events that occur in the country. So this section will look at the dynamics of relations between member countries in ASEM based on the three ASEM pillars.

Political Issues

Various expert opinions said that the initial formation of ASEM cannot be separated from the geopolitical condition that changed the world pressure system after the Cold War. Thus, traditionally, political dialogue has been a major element in the ASEM process. The summit which was held as part of the ASEM process involved the heads of state from member countries. This makes ASEM inseparable from the political issues being experienced by member countries. The sub-issues discussed in the political pillars include international and regional development, multilateralism, security and anti-terrorism cooperation, open international dialogue, environmental dialogue and migration dialogue.

In the ASEM 1 Summit, the main issue that was discussed for the first time was political issues. The Singapore government proposes an ASEM 1 agenda which includes political issues (Robles 2008, 126). Issues that were initially projected to be part of the political pillar were regional and international security issues, human rights issues, democratization and reference to the rule of law. However, Asian countries refuse to discuss these issues, because ideologically the state adopted is different.

In other political issues, Alfredo Robles (2007) argues that the EU sees ASEM as a means of lobbying, especially in the issue of modifying existing legislation in Asian countries. States also recognize that modifications in their laws are common interest in ASEM. This can be seen from the market access problems that Europe faces in Asia (Robles 2008, 93). Europe sees that in terms of investment in East Asia, its countries are below Japan and the United States. Meanwhile, foreign investment (foreign direct investment, FDI) is an indicator that facilitates access of European goods to Asian markets. Thus in its

dialogue with Japan, the EU seeks to become an international actor in Asia and urges Asia to engage in international dialogue on trade and investment to change their views (Robles 2008, 123).

Besides, ASEM is also often referred to as the EU diplomacy instrument. Yeo Lay Hwee (2003) in a realist view sees that ASEM is a framework for conducting diplomacy. ASEM builds the confidence of countries, especially Europe by acting as a forum for multilateral diplomacy. ASEM provides a platform for heads of government to learn from each other and neutralize mutual suspicions and raise the profile of issues (Robles 2008, 11).). Although this view contradicts with the basic assumption of realism, seeing that the state plays an important role in international relations, but not in the region.

Here are some examples of ASEM's role as a medium for diplomacy for European countries. The ASEM forum is often seen as an opportunity to collaborate with other countries, such as the ASEM 3 forum which focuses on discussions on security issues. Europe provides its support for KEDO and South Korea's "sunshine policy" (Robles, 2008, p. 132). This is declared in the ASEM Declaration for Peace on the Korean Peninsula. The declaration, which initially focused on South Korea, was later seen as an opportunity for European countries to build diplomatic relations with North Korea, such as Finland, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom (Robles 2008, 123).

The discussion of the multilateralism framework is also discussed in the political pillar. At the 6th ASEM Summit which took place in Helsinki, the topic was '*strengthening multilateralism and addressing security threats*'. The topic refers to the ASEM agenda which includes multilateralism cooperation and tackling security issues. The two topics are interrelated because in principle of multilateralism, it strives to achieve security goals, in addition to considering that unilateralists can threaten the independence of ASEM countries. On this political pillar, people see that ASEM is a security instrument, which is protected by international law (Kivimaki 2008, 51-52).

Economic Issues

On the economic pillar, ASEM acts in the promotion of economic multilateralism, supports the framework for trade and investment cooperation, fosters dialogue on financial issues, dan crisis management. It also promotes cooperative dialogue in the private sector and the ASEM Task Force. Economic factors are considered as one of the driving forces for the formation of ASEM. Futhermore most of the ASEM agenda is related to economic and financial issues.

After the formation of ASEM in 1996, its focus on economic issues was tangible. One of the largest and most powerful ASEM initiatives emerged in June 1998 (ASEM 2), when ASEM formally established an Asian Financial Crisis Trust Fund to assist seven East Asian countries affected by the Asian financial crisis. The fund was for programs providing technical advice and training on financial sector reform and social policy in countries. ASEM's quick response had proven to be an integral and positive step towards economic recovery in the East Asian (Khandekar 2018, 34). Even though there was already an agenda for handling the crisis, the crisis has led to a decline in European optimism for economic cooperation with Asia and trade liberalization in at that time (Robles, 2008).

After experiencing a post-crisis recovery, Asia is Europe's external trading partner with two-way trade in goods reaching € 1.37 trillion in 2012 (Khandekar 2018, 34). Cooperation in the economic pillar is going well, although most of the economic cooperation among ASEM member countries is bilateral and is not a consequence of ASEM. As well as in practice international trade between the EU and Asia is carried out within the framework of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). The EU seems to be trying to negotiate a number of FTAs with Asia, yet what is operationally happening is the EU-South Korea FTA. Meanwhile, other Asian countries are still constrained by EU institutional problems (Khandekar 2018, 42). Besides, there are several main problems that become obstacles in improving EU-Asia trade relations. *First* is the lack of a trading strategy in the EU. In 2007, the EU and ASEAN started negotiations on a region-to-region FTA, which was postponed seven rounds later in 2009, mainly due to human rights concerns in Myanmar. *Second*, the EU is late in establishing the trend of bilateral FTAs as a way of avoiding deadlocks at the WTO. *Third*, the EU is too focused on FTA by adopting a broad model of the EU-South Korea FTA, regardless of the economic realities of the countries negotiated with India or Vietnam ((Khandekar 2018, 42).

Fourth obstacle is the lack of urgency on the part of the EU in negotiating an FTA. Most FTA negotiations or investment agreements have lasted at least 5 years, and up to a decade in the case of India. *Fifth*, procedures in the EU further delay the process. Initially, the EU insisted on signing a *partnership and cooperation agreement* (PCA) before starting FTA negotiations (Khandekar 2018, 43). Asian countries see this PCA as a problem because they allow the EU to suspend trade relations for unspecified conditions (human rights cases, environmental issues, etc.). *Sixth*, since the Lisbon agreement, the European Parliament has acquired new competences in terms of external trade, in particular, the

ability to reject FTAs. Eventhough the EU trade agreement has included a human rights clause since the early 1990s (Khandekar 2018, 43).

In the trade sector the role of ASEM is not significant, there are several concrete initiatives to increase economic cooperation among its member countries, ASEM holds several programs such as the Asian Financial Crises Response Trust Fund, Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF), ASEM Senior Officials meeting on trade and investment or ASEM Senior Officials' meeting on Trade and Investment (SOMTI), Trade Facilitation Action Plan (TFAP), ASEM Investment Promotion Action Plan (IPAP), Meeting of the Ministers of Economy and Finance of countries (Khandekar 2018, 54).

Socio-Cultural Issues

In socio-cultural pillar, ASEM focuses on promoting dialogue on cultural and civilizational cooperation, running various Asia Europe Foundation (ASEF) programs, enhancing European-Asian educational process and cooperation, developing technology and information cooperation (Trans-Eurasian Information Network, TEIN) and participatiom of civil society and the public large. Initial expectations of ASEM focused on political and economic issues, but both were ineffective and ASEM received a lot of criticism for that. Thus the focus of the ASEM agenda shifts to socio-culture.

Assessing ASEM's performance in the third pillar is also not an easy thing due to the broad socio-cultural work agenda, and the results are intangible (Thu 2014, 402). However, some experts say that the third pillar is a pillar that shows results because of its accessibility. Unlike the previous two pillars which can be accessed mostly by state leaders and elites, the third pillar is more open to civil society and they could participate in ASEM cooperation.

Cooperation in the socio-cultural field was originally part of the 'cooperation in other areas' in ASEM. However, in ASEM Meeting 7 the socio-cultural pillars became a new pillar (Thu 2014, 80). Awareness of the importance of social and cultural issues in ASEM was triggered by the events of 9/11 which were considered to be able to be dealt with a cultural approach, apart from other general approaches that were taken, such as politics and security. Since then, the socio-cultural pillar has become the focus of ASEM in every summit. Such as in ASEM 4 , it supported the Conference on Culture and Civilization (COCC), which was followed by the first conference in Beijing in December 2003 on the initiative of China, Denmark, France, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As well as the

summit aimed to counter the Huntington scenario and promote "unity in diversity," drawing on dialogue and character building trust, particularly addressing the role of education, access to information, and civil society engagement (Thu 2014, 81).

Apart from the socio-cultural pillars that become the focus of almost every ASEM summit, one of the other contributions is the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) founded in 1997, a year after the start of ASEM. This was an initiative of the leaders of Singapore and France, tasked with involving civil society across ASEM members in an interregional process (Thu 2014, 83). Its purpose was to manage activities that fall under the third pillar of ASEM cooperation, namely cultural, intellectual and people-to-people exchanges. To date, ASEF is the only ASEM institution and is funded by voluntary contributions from member government governments. ASEF is chaired by a Board of Governors, appointed by each ASEM member country, nominated for a period of 3 years. The Council meets three times in 2 years to set the ASEF policy direction. The framework in ASEF is framed into three thematic groups, namely cultural exchange, intellectual exchange, and people exchange (Thu 2014, 83).

Compared to the previous two pillars, socio-cultural issues are more focused on state cooperation and community involvement in its agendas. Meanwhile, in the two previous pillars, there was a dynamic relationship between ASEM member countries, due to the different interests of the countries. The following table is the ASEM dialogue for the last 20 years (1996-2016)

Table 2. Issues discussed at the 1996-2018 ASEM Summit

Meeting/Year	Pilar	Issue
ASEM 1/1996	Economy dan Politics	the formation of ASEM which was focused on economic and political issues
ASEM 2/1998	Economy	focused on dealing with the impact of the Asian crisis.
ASEM 3/2000	Economy	discussed on socio-economic problems and globalization. The leaders emphasized the importance of human resource development in reducing economic and social inequality, and reaffirmed their original intention to improve the social welfare of communities by promoting social safety nets. ASEM 3 also supports the Korea-France Trans-Eurasia Network (TEIN).

ASEM 4/2002	Politics	reflected the general tension in the global security environment following the 9/11 terrorist attacks
ASEM 5/2004	Socio-Culture	adopting "ASEM Declaration on Dialogue among Cultures and Civilizations" which adds an agenda on creativity and exchange of ideas as well as promotion of sustainable and responsible cultural tourism, protection and promotion of cultural resources, and strengthening the capacity of the Asia Europe Foundation (ASEF)
ASEM 6/2006	Politics, Economy, Socio-Culture	10 Years of ASEM: Global Challenges-Joint Responses. Apart from the summit, the 10th Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF) and the 6th Asia-Europe People's Forum were also held
ASEM 7/2008	Socio-Culture	the theme of ASEM 2008 focuses on sustainable development and natural disaster mitigation. Cultural cooperation was recognized under the auspices of the 1st Forum Alliance of Civilizations (AoC) held in Madrid in January 2008 and the consolidation of this United Nations Initiative.
ASEM 8/2010	Socio-Culture	ASEM has a stronger focus on social and environmental issues, including issues raised on social cohesion, human rights and human security, and various aspects of security. The cultural agenda is set aside, noting the Dialogue of Cultures and Civilizations.
ASEM 9/2012	Socio-Culture	the dialogue in ASEM 9 is dominated by discussions about the global economic crisis. In the agenda of cultural cooperation, dialogue between religions and promotion of cultural heritage, and exchange of expertise in both regions.
ASEM 10/2014	Economy, Socio-Culture	emphasized the importance of preserving the tangible and intangible heritage of all cultures, and pointed out the role that the ASM Minister of Culture Meeting should play. Tourism is also emphasized as an engine for growth, job creation, and people-to-people contact

ASEM 11/2016	Socio-Culture	within upholding the "Partnership for the Future through Connectivity" the 11 ASEM Summit held in Mongolia aimed to further enhance the dimensions of inter-community connectivity, particularly through cultural, academic, tourism and youth exchanges.
ASEM 12/2018	Politics, Economy, Socio-Culture	the focus of the agenda included activities, workshops, public forums, youth summits, exhibitions and the sidelines of the Foreign Minister Meeting.

D. Critics towards ASEM

Several criticisms of ASEM have emerged due to its effectiveness as an international forum and its tangible achievements. Some researchers say ASEM started to get criticism and views after the series of Asian financial crisis in 1997/1998 and the 9/11 terror attacks. Hwee (2006) looks at the main trend that has emerged since the establishment of ASEM in 1996 it has been a weak response to global and regional challenges, however it has many unfocused and targeted initiatives. "... That all the above major trends point to is an increasingly complex environment that challenges us to rethink the usefulness of dialogue forum such as ASEM. ASEM has essentially responded to the above global and regional changes in a piecemeal manner by adding more and more initiatives. The proliferation of initiatives has been an issue of concern as critics noted a lack of focus and direction. The impact of many of the one-off initiatives and the effectiveness of other initiatives has been questioned" (Hwee 2006, 147).

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- www.aseminfoboard.org

VII.   LEARNING EVALUATION

Learning evaluation consists of several questions that are formed based on the material that has been made. The questions cover the students' abilities in

- Understanding of the history and purpose of establishing ASEM
- Understanding of ASEM as an international dialogue forum
- Understanding the dynamics of the relationship between member countries / partners in ASEM
- There are also several types of learning evaluation to choose from, namely
  a)   Open questions
  b)   Written assignments for individuals or small groups

No.	Question	Answer
1.	What is ASEM and how is it formed?	ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) is a forum for dialogue and cooperation on inter-regionalism. The purpose of forming ASEM is to provide a foundation for countries in Europe and Asia to carry out political dialogue, enhance economic cooperation and face global challenges together. ASEM was established in Bangkok in 1996, the initiative for the formation of ASEM came from Singapore's prime minister, Goh Chok Tong at the Third Europe / East Asia Economic Summit, the forum aimed at improving Asia-Europe relations. This initiative received support from French representatives and lobbied at the EU level, so that other EU member countries agreed to the initiative. After gaining support from the Council of Europe, other EU member countries supported the initiative to establish ASEM.
2.	What factors (based on world empirical work) make up ASEM?	There are two factors that triggered the formation of ASEM, namely geopolitical factors and economic factors. Geopolitical factors, after the Single European Market at the end of 1992 gave rise to skepticism about the EU's stance on trade policy, but it slowly faded. Economic factors, the existence of a strategic partnership that arises due to improved economic performance among Asian countries, particularly in East Asia and seeing the pro-active strategy that Asia has taken to the United States. So the EU makes it a top priority in external relations.
3.	How is the relationship between ASEM and interregionalism?	In its development, regionalism is deemed incapable of facing external challenges such as problems that arise in the economic and security

		sector. So that regionalism institutions began to carry out external cooperation outside its region known as inter-regionalism and ASEM is one example of inter-regionalism cooperation carried out by Europe outside its region. ASEM aims to provide a foundation for countries in Europe and Asia to carry out political dialogue, enhance economic cooperation and face global challenges together.
4.	Explain the role of ASEM as an international dialogue forum?	As a forum for dialogue and cooperation, ASEM has an institutional design that can be explained rationally (*logic of consequences*) and constructivist (*logic of appropriateness*). ASEM's forum, scope centralization, control and flexibility can be seen through rational choice. ASEM members use institutions to achieve their respective interests and design institutions according to those interests. As for ASEM members, the institution should provide restrictions, so that members submit to the issues at hand, especially when collective action for common goals cannot be implemented. Meanwhile, the scope of ASEM by rationalists is that dialogue in ASEM is the main objective and enforcement of open issues that can be accessed by the national parliament and non-state actors. In addition, in the scope of members, ASEM has a large number of heterogeneous members. ASEM focuses according to a rationalist perspective, the centralization of information, as most international organizations do. ASEM has shown the centralization of information, but a bad view of ASEM still occurs because ASEM emphasizes dialogue, not tangible results. In addition, ASEM does not have a secretariat so that

activities in the forum are not institutionalized as in general, therefore ASEM also does not have a general secretary. The focus of control in ASEM is on equality and consensus. Both of these are implemented when granting membership to a new country. Candidate countries need to get support from other countries originating from the same region, before getting approval from members from other regions. Along with the increasing number of ASEM members, it is hoped that this will reduce the control of certain countries. Although the focus of control has been made in an equal and consensual manner, in reality the asymmetrical relationship among member states has emerged along with the enlargement of ASEM membership. Rationalists also talked about the high flexibility of ASEM, because ASEM focuses on process versus outcome and allows for low-profile discussions on global issues. This makes ASEM often seen as a forum with an Asian structure, because of the methods used in running forums such as ASEAN and upholding privacy, pragmatism, informality, member consensus, non-confrontation and non-interference.

Meanwhile, constructivists argue that the ASEM design does not contradict rationalist designs that stick to a broader social and historical context and are constructed on elements such as values and beliefs. ASEM designs are norm-based designs. For EU member states, focus on values such as equality and consensus when interacting with Asian countries, which were once EU colonies. As well as institutional designs that follow Asia are expected

		to bring EU countries closer to Asian countries. For Asian countries, it tends to lead to informal dialogue and soft institutionalization as a way of communicating in forums.
5.	How are the dynamics of ASEM member / partner countries based on the three ASEM pillars?	1. Political issues (example: war on terrorism after 9/11) 2. Economic issues (example: financial assistance after the Asia Financial crises) 3. Socio-cultural issues (example: conferences on culture and civilization)

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Module 6

CRITICAL DEBATE AND MODEL OF ASIA-EUROPE MEETING (ASEM)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.   INTRODUCTION

The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) is an intergovernmental forum that brings together countries from the two continents to discuss political, economic and socio-cultural issues of common interests and to strengthen relations between Asia and Europe. It was established in 1996 in view of the need for a meeting point between these two global regions. ASEM comprises 51 member states, the two EU institutions and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat. It helps members create and develop ties among themselves and facilitates multilateral dialogue. ASEM member countries account for 60% of the world's population today and almost 60% of global GDP.

Since the inception of the ASEM, it has been the forum's objective to enhance political dialogue, strengthen economic cooperation, and promote socio-cultural exchange between the two regions.

Model ASEM is a simulation of ASEM Summit. Participants take on the role of different member countries, make statements, negotiate and agree on the final document, which is then presented to the ASEM member states. The recommendation made by the young participants are intended to provide food for the thought on the future of Asia-Europe relations.

II.   LEARNING OBJECTIVES

A.   The simulated negotiations help make ASEM better known and raise awareness of areas of interest between the two continents. They provide participants with an opportunity to dive into the world of international negotiations within multilateral forums.

B.   For the participating students, Model ASEM tests their public speaking skills and requires them to both present and advocate for their ideas.

C.   They must also be able to work in teams, demonstrate leadership, be well-prepared for the challenging discussions and have a good knowledge of the positions of the countries they are representing on that day.

III. MAIN ISSUES

Launched in 1996 as an initiative of the Singaporean and French governments to enhance Asia-Europe relations, the first Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Summit in Bangkok, Thailand, in March 1996 brought together the then 15 member states of the European Union (EU), the European Commission, 7 members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, South Korea, and Japan. Today, ASEM's membership has expanded to a total of 51 European and Asian nations, in addition to the EU and the ASEAN Secretariat. ASEM remains the sole platform dedicated exclusively to Asia-Europe relations and is increasingly transforming into a Eurasian forum with recent membership expansions to Russia, Kazakhstan, and Mongolia. Still an intergovernmental platform without the legal framework of an international organization, European and Asian governments meet within its ambit to discuss the future of inter-continental relations, interregional interaction at numerous levels and global affairs.

In more of two decades of its existence, the forum has brought together leaders from both sides, in addition to providing a continuous dialogue mechanism for officials, experts, parliamentarians, and civil society on foreign affairs, economic, financial, environmental, cultural and educational issues. As such, ASEM has promoted inter-regionalism in unprecedented ways.

Furthermore, in the light of ASEM's extraordinary growth over the past two decades, the forum's potential global weight is undeniable. According to recent figures, the total population of ASEM countries hovered around 4.6 billion in 2015, accounting for 62.1% of the global population (Eurostat 2016a, p. 12). ASEM includes seven out of ten of the world's strongest economies, as well as regional powers such as China, India, Japan, and Russia. It

comprises two of the world's most integrated regions, the EU and Southeast Asia. It is therefore no surprise that ASEM is also a juggernaut in terms of economy and trade. According to EU figures, ASEM countries produced 57.6% of global GDP, and accounted for nearly 70% of global merchandise trade in 2014, namely 71% of exports, and 67% of all imports (Eurostat 2016b, p. 1-2).

The different analyses have assessed ASEM's achievements and added-value in today's global environment, but they have also taken a critical approach and have identified a number of core challenges.

A. Political Dialogue

Europe-Asia relations continue to perform below their potential. Both regions recognize a shared future but fail to build a sustainable path towards it. Strategic differences exist in political issues such as the Ukraine and Russia's annexation of Crimea, security matters including territorial disputes, and efforts to liberalize interregional trade. Europe currently views Asia principally through a geopolitical lens, a perspective the EU as a sui generis organization finds hard to adapt. Today, individual EU member states have lost the global weight they once bore to have an impact on Asia's turbulent geopolitics.

B. Economic Cooperation

When it comes to trade, EU member states each follow a geo-economic approach towards Asia, which sees them competing against each other for preferential treatment in trade and investment, in particular in countries with whom the EU does not have a free trade agreement (FTA). The EU has endeavored to sign FTAs with almost all of its Asian ASEM partners, yet its approach has lacked strategic direction, and most FTAs remain under negotiation for nearly a decade.

The EU and individual member states prioritize certain Asian countries such as China over other ASEM members, which reflects poorly on Europe's relations with other

Asian countries. As for Asia, geopolitical rises in the EU's southern and eastern neighbourhoods are less of a priority than economics Asia's key consideration in relations with the EU and its member states concerns bilateral trade and investment ties. For almost all of Asia (except perhaps Japan, Australia, and New Zealand), geopolitical themes are sovereign matters of a state Most Asian countries continue to harbor a suspicion of Europe given the continent's colonial history. Trust remains an issue.

C.   Socio-Cultural Exchange

ASEM itself as an interregional forum at twenty years of age, in spite of its potential global weight, is exposed to external criticism and faces key internal hurdles. Most importantly, as the only platform solely dedicated to Asia and Europe the process is seen as failing to play a relevant role as a major international cooperation structure. Dubbed a mini United Nations, the forum is seen as lacking concrete outcomes, remaining at the level of a talking shop.

Most of ASEM's initiatives lack visibility and mass appeal. The general public's awareness of ASEM as an actor in the global power structure remains remarkably low. Internally, not all member governments are equally involved, and some may even be losing interest in the forum, at a time when it has become crucial to underscore Europe-Asia relations in an increasingly interconnected world subject to transnational crises. The lack of a shared vision and different opinions on the way to move forward constitute some of ASEM's greatest challenges.

Nevertheless, ASEM remains important for multiple reasons. First, ASEM represents the combined weight of Asia and Europe, and underscores the political, economic, and sociocultural interdependency between both continents. As such it serves as a mirror of the progress that both regions have made in establishing a political dialogue including on sensitive issues such as human rights; in promoting two-way trade and investment; in

enhancing cultural and social exchange; and in involving different stakeholders groups in order to include a bottom-up dimension to a summit-level process.

Second, ASEM remains a crucial test case of inter-regional engagement in practice. It is certainly true that ASEM's initial region-to-region setup has transformed. Membership has expanded to include South and Central Asian countries, Russia, Australia, New Zealand, and non-EU countries Norway and Switzerland. Reflecting a world that is increasingly multipolar in nature, ASEM has evolved into a rather diffuse and comprehensive transregional (Eurasian) gathering. The role of well-integrated regions displaying a certain degree of actorness has diminished, and an increasing resistance can be witnessed against the transfer of sovereign power to transnational entities, as the EU's internal crisis and the outcome of the Brexit referendum show. Even so, ASEM retains its "bipolar" structure and coordination, and improving the interlinkage (in all its dimensions) between both regions (or continents) has even turned into ASEM prime raison-d'etre. ASEM therefore remains a salient forum, not so much to examine pure region-to-region relations, but to observe the interplay between multilateral, transregional, interregional, subregional, and bilateral relations. In other words, it provides an important opportunity to observe what happens to the contours of inter regionalism, when a large number of states and non-state actors from two regions in addition to two regional organizations come together in an international institution.

Third, ASEM's significance as a dialogue forum is only growing, in particular in an era of political polarization, increasing economic inequality, rising populism, and transnational challenges (often referred to as non-traditional security challenges) such as climate change, sustainable development, and migration. Importantly, ASEM is still a forum without the United States. It therefore provides the opportunity for European and Asian countries, the EU and ASEAN to promote a habit of cooperation and address shared interests in the economic or non-traditional security sphere, even if both regions continue to entertain strong relations with the United States in terms of hard security. The absence of the United States and the focus on dialogue can also continue facilitating the engagement and "socialization" of emerging regional and global powers, such as China, Russia, and India.

Fourth AEM's role as a forum gathering not only political leaders, but also business people, academic communities, civil society representatives and NGOs, parliaments, labor for a, and youth is gaining in importance. ASEM's "democratic dimension" has made significant progress, and both horizontal communication between the different stakeholder groups and the input they can deliver to the government level will be key defining factors for the future of the forum.

It can therefore be said that the ASEM process, bringing together a highly diverse membership with different priorities, has made remarkable achievements in transcending numerous differences. Not only has it brought together the highest level of leadership in a cooperative environment, but it has also connected a high number of other stakeholder groups. The most recent summit in Mongolia, held under the over-arching theme of "Partnership for the Future through Connectivity', endorsed a "strong resolve to work together to energize ASEM, promote further connectivity, mutually beneficial partnership and cooperation between Asia and Europe" (ASEM 2016). The future of Asia-Europe relations and of ASEM lies precisely in this ambition to connect regions and their people.

On 15 and 16 July 2016, Heads of State and Governments or their high-level representatives from 51 European and Asian countries, and leaders from EU and ASEAN institutions gathered in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia., to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the ASEM process. At this important junction, it is important to look back at ASEM's more than two-decade history, by focusing on the process's key dimensions, defining themes, main driving forces, and core challenges. What are ASEM's achievements, and to what extent has ASEM withstood the test of time? To what extent is external criticism, that ASEM has not sufficiently promoted cooperation to the benefit of the peoples of both regions and to look ahead to the future by pointing out possible new directions to re-energize the forum.

D.   Critical Approaches and Challenges

Since the inception of the Asia-Europe Meeting in 1996, it has been the forum's objective to enhance political dialogue, strengthen economic cooperation, and promote socio-cultural exchange between the two regions. Against the backdrop of broader Asia-Europe relations and the shifting global agenda, ASEM's core dimensions, which relate to the forum's objectives, institutional design, issue area, and actor involved, have been explored. The different analyses have assessed ASEM's achievements and added-value in today's global environment, but they have also taken a critical approach and have identified a number of core challenges.

A first key observation is that ASEM remains foremost a forum for dialogue. Including members such as the EU, China, Russia, India, and Japan, the forum's global weight undoubtedly seems enormous in terms of political importance, economy and trade, or population. Expectations have therefore been high, in particular as Europe-Asia relations have been regarded as punching below their weight. ASEM itself contributed to these high expectations by seeking to address lofty goals and very broad objectives aimed at "creating a partnership for greater growth", "maintaining and enhancing peace and stability" or "enhancing mutual awareness and understanding", which gave rise to an overly high number of initiatives and projects of miscellaneous nature. Today, ASEM is criticized for remaining a talking shop that lacks visibility and one that has failed to deliver tangible outcomes.

In view of ASEM's institutional setup, however, ASEM's disappointment performance (for some) was perhaps predictable. In 1996 ASEM set out to promote trade, economy, and investment, while eschewing "sensitive" political issues. In the 2000s political and security-related issues increasingly appeared on the agenda. After the global financial crisis of 2007-2008 sustainable development and non-traditional security issues were emphasized.

Connectivity is the latest overarching banner seeking to tie together dialogue and initiatives on trade, economy, infrastructure, sustainable development, and people-to-people exchanges the agenda has thus been both ambitious and evolving. ASEM's institutional design, however, has not changed radically ASEM remains open, comprehensive, informal and geared toward dialogue and networking. Thisimportance of dialogue to reduce tensions, promote understanding, and facilitate ongoing work elsewhere cannot be denied, but it does set limitations to the extent to which AEM can solve problems in the world. The dual tension existing between informality and institutionalization, and between dialogue and projects leading to tangible outcomes, remains one of ASEM's key challenges for the future.

This tension also forms a central theme in this context. In the area of economy, ASEM has made very limited progress in enhancing Europe-Asia economic relations, and the level of engagement and output that has ensued in this issue area has drastically lost pace as compared to ASEM's initial years. ASEM is therefore in need of new directions to revitalize the so-called economic pillar. ASEM could aim to achieve result-oriented goals that fall under the global multilateral trade agenda, either by setting up a minilateral group aimed at multilateral trade liberalization under the auspices of the WTO or by aiming to launch an ASEM-wide plurilateral FTA in the long term. These ideas only gain in strength in view of the bleak future forecast for the TPP, which has the USA at its core, whereas both in Europe and in Asia strong support still exists for FTA. Also the rise of protectionism including in the USA offers ASEM the chance to rekindle the economic pillar and promote free trade and open markets.

ASEM's security agenda as well as reveals the gap between expectations and ambitions on the one hand and capabilities and achievements on the other. ASEM has very limited resources and a restricted mandate to tackle security-related issues in a result-oriented manner. ASEM's penchant for informality, its excessively ambitious and overly comprehensive agenda, and different modes of governance in Asia and Europe have impeded joint policies in the fields of traditional and non-traditional security alike. A more focused agenda forms a possible way forward, in particular in

the non-traditional security sphere in issues where ASEM can make a difference, even if only as a platform provider for informal discussions.

Cultural cooperation is an issue area that stands out in the ASEM process because it is driven by the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), ASEM's only permanently established institution. While only occupying a residual position at the time of ASEM's creation, social/cultural cooperation has developed into ASEM's most sustainable and effective field of cooperation. ASEF has facilitated the inclusion of civil society in the official process, functioning as a cultural broker and interlocutor between governments and civil society. Cultural cooperation has also increasingly been geared toward policy recommendations, underscoring the more intangible benefits of interaction in this field Furthermore, ASEF has promoted intellectual and educational exchanges and has succeeded in profiling itself as an expert on Asia-Europe relations. Even so, many criticisms directed toward ASEM are reproduced at the ASEF level. An elitist approach, a broad but shallow tackling of issues, and a limited impact are all challenges and shortcomings that show that ASEF is tightly conditioned by ASEM's overall political agenda and limitations. Yet, ASEM draws its strengths from ASEF's success, turning the cultural pillar into a "signature" interregional cooperation that buttress ASEM's relevance and sets it apart from other regional and transregional institutions.

ASEM's efforts to include "the people" in Asia-Europe relations further clear in the parliamentary partnership that gathers in the sidelines of the official process. The Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partnership (ASEP) has grown into an established international parliamentary institution (IPI), a recognized part of the ASEM family, and a valid part of global governance. Nevertheless, the link between ASEP and ASEM remains weak. ASEM's informal nature and focus on dialogue in combination with its elitist history has prevented ASEP from more efficiently feeding into t summit. Diversity, a lack of continuity and prioritization, and insufficient resources are internal challenges that form additional obstacles. Looking ahead to the future, it is vital that ASEP deepens its two-way working relationship with ASEM, in the first place by creating a Standing Committee. Furthermore, AEP has an important role to play in decreasing ASEM's

perceived democratic deficit and increase the accountability of the process. This importance will only increase in the future, in view of ASEP's gradual institutionalization and ASEM's increased readiness to include parallel dialogues into the summits.

Media and the general public are of ASEM's interlinked stakeholder groups. In general visibility and public awareness of ASEM remain low, in spite of several visibility-promoting efforts undertaken during the past two decades. Media attention given to the summits has been higher in Asia than in Europe, but over all it has been declining. Media coverage is most often neutral and varies depending the "home-country" factor of the summit and on eye-catching bilateral meetings taking place in the sidelines. More importantly, both mutual awareness and links between the people of Asia and Europe remain below par. An important socialization process involving both state and non-state actors does take place in ASEM, but it remains oriented toward elites. Promoting a more correct understanding of what ASEM is and does, and expanding outreach beyond the elite level remain important tasks ahead.

Increasing output in the form of more demonstrable outcomes is one way prove the visibility of an international forum. Indeed, the most recent ASEM summit of 2016 underscored the need to implement "substantial human-centered cooperation projects …. Creating opportunities for all and more tangible outcomes". However, no consensus exists as to how to implement this. One possible way forward is to focus on flagship initiatives involving all members and with a focus on connectivity and sustainability. An ASEM Center on Urbanization and an ASEM Center on Human Security and Climate Action, for example, could be created, as urbanization, human security and climate action are crucial issues in which both regions have shared interests.

Furthermore, also in view of recent enlargements, it is clear that today ASEM's interregional forum does not revolve around two clearly demarcated geographic regions. Nevertheless, in addition to bilateral, supranational and multilateral for a,

AEM serves the purpose of bringing together Europe and Asia as regions, and hence aims to turn inter regionalism into practice. Yet internal divisions are obvious in both Europe and Asia. The EU has sought to implement a common European policy toward the Asian region, but European countries each have individual and at best sub-regionally shared priorities targeted toward individual Asian countries, Asia as a region and ASEM as a forum. These interests and strategic orientations are rooted in contingent capacities for engagement, historical backgrounds, or geographic locations. For Asian countries, ASEM remains under-utilized forum, due to perspectives rooted in the historical legacy, a suspicion of Europe's transatlantic ties, and a lack of understanding of an institution such as the EU. Furthermore, ASEM's Asian group is bewilderingly heterogenous, and most countries bestow a high priority level to ASEM when it comes to national policy-making mechanisms, and economic and strategic questions are in need of clearer conceptualization and subsequent institutionalization

More than twenty years of age, ASEM stands at the crossroads. ASEM remains a highly needed forum, in view of the forum's institutional development, the broadened contours and implication of inter regionalism, and the changing international environment. A more focused agenda with result-oriented goals, further efforts to promote the involvement of all stakeholder groups beyond the elite level, and a more dedicated engagement between Asian and European countries in ASEM are all vital tools in bringing the envisaged "Partnership for the Future through Connectivity" to fruition.

IV. LEARNING ACTIVITIES

A.   To give students the opportunity to experience fist-hand how multilateral discussions are carried out and make practical recommendations to ASEM members.

B.   To role-play the respective ASEM Partners' positions and to develop through negotiations a consensus-based Chair's Statement.

C.   To achieve a consensus-based Chair's Statement

D.   Students will disagree on a certain proposal and work to persuade their colleagues of a particular course of action. Some simulations may be unable to provide a consensus on the topic. Such simulation would be very successful, in that they instruct the students in the realities of such decision-making.

Students will conduct one of simulation such as the 9th Edition of Model ASEM in conjunction with the 14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meetings (ASEM FMM14) in Spain.

WHAT IS MODEL ASEM ?

Model ASEM is your first-hand introduction to the exciting world of diplomacy, negotiation and international relations. Being a simulation of the ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM), at the Model ASEM you will have the chance to step into the shoes of ASEM Foreign Ministers and along with other students, debate and exchange perspectives on current political and bi-regional issues.

The Model ASEM series organised by ASEF is unique as it takes place in conjunction with official ASEMFMMs and hence provides participants with a golden opportunity to personally interact with ASEM Foreign Minister and government officials.

Model ASEM 9th Edition

In conjunction with the 14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEM FMM14)

1 Diplomatic Youth Conference

11–16 December 2019 | Madrid, Spain | #ModelASEM9

PARTICIPANTS

>8000
Young people expressed their views through the ASEM-Wide Youth Survey on Effective Multilateralism

128 Participants

51 ASEM Nationalities

35% Asian
40% European
25% Local Spanish

48% Male
52% Female

MEDIATORS' TRAINING

5 Day Capacity Training in Malta

14 Resource Persons trained

43% Male
57% Female

PROGRAMME

6 Weeks Online Preparatory Phase including webinars, research, individual tasks, and group collaborations

5 Day programme on-site in Madrid including simulations of plenary sessions, bilateral meetings, and Senior Officials Meetings
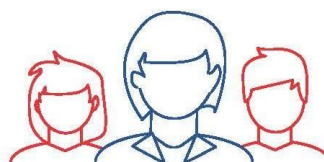
7 Skill-based workshops on cultural diplomacy, election security, protocol, fake news, negotiation, public interviews, and public speaking

18 Study visits to ASEM Embassies: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Sweden, Switzerland, and Thailand

ASEFEdu

3 ASEM Leaders Dialogues

Dialogue sessions with:

Slovakia
» **HE Dr Miroslav LAJČÁK**, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs for the Slovak Republic
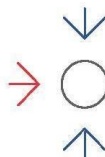
Spain
» **Mr Fernando M. VALENZUELA MARZO**, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
» **Ambassador Ana SALOMON**, Director General for North America, Eastern Europe, Asia and Pacific

19 Personal meetings between participants and ASEM Foreign Ministers and Officials from:

» ASEAN Secretariat
» Austria
» Bangladesh
» Brunei Darussalam
» Bulgaria
» Cambodia
» Japan
» Luxembourg
» Malta
» Myanmar
» Norway
» Philippines
» Romania
» Singapore
» Slovakia
» Slovenia
» Spain
» Switzerland
» Thailand

1 Youth Intervention at the 14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting

Calling for **"A structured dialogue between ASEM Leaders and the Youth integrated into the ASEM Process"**

Co-organised with:
» Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union & Cooperation (MAUEC), Spain
» Casa Asia

In Partnership with:
» Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), Switzerland
» Universidad Compultense de Madrid

Supporting ASEM Partners:
Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Japan

ASIA-EUROPE FOUNDATION

Model ASEM 9th Edition

Asia-Europe Meeting

In conjunction with the 14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meetings (ASEM FMM14)

Overview

Organised by

ASIA-EUROPE FOUNDATION

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA — MINISTERIO DE ASUNTOS EXTERIORES, UNIÓN EUROPEA Y COOPERACIÓN

CASA ASIA

In Partnership with

Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE MADRID

Contributing to

Asia-Europe Meeting
ASEM FMM 14 - MADRID 2019

WHAT IS #MODELASEM9?

The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) is an intergovernmental process established in 1996 to foster dialogue and cooperation between Asia and Europe. Presently it comprises 53 partners: 30 European and 21 Asian countries, the European Union and the ASEAN Secretariat. ASEM addresses Political, Economic, and Social, Cultural & Educational issues of common interest, in a spirit of mutual respect and equal partnership. More information: www.ASEMInfoBoard.org

Model ASEM is your first-hand introduction to the exciting world of diplomacy, negotiation and international relations. Being a simulation of the ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM), at the Model ASEM you have the chance to step into the shoes of ASEM Foreign Ministers and along with other students, debate and exchange perspectives on current political and bi-regional issues.

The Model ASEM series organised by ASEF is unique as it takes place in conjunction with official ASEMFMMs and hence provides you with a golden opportunity to personally interact with ASEM Foreign Ministers and government officials.

Key characteristics of Model ASEM

- Provides you with a platform to engage with the ASEM process and personally meet with your Foreign Minister

- Offers you the opportunity to fine-tune your skills in the fields of diplomacy, negotiation, consensus-building and public speaking

- Enhances your understanding of the ASEM process and Asia-Europe relations and opens a network of Asia-Europe enthusiasts

Check here the video highlights and photos from past Model ASEM editions in Myanmar and Mongolia, held in conjunction with the 13th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM13) and the 12th ASEM Summit (ASEM12) respectively.

The 9th Model ASEM will take place on 11-16 December 2019 in Madrid. Spain, in conjunction with the 14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM14). The agenda and programme of the 9th Model ASEM will closely follow the actual proceedings of the ASEMFMM14, and the theme of both meetings will be "*Asia & Europe – Together for Effective Multilateralism*".

PROGRAMME HIGHLIGHTS
The 9th Model ASEM is built on 3 programme elements:

Online Preparatory Phase (ca. 6 weeks)
Prior to simulating your role as a Foreign Minister or Delegation member at the 9th Model ASEM, you will attend online crash courses on policy making, webinars on Asia-Europe relations and complete individual and group tasks and research. During this phase, you might also get in touch with officials at Ministries of Foreign Affairs to build up a stronger expertise on ASEM.

5-day conference in Madrid
The programme in Spain consists of plenary sessions and thematic working groups with a focus on the key topics also discussed by the ASEM Foreign Ministers at the ASEMFMM14. As a concrete outcome, you will develop a consensus-based Chair's Statement which will be presented to the ASEM Foreign Ministers at the Opening Ceremony of the ASEMFMM14.

In addition, you will also participate in practical trainings, and visit Diplomatic Missions of ASEM countries and International Organisations located in Madrid to gain an in-depth knowledge about their operations and functions.

14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM14)
The grand finale: 4 student participants will present the Chair's Statement and a summary of the project's outcomes to the ASEM Foreign Ministers at the Opening Ceremony of the ASEMFMM14. All participants will also have the possibilities to meet ASEM Foreign Ministers and Delegation members on the side-lines of the ASEMFMM14.

WHAT DO I GAIN?
Opportunity to interact with ASEM Foreign Ministers & Officials
You will have the rare chance to meet and interact with ASEM Foreign Ministers and Delegation members as well as with representatives of ASEM Diplomatic Missions and International Organisations.

Diplomacy skills-training
Our renowned think-tank partners and experienced alumni will train you to master the skills of public speaking, negotiation, teamwork, problem solving, policy, advocacy and consensus-building.

Contribute to the ASEM Process
Model ASEM will contribute to a continued strong youth presence in the ASEM Process. Play your role by participating in the political dialogue between Asia and Europe.

RESULTS OF #MODELASEM9 FEED INTO

ASEM Ministerial Meetings and ASEM activities:
   »   14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM14), 15-16 December 2019, Madrid, Spain
   »   13th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM13), 16-17 November 2020, Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Organised by

In Partnership with

Supported by

Contributing to:

ASEF's contribution is made possible by the support from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs

ASEF's contribution is made possible with the financial support from the Government of Japan

Visual Concept
The Model ASEM design focuses on tangible elements and tools used in the world of international relations and diplomacy. Simple but powerful, each visual represents the foundations of ASEM: diversity of cultures, consensus building, exchange of perspectives, participation in dialogue and negotiation, and opportunities for better mutual understanding and knowledge.

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V. LEARNING EVALUATIONS

Evaluation comprises of some questions based on materials for students :

A.   to understand the purpose of Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) summit
B.   to learn about the individual countries and leaders within ASEM and learn about ASEM policy areas and current events in Europe and Asia
C.   to develop a sense of inter-governmental decision-making in the ASEM. The participants often disagree on ASEM matters. These disagreements result in watered-down proposals or deadlock.
D.   to disagree on certain proposal and work to persuade their colleagues of a particular course of action. Some simulations may be unable to provide consensus n the topic. Such simulations would be very successful, in that they instruct the students in the realities of such decision-making.

There are evaluations for open questions for students :

No.	Question	Answer
1.	What are the purpose of Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) ?	Since the inception of the Asia-Europe Meeting in 1996, it has been the forum's objective to enhance political dialogue, strengthen economic cooperation, and promote socio-cultural exchange between the two regions.
2.	What are the pillars of ASEM cooperation ?	The pillars of ASEM cooperation are political dialogue, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural exchange
3.	Why the regions need ASEM ?	ASEM remains important for multiple reasons. First, ASEM represents the combined weight of Asia and Europe, and underscores the political, economic, and sociocultural interdependency between both continents. As such it serves as a

No.	Question	Answer
		mirror of the progress that both regions have made in establishing a political dialogue; in promoting two-way trade and investment; in enhancing cultural and social exchange; and in involving different stakeholders groups in order to include a bottom-up dimension to a summit-level process. Second, ASEM remains a crucial test case of inter-regional engagement in practice. It provides an important opportunity to observe what happens to the contours of inter regionalism, when a large number of states and non-state actors from two regions in addition to two regional organizations come together in an international institution. Third, ASEM's significance as a dialogue forum is only growing, in particular in an era of political polarization, increasing economic inequality, rising populism, and transnational challenges (often referred to as non-traditional security challenges) such as climate change, sustainable development, and migration. Importantly, ASEM is still a forum without the United States. The absence of the United States and the focus on dialogue can also continue facilitating the engagement and "socialization" of emerging regional and global powers, such as China, Russia, and India.

No.	Question	Answer
		Fourth AEM's role as a forum gathering not only political leaders, but also business people, academic communities, civil society representatives and NGOs, parliaments, labor for a, and youth is gaining in importance. ASEM's "democratic dimension" has made significant progress, and both horizontal communication between the different stakeholder groups and the input they can deliver to the government level will be key defining factors for the future of the forum.
4.	What are some core challenges of ASEM ?	A first key observation is that ASEM remains foremost a forum for dialogue. Including members such as the EU, China, Russia, India, and Japan, the forum's global weight undoubtedly seems enormous in terms of political importance, economy and trade, or population. Expectations have therefore been high, in particular as Europe-Asia relations have been regarded as punching below their weight. Today, ASEM is criticized for remaining a talking shop that lacks visibility and one that has failed to deliver tangible outcomes. In view of ASEM's institutional setup, however, ASEM's disappointment performance (for some) was perhaps predictable. In 1996 ASEM set out to promote trade, economy, and

No.	Question	Answer
		investment, while eschewing "sensitive" political issues. In the 2000s political and security-related issues increasingly appeared on the agenda. After the global financial crisis of 2007-2008 sustainable development and non-traditional security issues were emphasized. Connectivity is the latest overarching banner seeking to tie together dialogue and initiatives on trade, economy, infrastructure, sustainable development, and people-to-people exchanges the agenda has thus been both ambitious and evolving. ASEM's institutional design, however, has not changed radically. The dual tension existing between informality and institutionalization, and between dialogue and projects leading to tangible outcomes, remains one of ASEM's key challenges for the future. In the area of economy, ASEM has made very limited progress in enhancing Europe-Asia economic relations, and the level of engagement and output that has ensued in this issue area has drastically lost pace as compared to ASEM's initial years. ASEM is therefore in need of new directions to revitalize the so-called economic pillar. Also the rise of protectionism including in the USA offers ASEM the chance to rekindle the economic pillar and promote free trade and open markets.

No.	Question	Answer
		ASEM's security agenda as well as reveals the gap between expectations and ambitions on the one hand and capabilities and achievements on the other. ASEM has very limited resources and a restricted mandate to tackle security-related issues in a result-oriented manner. ASEM's penchant for informality, its excessively ambitious and overly comprehensive agenda, and different modes of governance in Asia and Europe have impeded joint policies in the fields of traditional and non-traditional security alike. Cultural cooperation is an issue area that stands out in the ASEM process because it is driven by the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), ASEM's only permanently established institution. Furthermore, ASEF has promoted intellectual and educational exchanges and has succeeded in profiling itself as an expert on Asia-Europe relations. Even so, many criticisms directed toward ASEM are reproduced at the ASEF level. An elitist approach, a broad but shallow tackling of issues, and a limited impact are all challenges and shortcomings that show that ASEF is tightly conditioned by ASEM's overall political agenda and limitations.

No.	Question	Answer
5.	What are the objectives of Model of ASEM ?	Model ASEM is your first-hand introduction to the exciting world of diplomacy, negotiation and international relations. Being a simulation of the ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM), at the Model ASEM you will have the chance to step into the shoes of ASEM Foreign Ministers and along with other students, debate and exchange perspectives on current political and bi-regional issues. The Model ASEM series organised by ASEF is unique as it takes place in conjunction with official ASEMFMMs and hence provides participants with a golden opportunity to personally interact with ASEM Foreign Minister and government officials.

The special assignment for students to conduct a meeting simulations. This simulation for students :

A.   To host a political simulation of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Summit : Opening Ceremony, Statements by Delegates, Plenary Session, Thematic Working Groups, and Closing of the Chair's Statement
B.   To deliver Chair's Statement
C.   To achieve a consensus-based Chair's Statement

Chair's Statement[1]
"Asia & Europe - Together for Effective Multilateralism"

1. The 9th Model ASEM was held on 11-16 December 2019, in conjunction with the 14th Asia-Europe Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM14) in Madrid, Spain. Under the theme *"Asia & Europe - Together for Effective Multilateralism"* more than 150 student delegates from all 53 ASEM Partners attended the meeting. Model ASEM is a political simulation of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) where youth participants are invited to role-play their respective ASEM Partners' positions and negotiate a consensus-based Chair's Statement. At the 9th Model ASEM, participants simulated the role of ASEM Partners' Foreign Ministers at the ASEMFMM14.

2. Model ASEM Leaders acknowledged that the agenda of the recent 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was held on September 2019 in New York, United States of America, was highly relevant to ASEM Partners. The agenda includes the promotion of sustained economic growth and sustainable development, maintenance of international peace and security and combating international terrorism of all forms. Model ASEM Leaders noted with satisfaction that the 13th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEMFMM13) Chair's Statement committed to "Strengthening Partnership for Peace and Sustainable Development".

3. United in the belief in the strengths of cultural diversity and transcontinental prospects for peace and stability, the Model ASEM Leaders raised 12 areas of major concern on Asia-Europe relations and cooperation in accordance with this year's theme *"Asia & Europe - Together for Effective Multilateralism"*. These were organised across 6 thematic areas, in order to comprehensively promote the coordination of sustainable development policies across Asia and Europe.

ASEM's Role in Tackling Climate Change & Global Warming[2]

4. Model ASEM Leaders greatly encourage shared responsibility and capacity building. This includes the promotion of research and investment on climate solutions, such as eco-technology and renewable energy through source reduction, sustainability, innovation, and viability. The Leaders encourage knowledge sharing of leading innovative solutions and mitigation to climate change between countries and industries, promoting and implementing their best practices. The Leaders further endorse the exploration of disaster mitigation strategies to ensure human safety and ecological wellbeing. Following this, Model ASEM Leaders are committed to finding methods and tools which will adapt key industries, such as but not limited to, agriculture to the changing climate, while also reducing harmful environmental impacts industries contribute. New solutions

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[1] As *Model ASEM is a simulation-based project*, the points listed in this Chair's Statement do not necessarily correspond with the positions of the organisers or the youth participants.
[2] The text in black were finalised during the final plenary of the 9th Model ASEM based on consensus. The text in blue from paragraph 12 onwards were based on the draft written by the respective Model ASEM Senior Officials' Meeting, see pp 3.

should also respect the ecosystem of the local context and minimize the negative disruption on the livelihood of the local community.

5. The Model ASEM Leaders recognise that all ASEM Partners should make commitments to climate action. The Leaders acknowledge that lower income countries lack the capacity, funding, technology to tackle climate change. Accordingly, the leaders encourage international cooperation between states and non-state stakeholders, particularly in the development of the fields of education, science, and technology. This includes the provision of transparent and monitored economic support for most climate vulnerable countries if needed to achieve climate goals. Model ASEM Leaders stress the need of raising awareness on climate change and engaging as many citizens by recognizing youth as an important mobilised demographic on climate action in society. Model ASEM Leaders are to provide youth with the instruments to act on climate change and actively include youth in the policy process.

Multilateral Cooperation in ASEM on Agenda 2030 & the SDGs

6. Model ASEM Leaders reiterated their commitment towards the United Nations (UN) Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development. Partners stressed the significance of multilateral approaches to create and nurture free trade, skills-training, awareness-building, transparent, efficient, predictable and sustainable development investments with special attention to underserved geographical areas, and accountability of institutions to reduce inequality by also empowering marginalised and under-represented minority groups.

7. Model ASEM Leaders stressed the importance of placing individual suffering, marginalisation, misrepresentation, and exploitation as the highest priority for implementing SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions). In the spirit of effective multilateralism, Model ASEM Leaders agreed to facilitate closer cooperation through promoting and monitoring democratic norms, human rights as well as cross-border cooperation. While corruption, irregular migration, and human trafficking were identified as key areas, leaders also encourage support for open Government partnership.

8. Model ASEM Leaders emphasised multi stakeholder alliances and partnerships between citizens, civil society, private, and public sectors as central elements for sustainable development. Encouraging sensitivity towards the specific resources, and capabilities of each country, Model ASEM Leaders encouraged capacity- and skills-training as well as science and technological cooperation. Model ASEM Leaders called for improving the mechanisms for implementation evaluation.

Cyber & Maritime Security Issues Affecting the ASEM Region

9. Model ASEM Leaders reaffirmed the importance of a multilateral definition of cybercrime in line with the Convention on Cybercrime issued by the Council of Europe. Considering rising disinformation in cyberspace as well as cyber-attacks on the electoral infrastructure, Model ASEM Leaders pointed to the need of common cyber norms and security standards when combating

cybercrime. Model ASEM Leaders stressed the need to introduce proportionate economic and diplomatic responses as well as preventive measures against hostile activities.

10. Model ASEM Leaders called for capacity-building concerning contemporary challenges to cybersecurity through coordinated collaboration between the state, private sector, and civil society. Model ASEM Leaders called for fostering digital literacy in education in the respective partner country.

11. Model ASEM Leaders identified conventional and non-conventional maritime disputes, the nuclearisation on the sea, as well as impediments to safe and sustainable trade as key constraints to maritime security. Leaders urged for diplomatic dialogue and respect for the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the multilateral rules-based order, maritime borders as well as the right of navigation. Leaders emphasised the importance of close collaboration between public, private sector, and international actors to improve awareness as well as information-sharing.

Prevention of Violent Extremism in ASEM Partner Countries[3]

12. The Model ASEM Leaders agreed to strengthen partnerships and collaboration with international organisations, research institutes, and other public and private actors which specialise in peacebuilding in order to tackle the root causes of violent extremism. Leaders called for collective measures allowing for ASEM Partners to prevent elements of violent extremism in their respective communities in order to avoid discrimination. They highlighted the need for collaborative pre-emptive measures that will be primarily undertaken to alert ASEM Partners of threats through early warning exercises. The Leaders agreed to implement policies to tackle terrorist financing as well as its link to illicit trafficking and organised criminal activities through collaboration with international organisations.

13. The Model ASEM Leaders called for the development of the ASEM Regional Inclusive Agenda 2030 on Peace and Security under the title, "Living Together Safely: Building Resilience to Violent Extremism". Under this agenda an action plan would be developed focusing on youth, women, ethnic and religious minorities. The Leaders stressed upon a five-pillar approach to be implemented, including: (i) education policies to strengthen social cohesion and resilience, (ii) nurturing and promoting the expression of cultural diversity, (iii) prevention of cyber extremism through media and information literacy initiatives, (iv) sharing of resources and technical expertise amongst ASEM Partners to effectively combat inequalities in access to resources, (v) and socio-economic and legal policies to promote restorative justice and the provision of similar reintegration initiatives for those groups susceptible to radicalisation.

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[3] *The following paragraphs, marked in blue, were not discussed during the Final Plenary due to time constraint and, hence, have not found a consensus by all participants. These paragraphs were drafted based on participants' discussions during the Model ASEM Senior Officials' Meetings (SOM).*

People-to-People Connectivity in ASEM

14. Model ASEM Leaders recognise the pivotal role that education has in People-to-People connectivity. (i) Model ASEM Leaders acknowledge an imbalance in participation in exchange programmes through the tertiary education system across the continents and recommend ASEM Partners to prioritise finding solutions to narrow down the cultural gaps and commit that exchange programme secretariats should monitor results of already existing programmes; (ii) Model ASEM Leaders value cultural exchange as an essential route towards cross-cultural communication and commend the work of ASEF as one of the main actors in bridging a common cultural understanding between Asia and Europe; (iii) Using digitalisation, Model ASEM Leaders call upon ASEM Partners to work multilaterally in building a more accessible and inclusive education system without limits in gender, social background, linguistic bias and ethnicity; (iv) Model ASEM Leaders stressed the importance of vocational education and training mobility programmes and highlighted the importance of businesses and industries to involve themselves in tertiary education.

15. Model ASEM Leaders expressed concern in the unsustainability of tourism and current trading system. (i) Ministries reinforce the concept of sustainable tourism, promoting more inclusiveness by expanding rural tourism of both continents. Model ASEM Leaders encourage ASEM Partners to build partnerships in order to create an inter-ASEM tourism information and resource network. (ii) Model ASEM Leaders recommend a fair and equal trading system across the continents, enhancing the investment in local industries and local resources. In the purview of international trade and to enhance the economic flourishment of both continents in a sustainable manner, Model ASEM Leaders aim to reduce transnational transaction costs whilst improving connected economic relationship between ASEM Partners.

Infrastructure & Technology Partnerships for Sustainability

16. Recalling the outcomes of the Global Infrastructure Forum 2018, Model ASEM Leaders consider possible means of infrastructure financing, through including but not limited to public-private partnerships, multilateral institutions and innovative partner financing, whilst considering the appropriate use of private sector investments, and underscoring the importance to prioritize sustainability in agricultural, urban, rural and mass production schemes through automation, lean manufacturing, smart devices utilizing Internet of Things and blockchain technology, maritime connectivity and green infrastructure that could accommodate twinning of protected areas.

17. Recognizing the disruptive nature of Industry 4.0 and reiterating the outcome of the 6th Meeting of the ASEM Pathfinder Group on Connectivity (APGC6) in 2018, Model ASEM Leaders called for patent protection on an international level in order to facilitate competitiveness of cutting edge technologies, and acknowledged the need to enhance access to new technological advancements and innovations derived from technical know-how development through promotion of higher education as a key element in order to vitalize the human capital.

Model ASEM 9th Edition

Asia-Europe Meeting

In conjunction with the 14th ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meetings (ASEM FMM14)

Concluding Remarks

18. The Model ASEM Leaders express their sincere gratitude to all Model ASEM Partners, and in particular both the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) for organising this educational project and the host country Spain for its strong political and financial support, as well as the remarkable hospitality extended to all participants throughout their time in Madrid. The Model ASEM Leaders recommend Ministers from ASEM Partners to consider proposals put forward in the Statement and support the continuation of this Forum as the official ASEM Youth side event of the ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meetings and encouraged ASEM Partners to support potential spin-off activities in their own countries.

VI. MAIN READINGS

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Module 4

EUROPEAN UNION - ASEAN RELATIONS

IN THE MODERN ERA

(1977 – 2020)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.   INTRODUCTION

This module discusses about European Union – ASEAN relation, which represents two regions: Europe and Southeast Asia. The regions have experienced various significant development, internally or externally, which contributed to their stronger relation over time. Studies regarding European Union – ASEAN started from partner dialogue period in 1977 which was then institutionally recognized by the signing of ASEAN-EEC Cooperation Agreement on 7 March 1980 all the way until present development (2019), or also known as relation in the modern era.

Studies will be based on various official documents published by the European Union and ASEAN to portray dynamics and evolutions of European Union relation in the period of 1977-2019. Studies will also be based on writings by experts whom study the relations on various dimensions: economy, politics, institution, global.

Official documents published by the European Union regarding partnership with Southeasth Asia or ASEAN are the followings:

- ASEAN-EEC Joint Declaration (Cooperation Agreement) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on March 7, 1980 (https://asean.org/?static_post=external-relations-european-union-asean-eu-ministerial-meetings-asean-eec-joint-declaration-1980)

- A New Partnership with South-East Asia (2003) which was published by the European Commission External Relations
(http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/library/publications/2004_seasia_en.pdf)

- Nuremberg Declaration on an EU-ASEAN Enhanced Partnership (2007) (https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/2007_16_nuremberg_declar.pdf)

- Guidelines on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy in East Asia, Council of the European Union, June 15, 2012 http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/asia/docs/guidelines_eu_foreign_sec_pol_east_asia_en.pdf

- Regional Programming for Asia Strategy Document 2007-2013 by European Commission (http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/asia/docs/rsp/07_13_en.pdf)

- The EU and ASEAN: A Partnership with a Strategic Purpose (Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council) 2015 which is published by High

Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=JOIN:2015:22:FIN&from=EN)

- Bandar Seri Begawan Plan of Action to Strengthen the ASEAN-EU Enhanced partnership (2013-2017)
(http://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124481/129884.pdf)
- ASEAN-EU Plan of Action 2018-2022 (https://asean.org/storage/2017/08/ASEAN-EU-POA-2018-2022-Final.pdf)
- EU-ASEAN Cooperation/ASEAN-EU Enhanced Partnership 2014-2022

II. PURPOSE OF LEARNING

Expected results from the EIIES Module Series 5 learning are the following

- Students can describe the development of European Union – ASEAN relation in the modern era, especially from 1977-2019
- Students can describe the characteristics within the evolution of the European Union – ASEAN partnership
- Students can describe European Union's vision regarding ASEAN and ASEAN's vision regarding European Union

III. MAIN ISSUES

- Historical perspective on Europe – Asia relation
- European Union's vision regarding ASEAN and ASEAN's vision regarding European Union
- Evolution of European Union – ASEAN relation in the time period of 1997-2020
- EU-ASEAN Partnership in the prevention of COVID-19 Pandemic

IV. LEARNING ACTIVITIES

1. Understanding the historical perspective of Europe – Asia relation
2. Understanding European Union's vision regarding ASEAN and ASEAN's vision regarding European Union
3. Understanding the evolution of European Union – ASEAN relation throughout its journey since 1977 to 2020
4. EU-ASEAN partnership in preventing COVID-19 pandemic

A. Activity 1: Understanding the Historical Perspective of Europe – Southeast Asia

The Europe-Southeast Asia relation cannot be separated from historical footprints of Europeans presence in the Southeast Asia region. According to M.G. Ricklefs, et al (2013), the map of South East Asia is portrayed completely in terms of shape during the period of Southeast Asian's classic kingdoms (around 800-1400), Mainland SoutheastAsia (around 1400-1800), Maritime Southeast Asia (around 1400-1850), Mainland Southeast Asia and Maritime Southeast Asia during colonial times; as well as present-days Southeast Asia where modern nations are formed. Characteristics that stand out from Southeast Asia are diversity in ethnics, cultures and languages. Archeologic evidences show that these diversities already exist since thousand of years ago. Pre-historical evidences are constantly reconstructed to create a general conclusion especially regarding agriculture, social hierarchies, religions and social migrations.

In terms of languages, for example, 'original' Southeast Asia languages can be categorized to one of different five language roots: Austroasia, Austronesia, Tai, Tibet-Burma and Hmong-Mien (Ricklefs et.al 2013). These 'original' languages have not included languages used by Chinese and Indian immigrants whom later come. Austroasia language (mon Khmer) includes Vietnamese and Cambodian (Khmer) languages, as well as Mon language typically used in some parts of Myanmar and Thailand and languages from some ethnic groups which spread in highlands of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. Mon-Khmer is also used by some groups found in South Thailand and Malaysia. Whereas, Austronesia language (Malay-Polynesia) is commonly found in archipelagic Southeast Asian countries, including all languages used in Indonesia and the Phillipines. On the other hand, Tai (Tai Kadai)

includes regions from both border sides of China-Vietnam all the way to Assam in south east India. This language includes national languages of Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Myanmar. Tibet-Burma langate root also includes Burmese language, Myanmar national language as well diverse selection of languages used in northern part of Southeast Asia highlands. Hmong-Mien language root (previously called as Miao-Yao) is used by Chinese immigrant descendants whom lives in highlands of Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand in the last century.

Cultures of Southeast Asia, in general, are beliefs and animism rituals (beliefs of spirits), which are categorized to several types (watchers, ancestor spirits, protector gods). Monotheism arrives in Southeast Asia together with the spread of Islam and Christianity; although polytheism is still spread out in some cultures (e.g. China, Burma, North Thailand, Minahasa).

Families and kinships are fundamental within the Southeast Asia societies and line of descent becomes foundational for most society groups with varying signifances and functions. Village is the typical political-social unit and develops a more formal leadership structure under a ruler such as tribal chief or king (chiefdom).

The history of Southeast Asia cannot be fully understood without pre-historical and proto-historical knowledge, a period in which certain regions do not provide written notes except foreign sources at a bare minimum. More detailed information can be found from third and fourth centuries Chinese sources and Sanskrit inscriptions as well as local languages. Historians fully realize the needs of undistorted Southeast Asia histories by Chinese writer sources and Western imperialism, so they start to use local evidences; although Chinese and Indian culture twin influence phenomenon highly influences within the Southeast Asia region and essential for the cultural evolution in the region. Exposure regarding the history of Southeast Asia does not start with dominances of foreign cultures like Indian/Chinese, but historians emphasize on (i) gradual process of cultural change that moves from pre-historical period to proto-historical period (not sudden as an impact from either Indian or Chinese cultures) and (ii) economic activities that connect Southeast Asia region with Indian Ocean and other places for several centuries prior to Indianization of cultures getting noticed (Ricklefs 2013: 79). In other words, dynamical trades which occur during the last centuries of the B.C period are recognized.

Indianization and Chinaization

Influences of Indian cultures are spread throughout Southeast Asia, which can be identified in terms of language and culture. The phenomenon is usually also called 'Sanskritinization' with the earliest evidence of Sanskirt inscriptions in various places in Southeast Asia. Others prefer the term 'Hindunization' with emergence of Hindu gods concept such as Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma. Indianization reaches almost all Southeast Asia land regions including archipegic regions, which are Java and Bali. The main point of Indianization is the acceptance of Indian religion practices in forms of worshipping of Hindu and Buddha gods. Buddha religion which is spread in Southeast Asia is Mahayana from India with Sanskrit as its holy language. Massive displacement of Theravada believers due to influences by Sri Lanka.

Influences by Chinese cultures in present-day North Vietnam regions occur in the early second century A.D. These regions were integrated in the Nanyue (Nam Viet) kingdom and ruled by an emperor after the fall of Qin Dynasty for 70 years until the forming of Han Dynasty. Han Dynasty consolidated its ruling in both sides of modern China-Vietnam border. Chinese ruling lasts to the early 10th century when the fall of Tang Dynasty provided Vietnam with an opportunity to declare independence. Period that lasts for centuries known as Thoi Bac Thuoc (dominance period or Northern subordination), which occured between rebellions due to instability and dynasty changes in China. Important aspects of Chinese influances are value systems and beliefs where the essence of Chinese culture is formed from three sets of values known as Sanjiao. Sanjiao consists of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.

Classic Nations and Peak of Glory Era

Understanding of Southeast Asia is not complete without mentioning various classic nations that represent classic period between year 800 and 1300. Nations to be discussed within this classic period are big nations with longer governance period which also possess stable political centers. In other words, geographic centers, culturesand politics of these kingdoms last for centuries with changing areas and borders. Information about these kingdoms are available through local evidences instead of foreign sources, such as architectural heritages, inscriptions and chronicles. Framework specification of the classic period era is different in different nations. For example,

period of Cambodia began from the forming of Angkor Kingdom (in the early years of the ninth century) up to the shift of Cambodian center of power from Angkor in mid 1300s. Time framework for Cham history was about the same. On the other hand, Burma Pagan kingdom was established in the middle of the ninth century and lasted to the end of 1200s.

Southeast Asia's Appeal for Non-indigeneous People

Geographically, the main characteristic of Southeast Asia is that it acts as intersection (Lombard 1996: 11) or crossroad (Lombard 1996: 173). No wonder that many kinds of people meet and various ideas interconnect and influence each other. The "meeting" of these various communities does not occur in peaceful conditions. Often times, conflicts, even violences, occur prior to a community or a non-indigeneous element is accepted and assimiliated. Archipelago society or maritime society such as Nusantara tends to be "open-minded" and does not close its eyes with the arrival of new ideas as explained in analyses regarding cultures and religions. The phenomenon of hybrid community called *creole, mestizo* shows the feature within Southeast Asia as crossings of various ethnics, religions and cultures. Prior to Western colonialization era, interactions of various Southeast Asia communities are done through trade mechanisms, especially by the Chinese, Indian, Arabs and European. Analyses regarding the presence dynamics of non-European nations are not discussed here, considering that the focus of the analysis is the historical perspective of Europe-Southeast Asia relation.

European Nations in Southeast Asia

Ricklefs in his book portrays European nations in the South East Asia context as the following (Rickles 2013: 189):

During 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ century Europe (Christian) in the global context was realtively underdeveloped region. Technologically in most area was lower compare to China. The Viking non Christian has been sailed bravely to the Atlantic Ocean, but in the 14ᵗʰ China was the biggest sailor nation in the world through its Zheng He fleets. Form the cultural aspect, it was not Christian culture at that time that spread to the whole world, but Islam. On 1453 the Turky

Kingdom of Ottoman conquered Konstantinopel that meant the end of Bizantium (Rome). On 1529 Ottoman encircled Vienna although it was failed. Again on 1683 they failed to conquered Vienna. Spain and Portugal were the first European nations that initiate. The Arabic soldiers conquered Iberian strait on 8ᵗʰ century where the Christian Europe fought back to reconquered. Therefore reconquista was started in the early phase of Moslem power and based on Christian perspective step by step it was connected to Cross War in the middle age against Moslem (1095-1492). War and peace era alternately, either border situation that was fluctuative, but on 13ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ reconquista lastly won. The most important moment to be turning point was among other things reconquered of Cordoba (1236), Sevilla (1248) and Granada (1492) which ended the power of Moor in th Iberian Strait. Year of 1492 was the historical moment since after several months of the fall of Granada, Christopher Columbus – an Italian navigator with his experience in Portugal was conducting sailing in the name of King Castile of Spain – found a new world, that was America.

How do Europeans, by sailing across oceans for thousand of kilometres and travelling around the world for the first, manage to become a powerhouse in Southeast Asia? Three revolutionary factors can be said, which are *shipbuilding*, *navigation* and *war*. Mid-centuries European sailing ships with square sail (*galley*) powered by paddles do not face obstacles when crossing the Mediterranean. However, this kind of ships are not suitable for long-distance ocean sailing. Therefore, Europeans use triangle-shaped lateen sail from the Arabs for maneuverability that allow ships to be closer to wind. When Lateen sail is combined with square sail, European ships have higher speed with better supporting standards (Rickles 2013: 190-191).

Navigation factor is also very important. Mid-century sailing generally pivots to land positions. When land positions are unseen, sailors must navigate using positions of sun, moon and stars. The use of this technique depends on astronomy knowledge and Arabian astronomy is advance in Europe. That is why lots of astronomy and scientific terms as well as star names in European languages are derived from Arab languages, such as algebra (al-jebr), Algoritma (al-khawariszmi), Alphard (al-fard), etc. Using *cross-staff* (a tool to determine the latitude position of a ship on sea by measuring the height of sun) and *astrolabe* (a tool to measure slope used to determine the longitude

position of a ship by measuring the height of sun in noon), sailors can determine coordinate positions without seeing lands.

Weaponry system is also an important factor. European ships during wars can be used as floating platforms for archers and wreckers, whereas Asian ships are only equipped with light weaponry, or even none. In the early 14th century, gunpowder, which is not a new item in China, is introduced in Europe and brings massive influences for land and sea wars. Furthermore, Europe advancement in metallurgy allows Europeans to create heavier cannons placed in lower deck of their ships. This allows for the invention of water-resistant porthole so that waves and ship's tilting do not cause flooding on lower decks. With advancement in weaponry techniques, ships are readily available to become floated artillery platform and allow for continuous cannot shots from one side of ship. With better ships, higher speed and easier manueverability as well as cannon and navigation technologies, therefore European nations start their exploration to Asia.

Another motivation for European nations to come to Asia is the needs of spices to preserve meat. Spices (pepper, nutmeg, mace, clove) are very good preservatives and commodities typically brought by Muslim merchants to Europe through Asia networks. European nations want to get rid of Muslim merchants, whom are also their old enemies by trying to rule over the spice islands. Another information portraying the appeal of Asia is the Marco Polo stories in the 10th century.

Spain and Portugal in Southeast Asia

During the 15th century, the Portuguese started its exploration outside of Europe. Their first colony was Ceuta in Morocco (1415). Then, Ceuta was given to Spain in the 17th century and was still an independent city under Spain. The Portuguese then moved south along the Africa west coast with hopes of arriving in Asia. Their motto was "Gold, Gold and Glory" with Prince Henry the Navigator as the main figure. After the death of Prince Henry (1460), Bartholomeus Dias surrounded the Cape of Hope (1488) and opened the route to India. However, the first person to reach India was Vasco de Gama (1497). While there, the Portuguese found extraordinary natural resources and diversity of goods in the Asian market which made them realize about the limitation of European goods to compete in the Asian market. Finally, the approach being used was not through trade but dominating trade through military power. Aphonso Afonso de Albuquerque as the naval commander was tasked to seize strategic points in the Asian trade route.

The first step was to defeat Socotra (now is a part of the Republic of Yemen) in 1507 near the Horn of Africa. This is followed by the conquest of Goa on the west coast of India (1510) for 451 years until the Indian government kicked them away. After controlling strategic posts in the west end of Asia and India trade network, the Portuguese went to an important entreport in Southeast Asia, which was Malacca. Portuguese King sent a messenger to create a friendly agreement with Sultan Mahmud Syah (1488-1528), however this effort ended in conflicts because Muslim merchants persuaded Mahmud not to deal with European nations. Eventually, Albuquerque attacked Malacca. After a series of wars with cannons and artillery technologies, Malacca finally fell to the hands of the Portuguese. By occupying Malacca – the Archipelago's west side of trade network city – 'Spice Island' became nearer. 1512 was the year of Portuguese's first sail to the Spice Island.

When the Portuguese explored the east part of the world to reach Asia, the Spanish explored to the west by crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Columbus finally reached America (1492) for the first time and assumed he had reached India.

The competition between the Portuguese and the Spanish regarding rights of dominations of what they had found caused Pope Alexander VI to draw a virtual line from north to south on the Atlantic Ocean. The line stated that whatever was to the west of the line belonged to the Spanish and whatever was to the east of the line belonged to the Portuguese. The Portuguese was not satisfied with this arrangement and in 1494 the Portuguese and Spanish negotiators created their own agreements, which still aligned with initial ideas that both Europe countries could divide Earth into two and each country took half part. In the Tordesillas Agreement, which wass ratified by the Pope, they agreed that the line that refered to discovery locations in America became the property of Spain and what the Portuguese found along the African coast became the property of Portugal. This line was made in such a way that Brazil was part of the Portugal side. This agreement still posed an issue because no one knew where the line was going to be if drawn surrounding the world. This issue occured when the Spain arrived in the Philippines.

The discovery of America by the Spanish allowed it to become the richest nation in Europe, primarily caused by massive discoveries of gold and silver. Nevertheless, the Spanish still looked for routes to reach the 'Spice Island' which meant crossing the biggest ocean that was the Pacific Ocean. First expedition to cross the Pacific Ocean was led by Portuguese sailor Fedinand Magellan between 1519-1522. After getting

through a series of difficulties such as rebellions, shipwreck, diseases and depleting food and supplies, in 1521 the expedition reached the Phillipines where Magellen was killed during a commotion. The presence of the Spanish in the Phillipines initiated ownership problems with the Portuguese as well as the claim of legal ownership of 'Spice Island'. In 1529, both parties agreed with the Treaty of Zaragosa which set the distribution of region ownership in the South East Asia. As per the Treaty, the Spanish claimed the Phillipines whereas the Portuguese claimed the Moluccas. History later noted that the Spanish gave massive impacts to the Phillipines society, whereas the Portuguese did not leave any influential social impacts although the Portuguese managed to take Malacca as well as positioned itself in Eastern Indonesia. Generally, the Portuguese was also unable to dominate the spice trades in Indonesia because during the 16th century the Portuguese received resistances and its presence was replaced by Northern Europe nations.

The Northern Europeans

Spices as preservatives are still important trading commodities in Europe. In the 16th century, the Portuguese almost had a total monopoly of the spice supplies whereas the Dutch in the North acted as Lisbon middlemen. Other Northern Europeans (Scotland, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemburgh, Switzerland, Ireland, England) were ambitious to gain direct accesses and wanted to cut ties with the Portuguese people. The competition between the Northern Europeans and the Iberians was not just about commercial issues but the issues also involved religions, considering that at the time religion was an important identity in the context of hate due to Protestant reformation.[1]

The people of "Low Land" (present-days Netherland, Belgium and Luxembourg) had important roles in trades as well as past religion conflicts. In the early 16th century, the lands were under the ruling of Spain, however The United Provinces of the Netherlands had initiated an independence war against Spain kings since 1560. The war between Calvinist Dutch and Catholic Spain triggered a populace movement

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[1] The early 16th century was the first step of the Protestant Reformation where the Pope's authority was rejected by Protestant priests as they reasoned that the Catholic Church was corrupt. Faithful people were hoped to return to the Gospel and found truth from it as the true message of Jesus. In general Europe was divided to Protestant region in the North and Catholic region in the South. This difference caused fierce conflicts between 16th and 17th century and the rivalries even lasted all the way to 21st century Europe. Op cit p. 199-200.

in the "Low Land" so that the southern province (present-days Belgium and Luxembourg) became homogenized in Catholic whereas the northern province (present-days Netherlands) became homogenized in Calvinist. When the Spanish and the Portuguese kingdoms united, the Spanish-Dutch war occurred which caused Portuguese spice supplies to Northern Europe to be disturbed. This strengthened the Dutch's reasoning to directly involve in spice trades.

One of the figures that pushed for spice trades was Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch with great understanding of Asian route due to experiences working with the Portuguese. In 1595-1596 van Linschoten published Reys-gheschrift vande navigation der Portugaloysers in Orienten (Travel Accounts of Portuguese Navigation in the Orient) dan Itinerario naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien (Itinerary to the East and the Portuguese Indian). Maps and descriptions about the Portuguese sailing experience caused the Dutch to be more optimistic to find a route. The effort was supported by ships, weaponries, funding and institutions which were stronger than what the Portuguese had. Various wars occurred in Europe during 16th and 17th century acted as main drivers of technology advancement and war organization. The Netherlands under the leader of Prince William of Orange started 80-year war against Spain between 1560 and 1648. After that the Netherlands was involved in the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) and Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). The son of William of Orange, who was Prince Maurits of Nassau, was awarded with the greatest European warrior title in his time. The Netherlands was also able to create successful admirals and military engineers. In practice, the Northern Europe was more advance compared to the South through advancement in artilleries, light weigh weaponries, expertise of siege tactics, creation of defensive units, tactics and logistics. No wonder that a small nation in the most northwest of Europe later managed to be a colonial ruler in the archipelago of Indonesia.

First sail by the Dutch to the Southeast Asia occurred in 1595 led by a Dutch previously working for the Portuguese named Cornelis de Houtman. de Houtman arrived on Banten in 1596 where during the time become ports under the influence of Muslim. Conflicts with local and Portuguese people caused de Houtman to leave Banten and sailed along the Java coastline to Madura and Bali. The expedition finally brought home 89 people from originally 249, however they managed to bring a significant amount of spices to show their successes. de Houtman's mission gave

inspiration to other ship owners to sail to the east. In 1598, there existed 22 ships owned by five different companies whom compete to initiate sailings from the Netherlands. Expedition led by Jacob van Neck managed to reach 'Spice Island' of Moluccas and returned home with significant amount of spice loads with profit margin of 400%. In 1601, no more than 14 different expeditions were ready to go from the Neteherlands. However, the competition between fellow Dutch agents contributed to losses because the increase in demand in Asia that caused price increase, whereas the large supplies in Europe drove down the price. Eventually the Dutch Parliament (*Staten Generaal*) pressured these companies to join in creating Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) – Dutch East Indian Company – with semi-sovereign status. VOC could recruit personnels whom were asked to swear allegiances, sign agreements, construct forts and initiate wars in Asia. The fund of VOC was collected from people whom bought and traded stocks in the Amsterdam stock market, which was deliberately created for that purpose (1602). The small number of Netherlands population (670.000 people in 1620) allowed distribution of stock ownerships to occur smoothly. For the Netherlands, VOC was a 'superior' national company that involved most of the population and working classes. Prosperity brought by the VOC for the Netherlands in the 17th century period was considered as the golden era for the Netherlands.

Other than the Nethelands, England also applied the same model to support colonialization in the North America and started contact with the 'Spice Island' during sailing led by Sir Francis Drake in 1577-1580. In 1591 Queen Elizabeth I agreed on expeditions led by Sir James Lancaster and George Raymond which experienced disasters. Lancaster arrived on Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula as well as crossed West Indies. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth I gave a royal charter to Englih East India Company (EEIC). In 1602 EEIC built a trade office in Banten and stayed as the main post in South East Asia for 80 years. Two years later, sailings led by Sir Henry Middleton arrived on the Molucca, which initiated fierce competitions between England and the Netherlands to rule spice trades. In 1623, conflicts escalated with the Ambon incident in which the Dutch killed 10 English trading agents, 10 Jeang people and a Portuguese accused of conspirations against the VOC. Eventually England stepped back from direct involvement in the Molucca and concentrated on pepper trades in western archipelago. Later, EEIC's activities were not concentrated in Southeast Asia but in India instead, where England developed a foundation of the England Imperium.

Post Pre-modern Nations in South East Asia and Contiguity with

The rise of 'classic' pre-modern nations in the South East Asia is indicated by development of 'modern' new nations through influences of religions, actors and new ideas generally indicated by consolidations, factionalism, revolution and important involvement of European nations. 'Modern' South East Asia nations are not formed only due to global influences but also local cultures, issues, discourses and actors, which processed concepts of foreign cultures to be part of local indigeneous lifes. New global influences, typically, are religions; factors which affect political systems and societies before being messed up by European colonialism.

Brief overview by Rickles has been shown with narrations of various nations which are (i) Burma under the governance of Konbaung Dynasty (1752-1824), (ii) Siam during the Ayutthaya period (1688-1767), King Taksin (1767-1782), (iii) Laos, (iv) Vietnam, (v) Cambodia, (vi) Malay State (1600-1870), (vii) Brunei, (viii) Java (1600-1808) and Indonesian Archipelago (1600-1800), (ix) the Philippines (Risckels 2013: 2016-260).

Colonial Society (1800-1900)

The 19th century is the silent witness of drastic changes within the order of life of Southeast Asia, even the entire world. This period is marked by advancement in science, engineering, medical which mostly were attributed to success by the Western world. England was the first nation to initiate industrialization since the 18th century. This step was then followed by other European nations during the 19th century period. New nations emerged, especially Germany and Italy. Germany became a major industrial nation that created a new constellation in Europe and world geopolitics, which culminated in World War I and World War II in the 20th century. The consequences of industrialization were the increase in demand of raw materials as well as quantities. Development needs of railtracks, steam ships, lead, weapons and machines caused Europe to glance at Southeast Asia (synonymous to spice appeals in the 16th century). For Europe industrialization, Southeast Asia had several strategic bargaining positions such as:

▪ Lead, coal and other minerals required for industrialization

- Rubber and oil which were developed in Southeast Asia and becoming vital in the end of 19th century
- Valuable agriculture products such as rice, sugar and fiber
- Malacca Strait which was an essential shipping route for world trades
- A large population number for labors in plantations and agricultures as well as market potentials for final goods

Various European powers were present in Southeast Asia not only due to commodity and geographic factors but also competitions within their own; they were worried that other European powers would be present in Southeast Asia regions. Also, the Western nations looked at Southeast Asia as opportunities and threats since they had to face with local monarchies whom tried to fight against colonial powers. Modern weaponry factor from the West clearly changed the military balance between them. Changes made by Europeans when facing with complex local realities nevertheless brought significant impacts. Interactions with the West caused divided societies and cultures due colonial powers pegging new borders in Southeast Asia mainlands; the borders which formed present-days nation geographical borders. These land consolidations also separated society groups whom did not see borders as real lines. Europe geopolitical visions where land acted as connectors was contradictory within the Southeast Asia context where water, rivers and seas were connectors (not separators) between them. For example, Sumatra had relations with Malay nations on the Malacca Strait, Borneo was more connected with North Java rather than Brunei in the north, the southern Philippines was more connected with North Borneo. These were due to lands being inaccessible.

Colonial powers also created unity as well as split when Western colonizers were unable to fully govern a place so that they required local allies. On various places, colonial governments created local government elites causing rigid hierarchies and bigger social inequalities, even conflicts. Ethnic division within the social scale a colonial strategy also triggered deepening ethnic/race conflicts. Whereas, the phenomena of local people working together with colonial regimes were not passive actors because many assumed that Western intellectual advancement and Western education could be used to modernize society and remove foreigh governments. The presence of colonial governments was also accompanied by Christian missions in non-Christian world not seldom caused tensions and deepening socio-cultural conflicts due

to societies already embracing certain religions such as Islam or Buddha. It was also worth noted that competitions within Muslim communities themselves also occurred. Specifically, the competition occurred between universalist-reformist Islam and what the West offered. In Malaysia, local elites prevented reformist Islam from building a power basis. Whereas in Thailand, kingdom elites embraced technologies, education and Western governance side by side with reformist Buddha.

B. Activity 2: Understanding European Union's vision regarding ASEAN and ASEAN's vision regarding European Union

It cannot be denied that the existence of European Union Integration has become the sole model for any integration's that appear later. The EU has finalized the whole prototype that can be followed by regionalization including ASEAN. Although both models cannot be compared related to different vision, context, process and agreement during its development process but both have similarity in the whole purpose that is welfare and sustainable development for their people and community. Therefore relation between EU–ASEAN must be seen from the vision of natural cooperation which can sustain for a long term and both will try to find and maintain their own relevance for each other. How importance and strategic EU for ASEAN and vice versa can be analized from their relationship in some areas especially economic, politics and institution.

Economic motivation clearly become the driver of EU-ASEAN engagement. Both have shared objective to retain access to each other's market. EU has interest to maintain dan develop ASEAN's economic integration since its believe that the path to economic integration has advantages for promoting welfare. Although there are some challenges that EU must faced nowdays such as economic crisis or refugee crisis which bring specific implication for the integration like EU.

EU and ASEAN similarity bring common platform for both to continue their interregionalism, like its unity and diversity, democracy, inclusiveness and other values which can promote togetherness and sense of strong identity either ASEANess or EUness among their people. The unique identity of ASEAN and EU can be a identity capital for both to develop synergy in various area of cooperation which not explore yet.

It is very important for the student or civil society to understand historical background of EU and ASEAN so that EU's vision regarding ASEAN and ASEAN's vision regarding EU can be directed to strengthen interregionalism of EU and ASEAN. The impact of strong relationship of EU-ASEAN will be a contribution for regional and International fora.

C. Activity 3: Understanding the Evolution of European Union – ASEAN Relation throughout Its Journey since 1972 to 2020

Informal relation between European Union – ASEAN was established in 1972 through ASEAN Special Coordination Committee. In the same year the ASEAN Brussels Committee (ABC) was established to discuss commercial problems (General System Preference, GSP) with EEC). In 1975, the relation was formalized through ASEAN-EEC Joint Studies Group meant to supervise bigger partnerships between the two parties.

After the announcement regarding the forming of ASEAN-EC formal relation in 1977, a complete international dialogue started to emerge. The relation was brought to a higher level when regular contacts between two regions was elevated to ministries level. The first ministry-level EEC-ASEAN meeting was helt in Brussel in November of 1978. Since then, these meetings are held with interval of about 18 months. These meeetings are key elements for widening the EU-ASEAN dialogues.

In March 1980, a partnership agreement between European Community and ASEAN nations was signed in EC-ASEAN ministry-level meetings held in Kuala Lumpur. The agreement opened ways for closer economic and trade relations between the two parties. The work framework agreement would set objectives for commercial, economic and development partnerships. These were meant to promote trades, investments and business between the two regions.

ASEAN-EU relation was marked by conflicts in the 1990s. Human rights were the examples of the conflicts. East Timor and Burma were examples of human right conflicts which resolved by turning them into bilateral issues of Indonesia and Portugal as well as Burma and EU, respectively. Two of these parties mentioned the conflict

topics during discussions between ASEAN and EU. With East Timor's independence, Timor Leste was not part of ASEAN-EU burden anymore.

EU-ASEAN dialogues were restored in 1994. Foreign affair ministries who attended the 11th ministry-level EU-ASEAN meeting in Germany formed Leading People Group for comprehensive approaches regarding ASEAN-EU relation. Going into 2000 and onwards, comprehensive approaches to develop ASEAN-EU relations regarding politics and security, economy as well cultures were agreed upon.

In 1996 EU and ASEAN + 3 (China, Japan and South Korea) formed the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and held the first summit meeting in Thailand. The Summit determined major and ambitious programs for future EU-Asia partnerships in several sectors. New partnership sectors were also discussed such as handling global issues and strengthening the initiatives of regional integration within ASEAN itself.

In September 2001, motivated by the needs to revitalize EU-ASEAN relation, EU Commission published Communication regarding "Europe and Asia, a Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships', which was supported by EU Council and EU Parliament.

In 2007, the Declaration of Nuremberg regarding improvement of EU-ASEAN partnership was signed. In the same year, Action plan to implement the declaration was adopted. EU and its country members pointed an Ambassador as Representative for ASEAN in 2009 as soon as ASEAN Charter was in effect. Following ASEAN Charter, EU and ASEAN started to expand partnerships. In 2011, ASEAN-EU Business Summit (AEBS) was held for the first time.

In 2012, EU and ASEAN signed a 5-year action plan in Bandar Sri Begawan, Brunei, to provide a political framework meant to strengthen dialogues. This EU-ASEAN Action Plan was meant to implement the EU-ASEAN Enhanced Partnership Declaration of Nuremberg (2007-2012). The main objective was to accommodate partnerships beyond political partnerships (political issues), although it has not jumped to new partnerships. It was more meant on efforts to formalize projects in which both parties could partner in politic-security and social-cultural sectors other than economy

and trades. Both parties also agreed to yearly meeting as mechanisms to be done through ASEAN-EU Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) and ASEAN-EU Senioor Officials Meeting (SOM), with the climax that was the EU ASEAN Foreign MinistersMeeting. The first meeting between EU-ASEAN Committees of Permanent Representative occurred in February 2014 on Brussels. Bandar Seri Begawan action plan marked the new phase regarding ASEAN-EU partnerships by recognizing important changes on both parties, especially regarding ASEAN integration which was The ASEAN Community 2015 as well as others. EU supported the ASEAN Three Pillarblueprint with funding of 70 million Euro to support the ASEAN integration process other than sharing expertises in several sectors.

Chronogically, the dynamic of European Union-ASEAN relation consists of two main phases, which are the EU-ASEAN relation status before 2015 and after 2015. This is the case because starting 2015, the partnerships already has a new direction which is partnerships with strategic goals.

Partnership dynamic of EU-ASEAN 1980-2015 can be summarized in the table below:

No	Documents	Description
1	ASEAN-EEC Joint Declaration Kuala Lumpur, 7 March 1980 https://asean.org/?static_post=external-relations-european-union-asean-eu-ministerial-meetings-asean-eec-joint-declaration-1980	Dihadiri pihak ASEAN oleh Menteri LN Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapura, Thailand, Filipina dan Uni Eropa oleh Menteri LN Italia, Belanda, Denmark, Luxembourg, Jerman, Perancis, Irlandia, Presiden Dewan UE, Wakil Presiden Komisi UE, Sekretaris Common Wealth. Merupakan Persetujuan kerja sama yang memuat aspek (A) Hubungan Internasional, (B) Kerja sama Ekonomi, (C) Kerja Sama Pembangunan dan (D) Kerja sama Budaya.
2	A Communication on a New Partnership with South East Asia, 9 July 2003 https://ec.europa.eu/commissio	The European Commission has adopted a Communication on a new partnership with South East Asia, setting out a comprehensive strategy for future EU relations with the region. The Commission holds out the offer

		of bilateral agreements with countries in the region to deepen co operation on a modern agenda including human rights, good governance, justice and home affairs issues and fight against terrorism. The Commission is also proposing a regional trade action plan, the Trans-Regional EU-ASEAN Trade Initiative (TREATI), which seeks closer co-operation between both regions on a wide range of trade, investments and regulatory issues. Six strategic priorities are identified for our relations with South East Asia, and a number of actions by which they could be improved:
	n/presscorner/detail/en/IP_03_961	(1) Supporting regional stability and the fight against terrorism,
		(2) Human Rights, democratic principles and good governance
		(3) Mainstreaming justice and home affairs issues
		(4) Injecting a new dynamism into regional trade and investment relations
		(5) Continuing to support the development of less prosperous countries
		(6) Intensifying dialogue and co-operation in specific policy areas
3	Nuremberg Declaration on an EU-ASEAN Enhanced Partnership, 15 March 2007 https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/PRES_07_54	The EU and ASEAN (1) Commit to further enhance EU-ASEAN dialogue and cooperation, including at the highest level. (2) Cooperate to strengthen ASEAN capacity and institution building processes that will contribute to achieving the goal of

		the ASEAN Community consisting of ASEAN Security Community (ASC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) through, among other steps, exchange of information and experience between the EU and ASEAN on community building. (3) Agree to step up cooperation including, but not limited, to the following areas: I. Political and Security Cooperation, 2. Economic Cooperation, 3. Cooperation in the field of Energy Security and Climate Change/Environment, 4. Development Cooperation
4	Guidelines on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy in East Asia, Council of the European Union, 15 June 2012 (addresses the region of East Asia as a whole, including both North-East Asia and ASEAN) https://www.consilium.europa. eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pres sdata/en/misc/97842.pdf	East Asia is a region of especially dynamic change in which the EU has substantial interests. This paper briefly analyses the opportunities and risks for EU interests flowing from these changes. Proceeding from this analysis, and building upon the EU's Security Strategy of 2003 and the relevant Council Conclusions, the paper then recommends a set of guidelines for the EU's foreign and security policy in East Asia. EU response: The EU's essential interests are thus closely tied up with the security of East Asia, and with the foreign and security policies of the region's main players. The EU's economic presence in the region, and its unique experience of post-war

| | | reconciliation and political and economic integration, position it well to play an important role in helping to bolster regional security. A number of the EU's regional partners have signalled that they would welcome enhanced EU engagement in this respect.

The EU therefore needs a more developed, coherent and focussed foreign and security policy in East Asia, the purpose of which is to secure and advance the EU interests set out in section II. The first step, already underway, is to intensify the EU's exchanges with the region's key players. The EU should: (i) Deepen its strategic dialogue with China. –(ii) Develop its strategic dialogue on East Asia with Japan. (iii) Develop its strategic dialogue on East Asia with the US. (iv) Deepen its political dialogue on regional issues with the Republic of Korea. (v) Develop its exchanges on regional issues with other important players including: Russia, India, Australia, New Zealand and members of ASEAN. (vi) Deepen its engagement with ASEAN, and with regional fora such as ASEM and the ARF. |
| | Regional Programming for Asia Strategy Document 2007-2013 by European Commission

http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/asia/docs/rsp/07_13_en.pdf | The strategic framework for the Commission's action in Asia is based on the Commission's Communication 'Europeand Asia' of 2001. The legal basis of the Regional Programming Document and the Regional Indicative Programme for Asia is the financing Instrument for the |

		Development Cooperation (DCI), of which the overarching objective is the eradication of poverty. Regional Cooperation during 2007-2013will focus on three priority areas: 1)Support to Regional Integration, the key dialogue partners for the EU being Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), Association of South-East Asia Nations (ASEAN), ASEAN regional forum (ARF) and South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC). 2)Policy and Know-How based Cooperation in: (i) Environment, Energy and Climate Change, through Sustainable Consumption and Production (SCP-Asia) and the Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) programme; (ii) Higher Education and Support to Research Institutes; (iii) Cross-border Cooperation in Animal and Human Health; 3)Support to Uprooted People.

Year 2015 was marked with a new relation direction through the publishing of *A Joint Communication to the European parliament and the Council: The EU and ASEAN, a partnership with strategic purpose*. This document was a unilateral document that recognized the increasing of ASEAN's global weight and in keeping relations even though EU experienced crises. The initiative was seen appropriate considering that the ASEAN community also developed a document called the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 in which developing relations with various Dialogue Partners incluing EU. The document recognized that EU had strategic interests to strengthen relations with ASEAN due to economic and political reasons. To move towards formal strategic partnerships, which were wanted by both parties, would require political and resource commitments to constantly involve in regional and global issues.

The joint communication offers specific ideas in strengthening EU-ASEAN relations in three priority sectors: connectivity, environment and natural resources, politics and security. Connectivity is currently seen as a central project that unites ASEAN. The framework of ASEAN Connectivity 2025 continues MPAC 2010 and consists of infrastructure, supporting regulation framework as well as mobility of society. Connectivity is also seen as the center of EU-ASEAN relation. Specifically, partnerships will occur in business opportunity sector for SMEs, customes, corporate governance, intellectual property rights, green economy and international labor standards with the goal of developing trade relations. Transportation sector will benefit from initiatives of civil flights and urban transportation system. People-to-people contact will develop through joint research, cooperation on higher education, academic exchanges, support to civil society organizations and dialogue on migration.

D. Activity 6: EU-ASEAN Partnerships in prevention of COVID-10 Pandemic

The Corona virus was first reported in Wuhan, China on December 31st, 2019. The virus then infected 14,7 million people with at least 610.200 people reported dead. (https://www.nytimes.com/article/coronavirus-timeline.html). The Corona virus spread to at least 177 countries. WHO then declared the situation to be a pandemic. Cases outside China which were reported for the first time occurred in Japan, South Korea and Thailand as per WHO's first situation report (https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200121-sitrep-1-2019-ncov.pdf?sfvrsn=20a99c10_4) which then followed by the United States whom reported symptoms of a man returning from Wuhan. Since them, the Chinese government closed Wuhan by cancelling flights, trains, buses, subways and ferries. At that time at least 17 people ha died including in Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, South Korea and the United States.

How about the situations in Europe? In February 2020, France announced the first death due to Corona virus, whom was an 80-year old China tourist who passed away in a hospital in Paris on February 14th, 2020. This was the fourth death outside China, where about 1500 people had died, mostly in the Hubei Province.

Europe faced massive spike in cases on February 14th, 2020, when cases increased sharply in Italy from less than five to 150 cases (https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/23/world/europe/italy-coronavirus.html). In the Lombardy region, local authorities closed 10 cities after cluster of cases suddenly occurred in Codogna (south of Milan). On March 17th, 2020, the EU leaders agreed regarding closures of at least 26 countries for 30 days. Prohibition on non-essential travels from outside of EU was a joint response regarding the epidemic by the European Union.

On June 30, 2020, after four months of lockdown, European Union started to prepare itself to open to 15 countries (as per July 1st, 2020) including Australia, Canada and New Zealand but not United States, Brazil and Russia. This was a complex policy that tried to work on balances between health issues and other issues such as politics, diplomacies, revenues and tourisms.

What kind of policies were implemented by the European Union regarding the COVID-19 pandemic that affected various sectors? On July 21st, 2020, the European Union leaders agreed on a stimulus package amounted to $857 billion to save the economy from collapsing. (https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/20/world/europe/eu-stimulus-coronavirus.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article).

On the other hand, international EU relations emphasize the importance of international cooperations and solidarity between countries as keys to fight against the COVID-19 pandemic. Igor Driesmans, EU Ambassador for ASEAN, emphasizes EU's commitment and its country members in cooperations to mitigate crises in Europe or aboriad. EU agrees on stimulus package of 350 million Euro (Rp 5,46 trillion) to mitigate the pandemic impacts in ASEAN. The objectives are to assist (a) efforts by ASEAN members in mitigating health crises, (b) strengthening health system and lessen economic and social impacts due to the pandemic. Other than that, EU also supports researches aimed at finding Corona virus vaccines in terms of 18 research projects by partnering with ASEAn scientific organizations. This is a chance for both parties to work together and share information to speed up the finding of vaccines. The hope is that the vaccines will be affordable and fair for all countries.

From the total of Rp 5,46 trillion, Rp 258 billion is distributed to support health system and assist vulnerable groups and hospitals in East Java, South Sulawesi as well as North Sulawesi.

On March 20, 2020, EU held the first meeting with health ministries and foreign affair ministries of ASEAN countries to discuss increase in partnerships, experience exchanges, medical suppy chains as well as development of researches regarding Corona vaccines and medicines.

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Module 5

The Politics of Sustainable Development I

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I. Background

Sustainable development is popular after the Brundtland Commission published their work "Our Common Future" in 1987. The United Nations gave a mandate to the World Commission on Environment and Development to craft alternative policies to solve global environmental and economic problems. The commission was led by Gro Harlem Brundtland, former Primer Minister of Norway (1981, 1986–89, and 1990–96). Then it is popular to call the commission as the Brundtland Commission. In the report "Our Common Future," sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without sacrificing the future generation."

Figure 1. Gro Harlem Brundtland

The Brundtland Commission emphasized that the government needs to synergize the economic, social, and environmental interest. Sustainable development marked a new era of compromise between the environmental activists, humanitarian workers, and corporations (Lele 1991, Robertua 2017). There is strong optimism that sustainable development can be the platform for different groups working together to achieve a better planet. The problem is that there are many conflicts between governments, corporations, and activists, disrupting the implementation of sustainable development. There is a huge gap between the rhetoric of sustainable development with reality.

The concept of sustainable development is so broad that it welcomes many kinds of interpretation. In many cases, the analysis of sustainable development can be conflictual. For example, China wanted to export the solar panel to the European Union to fulfill the demand for clean energy. China produced cheaper and more affordable solar panel than the European firms. European citizens can enjoy clean energy at affordable prices. However, the European

Union rejected the Chinese products to protect the domestic solar panel producers. Both actors claimed that they implemented a sustainable development approach, but the different notions of sustainable development created conflicts. Creating a consensus on the definition of sustainable development is difficult. Dick Richardson (1997) said:

> "The potential for conflict over sustainable development at political level is clear (Grayson and Hobson 1994:2). Not only are there traditional differences to reconcile on the Left-Right spectrum, from an anthropocentric standpoint there are new and emerging differences between the advocates of treadmill production and the supporters of weak and strong sustainable development (see the Introduction). It was these differences which caused the issue to be fudged by Brundtland and which explain why it has continued to be fudged by governments at all levels in subsequent years."

There is normative tension between developed and developing countries regarding the conceptualization and implementation of sustainable development (Ellison 2009). The politics of sustainable development will discuss not only the diversity of meaning of sustainable development but also the enforcer of the concept. Realist International Relations advised for the state-centric global environmental governance. However, the emergence of the multi-stakeholder initiative – a synergy of states, civil society, and corporation – made the issue more complicated. We aimed to gain a comprehensive view of sustainable development based on three global summits; Stockholm, Rio de Janeiro, and Johannesburg, by employing two methods.

First, the role of theory is critical in this research. International Relations scholars offer various approaches to addressing international and regional problems. This research embraced Lakatos's perspective that there is no single version of the truth in the social phenomenon. This research will be validated and tested by the scientific method and debated within the related community group of scientists.

The second assumption is that the theory is used as a tool to understand the problem. There are two purposes of theory, namely the tool for explaining and understanding (Kurki and Wight 2010). Neo-realists and neo-liberalist promoted the simplification of the phenomenon and crafting mathematical formulas to be validated in different and subsequent studies. On the other side, the theory is used as a tool to understand the significance of meaning, values, and symbols. English School is obviously suited to the second purpose of theory. The theory can explain the contradiction, the paradox, and the complexity of the phenomenon.

The politics of sustainable development has theoretical and practical aspects. Practically, the analysis of sustainable development can be used as a possible direction for governments, corporations, and civil society in global environmental governance. The application of English School theory will bring new insight and alternatives to the conceptual discourse of sustainable development. Theoretically, the analysis of sustainable development aimed to contribute to the studies of International Political Economy, global environmental governance, and international organization. It is important to reconceptualize the concept of sustainable development that can be used in further studies.

II. Learning Objectives

- Students have a better knowledge of the politics of sustainable development with the focus of the ASEAN-EU relations
- Students can understand the problem of sustainable development with the focus of the ASEAN-EU
- Students have better knowledge on the methods to propose new analysis on the politics of sustainable development with the focus of ASEAN-EU
- Students can describe new analysis on the politics of sustainable development with the focus of ASEAN-EU

III. Primary Topics

- The role of the United Nations Conferences in promoting sustainable development in the EU and ASEAN
- The Role of English School Theories in Explaining the Politics Sustainable Development in the EU and the ASEAN
- Methods to Analyse the Politics of Sustainable Development in the EU and the ASEAN

IV. Learning Activities
IV.1. The role of the United Nations Conferences in promoting sustainable development in the EU and ASEAN

By drawing attention to the rise of hybrid, non-hierarchal, network-like governance, Stockholm conference, Rio de Janeiro conference, and Johannesburg conference became the venue for the contestation of national interest in global environmental governance including

the ASEAN and the EU. Stockholm conference or the United Nations Conference on Human and Environment in 1972 is the first global summit discussing possible global action to tackle environmental problems. In 1992, there was the second conference called United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, or Rio de Janeiro follows up the discussion in Stockholm, and the most significant result is the establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Ten years later, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) Johannesburg introduced the framework of cooperation between governments, non-governmental organizations, and business groups known as multi-stakeholder initiatives.

Sustainable development was the key topic of discussion for the above-mentioned summit. Leaders need to achieve a joint solution on strategies and mechanisms to address increasing transboundary environmental problems such as air pollution, depleting the ozone layer, or climate change. Sustainable development was seen as a strategy for achieving agreement and consensus between developing countries and developed countries. Sustainable development was defined as "development that meets the need of the present generation without compromising the need of future generation" (The World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). This concept attracted attention from leaders because industrialization and economic development was not seen as a threat to the global environment. Instead, developing countries wanted to achieve their development strategy by adopting sustainable development.

The sudden popularity provokes conceptual debater, especially from environmentalists. Jacobs (1999) argued that sustainable development was not adopted the informal global agreement, and many governments and non-state actors have a different notion of sustainable development. He claimed that the vagueness of the concept could be used by perpetrators to cover activities that didn't favor the preservation of nature and environmental protection. Sustainable development was then performed as a smokescreen for corporations to silence the conflict between normative ecological movement and capitalist economic model and between the rich North and the poor South (Lele 1991).

Sustainable development has become the place of contestation between economic nationalism and transnational activism. Environmental activists urged the implementation of hard sustainability, which prioritized the ecosystem over narrow human interest. Meanwhile, governments supported the idea of economic nationalism that advised for a marginal shift to the new system and the emphasis of technology and modern technology in preventing the risk

of catastrophe. Stockholm, Rio de Janeiro, and Johannesburg will formulate sustainable development based on the dilemma of hard sustainability and soft sustainability.

The dilemma of industrialization and environmental protection is highlighted in Stockholm, Rio de Janeiro, and Johannesburg. The achievement of economic growth was followed by the degradation of nature and natural disasters. This thesis is highlighted in the publication of Rachel Carson and the Club of Rome. After the publication, there were concerns in developed countries regarding the Torrey Canyon oil spill, acid rain in Europe, and the leak of uranium in a nuclear power plant. These publications and events are important events before the Stockholm Conference. After Stockholm, the publication of Our Common Future by Brundtland Commission is the focus of the Rio De Janeiro conference. Sustainable development is formulated and designed to be the new global norm. Finally, globalization has increased the role of civil society, and corporations in global environmental governance and Johannesburg Conference confirmed the main role of civil society and corporation by launching the scheme of the multi-stakeholder initiative.

The environmental issue was considered only as a domestic issue for decades. Governments believed that the state is the only solution and the legitimate unit in preventing and dealing with environmental disasters. Stockholm Conference is an important mark in the globalization of environmental issues by bringing all states together, discussing and crafting strategy in dealing with environmental problems. Not only that, but Stockholm Conference will also be the starting point bringing states, civil society, corporations to work under the same institution and uniting environment, economy, and politics. In Stockholm Conference 1972, the concept of sustainable development was just emerging in the international community.

The birth of sustainable development was preceded by a series of high-level meetings, including the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden. Stockholm Conference was held from 5-12 June 1972, gathering 113 states and 19 international organizations as well as more than 400 NGOs (Bernstein, The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism 2001). This meeting provided the context of sustainable development as the implementation of a new concept in the International Political Economy, which combined the perspective of developing countries and developed countries as well as the market, the activists, and the government's leaders. In the words of McCormick (1989, 99): "*Stockholm was, without doubt, the landmark event in the growth of international environmentalism. It was the first occasion on which the political, social, and economic problems of the global environment were discussed at an intergovernmental forum actually to take corrective action*".

The debate between pluralist and solidarist on the hierarchy of environment and economy is clearly shown in the process of the Stockholm Conference. In the Stockholm conference, there is a rift between developing and developed countries (Clapp and Dauvergne 2005). Developing countries insisted that economic growth in the priority; meanwhile, developed countries argued that environmental protection should be over economic growth (Bernstein 2005).

Fortunately, the debate between developed and developing countries reflected the debate between pluralism and solidarism. Pluralists believe that the government only focused on sovereignty and survival of states, but solidarist found that states can embrace and accommodate new norms such as environmental protection. Scholars need to define the elements of solidarism and pluralism using the case of the Stockholm Conference.

For pluralists, pursuing welfare over environmental protection will eventually bring environmental betterment to society. The reasons for environmental degradation in developing countries are lack of economic growth, poverty, and underdevelopment. Developed countries must help developing countries to achieve modernization and clean technology because new technology will be a solution to many transnational environmental problems such as cross-border pollution and resource scarcity.

Meanwhile, solidarists believed that tremendous population growth in developing countries is the key driver of environmental problems. The logic of solidarism in the environment comes from Gareth Hardin's formula of the tragedy of the common. Hardin said that too many peoples created a chaotic situation where individuals and governments are attempting to seek their gain at the expense of the others, overuse, and ultimately destroy the neighborhood and environment (Hardin 2005). The government then is considered as the problem and should be reformed by adding civil society and individuals to check and supervise governmental policies. Civil society plays a very important role in the solidarism of sustainable development. Not only civil society, solidarism advised for localization of sustainable development. The global political economy should return to the local community to avoid massive production that created waste and unnecessary pollution (Kutting 2004).

The dual debate of pluralism vs. solidarism and developing countries vs. developed countries provided a possibility of a zero-sum game relationship. If pluralism and developing countries can unite their power against the solidarism and developed countries, then Stockholm Conference was a failure for developed countries and solidarism. Stockholm Conference produced the Stockholm Declaration on Human Environment, containing 26 principles and 109

recommendations. The declaration is a non-binding resolution with the lowest impact on developing countries and dissatisfaction with developed countries.

Why is it difficult to achieve new norms in Stockholm? The inequality of power is a key reason for the failure of the Stockholm Conference. The wealth disparity between developed and developing countries had created anxiety and anger over the notion of de-industrialization. Leaders from developing countries wanted to enjoy the wealth provided by industrializations, and developed countries have done it earlier. We can see from the words of Brazil representative that mentioned industrial pollution as rich man's problem and the representative from the Ivory Coast who said that exploitation by global capitalists staying in developed countries was a core reason for their high levels of poverty and environmental degradation (Clapp and Dauvergne 2005).

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that economic nationalism has motivated the rivalry between developed and developing countries, as shown in the figure below. Economic nationalism characterized sustainable development as the primary concept as a secondary concept that divided Stockholm into two groups.

Sustainable Development

Developed Countries

Developing Countries

Economic Nationalism

Environmentalism

Stockholm Continuum
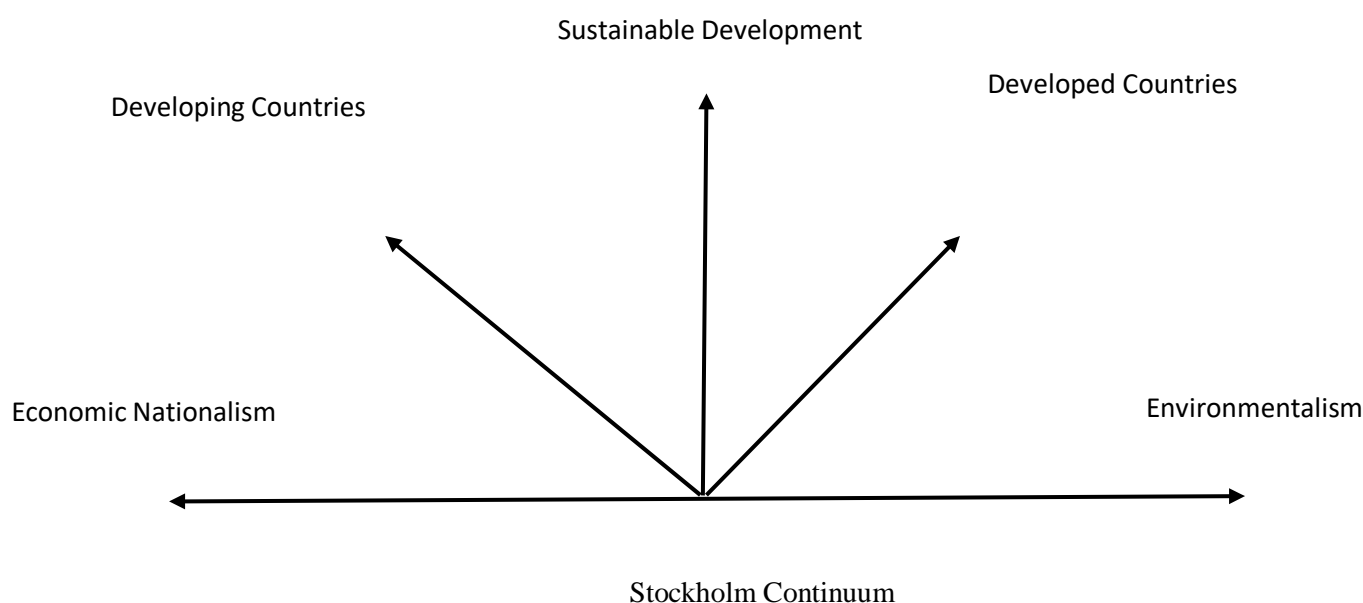
Stockholm Conference provided an impetus for conceptualizing economic nationalism in the context of sustainable development. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, sustainable development will consist of economic nationalism and multi-stakeholder initiative as the secondary institution. Sustainable development will be the umbrella concept for economic nationalism and multi-stakeholder initiative. Then this research needs to provide a valid foundation for bridging sustainable development with economic nationalism.

7

Economic nationalism was activated in the Stockholm Conference due to constant attack on the legitimacy of states in handling many transnational environmental problems. States are not considered to be an effective unit in maintaining the animal and plant ecosystem. Instead, the Earth's classification into states has scrambled the Earth's natural division and distribution. This pessimist's perspective is negated by the explanation of government policies to pursue negotiation in the Stockholm Conference and resulted in the Stockholm Declaration.

We can borrow the definition of Levi-Faur (1997, 367) that categorizes economic nationalism into two kinds of economic nationalism malign and benign. Economic nationalism is the policy of malign attainment of national interests at the expense of other countries' resources. In contrast, benign economic nationalism is the policy of the country ready to compromise with other countries to accommodate the interests of other countries. Using this definition, sustainable development will be matched by the definition of benign economic nationalism.

In Barry Buzan's book (2004), it is written about environmental stewardship as a primary institution and species survival and climate stability as a secondary institution with examples of CITES, UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol, Montreal Protocol. Why did Buzann't use sustainable development as a primary institution? It is clearly said that environmental stewardship is against other primary institutions such as nationalism and sovereignty.

It is also noted that Buzan refers to Jackson's analysis of the fourth area of responsibility, namely stewardship or trusteeship of the planet. It indicated that Buzan wanted environmental stewardship to elaborate on the protection of this planet and be supported by a secondary institution. Buzan selected species survival and climate stability as the secondary institution for environmental stewardship. Can we choose other institutions as secondary institutions such as economic nationalism?

It is important to challenge Buzan's argument by arguing that sustainable development can be classified as a primary institution with economic nationalism as its secondary institution. Buzan (2004, 181) defined the primary institution as "durable and recognized patterns of shared practices rooted in values held commonly by the members of interstate societies, and embodying a mix of norms, rules, and principles." It is the institution that containing or generating others. Primary institutions must be a general institution, a set of fundamental principles and containers of potentially endless particular rules and regulations that can be built up within it. It must be distinct and able to survive alone. Can sustainable development be able to stand-alone vis-à-vis other primary institutions such as sovereignty, territoriality, diplomacy, and great power management?

From the Stockholm Conference, sustainable development can be classified as a primary institution because governments admitted that environmental policies are considered as important areas in their national decision-making process and foreign policies. The presence of environmental disaster created a sense of urgency of environmental policies and distinct from sovereignty or diplomacy as well as the balance of power. Developing countries and developed countries didn't mention sustainable development explicitly in the Stockholm Conference, but the discussion in the conference reflected the urgency and the importance of joint environmental policies.

Environmental stewardship of Buzan didn't generate other institutions as there is a lack of agreement over the meaning of environmental stewardship. There is no credible source mentioning environmental stewardship as a primary institution. Sanna Kopra (2016) indeed developed climate responsibility comprehensively as primary institutions drawing from Jackson's fourth area of responsibility. This is the real rival for sustainable development as Kopra has developed it, filling the components of climate responsibility as a primary institution. Kopra surveyed the UNFCCC histories to look at the components of climate responsibility, and Kopra concluded that climate responsibilities consisted of general climate responsibility, special climate responsibility, green growth, and cosmopolitan climate responsibility.

The interest of developing sustainable development as a primary institution is largely due to the multi-discipline nature of research within sustainable development. The usage of sustainable development has come from many disciplines, including economics, sociology, political sciences, anthropology, management, or even criminology. International Relations has abandoned this concept for a long time and let other disciplines own their version of sustainable development. This is a big loss due to the inherent nature of transnational environmental problems, and the being of plenty of IR researchers works on environmental issues and theories such as Clapp and Dauvergne (2005) or Laferrière and Stoett (1999).

English School provides space and opportunities to bring back sustainable development into the realm of International relations by focusing on case studies. Stockholm Conference provided important reasons for elaborating sustainable development due to the strong forces of nationalism hampering the discussion of the ambitious goal of the environmental movement. Nationalism, for Buzan, is considered as a primary institution due to its role as a political legitimizer for sovereignty. It is also argued that nationalism is supported by self-determination and democracy. Buzan didn't see that it is important to include environmental stewardship in the nationalism.

Falkner and Hurrell agree that sovereignty, an important component of nationalism, has hindered the empowerment of environmental movement. They looked at the discrepancies between the division of Earth into territorially defined sovereign countries and the division of Earth into ecological characteristics. Falkner (2012, 517) said:

> "Political boundaries do not reflect the boundaries of the Earth's ecosystems and protecting natural migratory species, preventing tropical deforestation and combating global climate change require a degree of international cooperation that the fragmented international system is unable to deliver. The nation-state's claim to sovereign control over a defined territory is often viewed by environmentalists as the main hindrance to an effective collective response to global environmental problems."

Nationalism is bowed to sustainable development because globalization has tamed the aggressive nature of sovereignty. The hierarchy of institutions was then changed after the establishment of international environmental organizations such as UNFCCC and UNEP. It is further confirmed as states embraced new definitions of nationalism, such as techno-nationalism or cultural nationalism, as elaborated in the conceptual framework. Government liberalizes their economy integrated into the global economic network or joining a free movement zone let peoples moves across the border easily.

Stockholm Declaration is a new manifestation of nationalism by bringing the environment into the identity of nation-states. Before Stockholm Conference, there was a huge movement among communities and experts regarding the urgency of the global solution for environmental problems. The Population Bomb was written by Paul Ehrlich in 1968 and became global best-sellers. The first Earth Day in the United States was 22 April 1970, and twenty-million studies were reported rallied sweeping the nation's campuses (Clapp and Dauvergne 2005). Club of Rome published the book "The Limits to Growth," giving a further boost for reduction in dirty industry and air pollution policies (Behrens, et al. 1972).

The massive movement of environmentalists has created a new definition of nationalism. Nationalism was determined by the ability of states to provide three pillars of sustainable development, namely economic development, community sustainability, and ecological sustainability. The past failures of states preventing environmental problems have eroded the loyalties to states, and the Stockholm Conference is an indicator of states' policies to bring back the loyalties to states. In this sense, nationalism was not seen contradictory to sustainable development, as suggested by Buzan. Nationalism was indeed a part of sustainable development.

After conceptualizing economic nationalism within sustainable development, then it is important to reconstruct the international society of sustainable development. Buzan defined international society as a spectrum consists of six elements, namely asocial, power political, coexistence, cooperative, convergence, and confederative. This research posed the international society that consisted of four elements; economic nationalism, sustainable development, multi-stakeholder initiatives, and environmentalism.

Economic nationalism representing Buzan's asocial, powerful political and coexistence; meanwhile, sustainable development refers to cooperative and environmentalism is reflecting the idea of convergence and confederative. As mentioned above, economic nationalism has ambitious and aggressive elements that potentially provoked conflicts and war. In the context of the Stockholm Conference, the dispute between developed and developing countries over the priorities and ecological responsibilities of countries is an indication of the dark side of nationalism.

There are many disputes resulting from the notion of nationalism within the international society of sustainable development. Transboundary haze in Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia has become a long-standing dispute without any binding and coercive strategy to handle the haze (Robertua 2016). Indonesia is the biggest palm oil producer, and the internationalization of haze is a threat of Indonesian business communities (Nguitragool, Environmental Cooperation in Southeast Asia: ASEAN's Regime for Trans-boundary Haze Pollution 2014). Similar stories are found in 2010's BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. The environmental disaster is seen as a threat to British investment in the United States. The state-based rivalry interaction is based on environmental issues.

Economic nationalism also covered the coexistence relationship. The preservation of sovereignty and the nonviolent approach are the key characteristics of this spectrum. Environmental diplomacy played a key role in economic nationalism, and membership in the international organization becomes essential. Although membership of the international organization is a gateway to greater environmental cooperation, the government opted for limited cooperation. This spectrum provided opportunities for a higher degree of institutionalization of environmental norms.

This position negated the dichotomy of sustainable development as developed by Hodge and Dunn (1992), trichotomy of The International Local Council for Environment (1996), and Baker et al. (1997). The Hodge and Dunn's dichotomy of sustainable development is hardly accepted due to the presence of the middle way of international society; meanwhile, the trichotomy provided milestone for English School's conception of sustainable development.

However, it is not clear on the relationship between economic development, ecological development, and community development and the meaning of each pillar. Hodge and Dunn's dichotomy seems to reflect the debate between solidarism and pluralism or the debate between anthropocentric and ecocentric. Pluralism, according to Hodge and Dunn, is government policies in preventing catastrophe, seeking marginal changes to existing systems, lower environmental risk, and treating intergenerational distribution separately. Meanwhile, solidarism, according to Hodge and Dunn, is more ambitious by promoting a society in harmony with the ecosystem, seeking new systems and institutions, and treating intergenerational distribution separately.

Hodge and Dunn's separately seem fit with the rivalry with developed and developing countries. Developed countries encourage developing countries to adopt an ambitious deal of solidarism. However, this dichotomy should be tested with Rio Conference that there was a change of convergence of developing countries toward a solidarism voice. There is a need for extending and refining the dichotomy into a broader and more comprehensive concept. Baker et al. (1997) have elaborated details on sustainable development with eight indicators, namely the role of economic growth, civil society, redistribution, geographical focus, nature, policies and sectoral integrations, institutions, and policy instruments and tools as seen in the sub-chapter of sustainable development. However, the case study of the Stockholm Conference has questioned the absence of the notion of nationalism within sustainable development. Therefore, the four spectrums of ideal, strong, weak, and treadmill should be modified with the presence of nationalism, filling the treadmill approach, and weak sustainable development.

IV.2 The Role of English School Theories in Explaining the Politics Sustainable Development in the EU and the ASEAN

The politics of sustainable development will be captured by English School theory with two concepts, namely pluralism, and solidarism. English School is established when Roy Jones (1981) refers to the similar thinking of Hedley Bull, Herbert Butterfield, Adam Watson, and Roy Vincent. They were working at the British Committee of International Politics and London School of International Politics and developed systematic thinking against the mainstream International Relations theories, namely Realism and Liberalism. Barry Buzan is now leading the group to revive English School delved into contemporary topics such as human rights, environment, and international political economy. English School was initially focusing on

diplomacy and foreign policy with an emphasis on a critical perspective on the philosophical basis of IR theories.

English School has many concepts such as pluralism, solidarism, international system, international society, and world society. English School is frequently called an international society approach due to its emphasis on international society. The founder of English School Hedley Bull defined international society as "the group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions" (Bull, 1977, p.13). This definition will be challenged in the findings and analysis.

Pluralism focused on highlighting the significance of diplomacy, state sovereignty in pursuing their national interest, and balance of power. Meanwhile, solidarism will advise for revolutionary change in International Relations in terms of humanitarian intervention, global governance, and new norms and ideas such as human rights and democracy. Pluralism-solidarism continuum will facilitate the researcher to see the complexity and paradox of sustainable development. At the same time, the pluralism-solidarism continuum will also be the tool to reconceptualize sustainable development by using three case studies, namely the Stockholm conference, Rio de Janeiro conference, and the Johannesburg conference.

Hedley Bull (1966) is the first author elaborating on pluralism and solidarism debate. Bull mentioned pluralism to represent Grotian thinking, which believed in the role of international law, meanwhile solidarism to represent Vettel thinking who believed in the minimum cooperation between states out of international law.

Nicholas Wheeler (2000) also developed the pluralism and solidarism distinction in the case of humanitarian intervention. For Wheeler, pluralism is the notion for noncompliance of humanitarian responsibility and focused on the narrow national interests achieving profits, power, and influence to ensure stability and welfare of nations. Meanwhile, solidarism is the notion for an ambitious plan embracing new ideas and norms such as the promotion of universal human rights and democracy and dare to sacrifice the principle of sovereignty in exchange for the pursuit of these norms.

The distinction between pluralism and solidarism is a key characteristic of the English School. There is no such fixed structure, and there will always be a shift and dialogue between two pillars. The presence of solidarism and pluralism enables us to see the complexity of a phenomenon by taking both sides seriously. By taking English School into account, global environmental governance is not in a vacuum situation meanwhile filled by normative tension

especially developing countries advising for economic growth and environmental protection and developed countries ambitiously eager to achieve a new ecosystem-based economic system.

IV.3. Methods to Analyse the Politics of Sustainable Development in the EU and the ASEAN

We need to understand the politics of sustainable development in the EU and the ASEAN using a qualitative study with a single case study and process-tracing. A case study offers an in-depth examination of a situation or event which provides a place for observation, data collection, information analysis, and reporting the results. It is expected that the case study method will bring a deep understanding of related factors contributing to a specific phenomenon (Creswell 2003). As a result, the expected result is a deep understanding of related factors contributing to a specific phenomenon. Porta and Keating give some reasons why the study of a single case study method can be an effective way of constructing a theory. Intensive dialogue between researchers with the data is the strengths of this case-study method. The use of a case study can open the diversity of a case by looking at the history of the case. The complexity of the relationship between variables can be explained in detail. The explanation of a case study is not intended to generalize to other cases. The theory does not define the behavior, but the behavior of units will build the theory. Constant dialogue is the key characteristic of the case-study method, and it aimed to build the bridge between the empirical and the theory.

Sustainable development has the complexity and paradox between the concept of economic nationalism, multi-stakeholder initiative, and international organization. By using English School (ES) perspective, a variety of dependent and independent variables was neatly arranged.

Testing ES theory into sustainable development will reinforce ES as a typology theory. According to George and Bennett (2005, 45), a typology theory is a theory that explains the independent variable and combines them into several categories. The categories are explored and generate hypotheses. The difference between the theory and the typology is that theory simply contains a series of statements while the typology theory contains not only information but also produce a series of hypothesis. In this study, an international society comprised of several subjects, namely sovereignty, trade, diplomacy, and international organizations. We are

looking for international society as a typology theory that will be able to produce a series of hypotheses.

To implement ES as a typology theory, the research method should be process-tracing. This method seeks to identify causal processes with independent and dependent variables. This method is elaborated extensively by Alexander George and Andrew Bennett in the book titled "Case Studies and Theory Development in Social Sciences." The process-tracing method aimed to test the consistency of specific hypotheses toward other events in the selected cases (George and Bennett 2005). George and Bennett said that process-tracing could provide a strong foundation for achieving a conclusion in a sequence of events. Laust Schouenberg (2013) used process-tracing to identify variables that are important for international society.

By introducing the normative tension, the task is to address the separate distinction between solidarism with world society and pluralism with the international system. Solidarism versus pluralism and the international system versus world society served the purpose of contradicting different approaches. If environmental responsibility is classified into solidarism, then national growth would be the argument of pluralism. If a war-based international system is present, world society offers a peaceful, cosmopolitan solution. In this sense, elaborating solidarism is similar to world society, and elaborating pluralism is similar to the international system.

The daunting task of English School scholars is to find the conceptualization of International Society. It is the middle way not only between the international system and world society but also between solidarism and pluralism. Then the focus is on to constant reconceptualization of international society, giving the opportunities for researchers to reconstruct older concepts and invent the new concept. This research agrees with Knud Erik Jorgensen (2010) advising the researcher to build new theory and new concepts with new assumptions and new arguments amidst the theoretical and conceptual debates.

International society developed firstly by Bull is an innovation successfully finding a mixture of pluralism/international system and solidarism/world society. Finding the middle way is the key strength of contemporary English School. Buzan argued:

> By introducing international society as a third element, not only as a via media between realism and liberalism/cosmopolitanism but also a keystone to an interdependent set of concepts, English School theory offered a way of transcending the binary opposition between them that formed the essence of the supposed first great debate about IR theory (Buzan, 2004, 25)

According to Buzan (2004), asocial – rivalry was defined largely based on enmity relationship and the threat of war. Survival and sovereignty is the primary purpose of states, and there is no such trust toward other states. Coexistence and cooperation were based on Hedley Bull's international order that consists of a balance of power, international law, great power management, diplomacy, and war. Meanwhile, cooperative and confederative refer to the homogenization of states into a single entity that eradicated the possibility of war and conflicts, as shown by the development of the European Union.

In the context of global environmental governance, pluralism and solidarism debate can be translated into the rivalry of norms between nationalism and non-state actors. Falkner (2012) pointed out that global environmental responsibility directly challenges the division of Earth into territorially defined sovereign units. States have been considered failed to address global environmental problems such as deforestation, climate change, transboundary air pollution, the extinction of animals and plants. Meanwhile, non-state actors such as corporations and environmental activists played a limited role in hybrid forms of international governance due to the shadow of sovereignty.

Economic nationalism will be used to point out the role of the state in maintaining their influence in global environmental governance and multi-stakeholder initiative is an attempt to bring greater role for private actors in creating rules and norms in international affairs. In this sense, pluralism and solidarism debate is relevant in global environmental governance. Not only opening the puzzle, this research eager to construct a new concept based on the debate. This research will reconceptualize sustainable development as a middle way between the state-centric approach and solidarist movement.

V. Learning Assessment

Students will write a journal article consisting of the abstract, introduction, literature review, research methods, results and discussion, and conclusion and recommendation.
1. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, what is your title for your journal article (17 words)?
2. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your article's abstract (250 words)?
3. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your article's introduction (1000 – 1500 words)?

4. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your article's literature review (1000-1500 words)?

5. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your research method for the article (200-300 words)?

6. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What are your article's results and findings (1000-1500 words)?

7. In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What are your article's conclusions and recommendations (300-500 words)?

Description of Journal's Section

No	Section	Description
1	Introduction	The introduction explains why the topic is important or necessary or important. Begin by describing the problem or situation that motivates the research.
2	Literature Review	Move to discuss the current state of research in the field; then reveal a "gap" or problem in the field. Finally, explain how the present research is a solution to that problem or gap.
3	Methods	The methods section tells readers how you conducted your study. It includes information about your population, sample, methods, and equipment. The "gold standard" of the methods section is that it should enable readers to duplicate your study. Methods sections typically use subheadings; they are written in the past tense, and they use a lot of passive voice.
4	Results and Discussions	In this section, you present your findings. Typically, the Results section contains only the findings, not any explanation of or commentary on the findings (see below). Results sections are usually written in the past tense. Make sure all tables and figures are labeled and numbered separately. Captions go above tables and beneath figures.

5	Conclusions and Recommendations	In this section, you summarize your main findings, comment on those findings (see below), and connect them to other research. You also discuss the limitations of your study and use these limitations as reasons to suggest additional, future research.
6	Abstract	The abstract for the report comes at the beginning of the paper, but you should write it after you have drafted the full report. The abstract provides a very short overview of the entire paper, including a sentence or two about the report's purpose and importance, a sentence or two about your methods, a few sentences that present the main findings, and a sentence or two about the implications of your findings.

Scoring Rubric

Rubric	A	B	C	Comments
Abstract	Concisely conveys a research agenda and essential results, and avoids introducing new material, includes the significance of the research.	Concisely conveys a research agenda and essential results and avoids repetition and introducing new material.	Maybe repetitious, may introduce new material, and/or includes no or extraneous results or no research agenda.	
Introduction	States a problem and the research agenda, and explains its significance. Includes appropriate background.	States a problem and the research agenda, but may not fully explain its scope or significance. Includes some background.	Does not clearly explain the problem, research agenda, scope, or significance. May omit important background.	
Literature Review	Uses sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for the research question and culminates with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	Uses sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for the research question but failed to culminate with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	Lack of sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for the research question and failed to culminate with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	
Methods	Research is well planned and carefully conducted, and methods and materials are explained as needed, with visuals when appropriate.	Research is mostly well planned and carefully conducted, but method and materials are not always fully explained.	Lacks a full, accurate, or careful explanation of materials and methods.	
Results and Discussion	Each key research finding is given visual prominence. The data presentation is accurate, readable, and free of gaps or inaccuracies.	The data is clearly presented and most accurate and readable, but a few gaps may be present. Some of the key findings are difficult to find.	The findings are not clearly presented or readable. Some of the data is inaccurate and/or contains gaps.	
Conclusions and Recommendations	Conclusions are valid, follow logically from the data, and address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications and potential problems are discussed thoroughly.	Conclusions are valid, follow logically from the data, and address the initial problem or questions posed in the	Conclusions do not follow logically from the data or do not address the initial problem or questions posed in the	

		introduction. Implications and potential problems are mentioned, although not thoroughly explained.	introduction. Implications and potential problems are mentioned, but some may be overlooked.	
Use of sources/references	Uses current, relevant, and appropriate sources correctly cited the following appropriate conventions.	Mostly uses current, relevant, and appropriate sources that are usually correctly cited following appropriate conventions.	May use many outdated, irrelevant, inappropriate sources, or does not cite consistently or correctly follow appropriate conventions.	
Mechanics & Styles	Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and usage are appropriate to a scholarly audience.	Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and usage are most appropriate to a scholarly audience, with occasional errors or inconsistencies.	It contains distracting errors in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and/or usage that appear unprofessional.	

VI. Primary Readings

- *The Politics of Sustainable Development: Theory, Policy and Practice within the European Union*, by Susan Baker, Maria Kousis, Dick Richardson and Stephen Young, London: Routledge.

- Bernstein, Steven. 2005. "Legitimacy in Global Environmental Governance." *Journal of International Law and International Relation* 139-166.

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VII. Additional Readings

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Lele, Sharachchandra M. 1991. "Sustainable Development: A Critical Review." *World Development* 607-621.

McCormick, John. 1989. *Reclaiming Paradise: The Global Environmental Movement.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

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Module 6

The Politics of Sustainable Development II

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I. Background

Sustainable development is now widely accepted as a global development concept. Air pollution, disaster, and climate change are key drivers of emerging sustainable development. The first international body using sustainable development is the World Commission on Environment and Development or Brundtland Commission. The chair Gro Harlem Brundtland gathered 22 people from developed and developing countries to write and publish a report to the United Nations Secretary-General in 1987 entitled "Our Common Future." In the report, sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 43).

According to The International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (1996, 2), there are three pillars of sustainable development, namely ecological development, economic development, and community development. Ecological development is defined as the capacity to preserve the basic function of an environment that consisted of resource supply, waste receiver, and environmental utility. In other words, ecological development is an ability to increase the utility of the environment and secure the protection and the sustainability of nature.

Economic development is defined as the capacity of the economic system to produce constant growth and increase economic indicators. Specifically, economic development is closely related to the ability to increase income and job opportunities. Economic development discussed the pluralism dimension of global environmental governance. Meanwhile, community development is defined as the ability to secure the welfare of the society, including peace, health, and education, equally distributed in different social classes. Social dimensions involved social actor capacity to interact with efficiency in the same direction at all levels. Community development will be the middle way of ecological and economic development.

Hodge and Dunn (1992, 8) argue that there are two interpretations of sustainable development, namely, soft sustainability and hard sustainability. Soft sustainability is a broad definition of sustainable development involving social and economic considerations. Meanwhile, hard sustainability is an interpretation that strictly defines sustainable development to the resilience of the ecosystem. The elaborated difference between hard sustainability and soft sustainability can be seen in table 1.

Table 1. Interpretation of Sustainable Development

Soft Sustainability	Hard Sustainability
Prevention for catastrophe for human society	Promotion of society in harmony with the ecosystem
Acceptance of science and modern technology	Questions science seek alternative technology
Anthropocentric	Ecocentric
Intergenerational distribution treated separately	Intergenerational distribution integral to sustainability
Lower environmental risk aversion	High environmental risk aversion
Marginal changes to existing systems and institutions required	Shift to new systems and institutions

Source: (Hodge and Dunn 1992, 8)

Hodge and Dunn and the International Local Council for Environment had obviously opened the debate on the specific meaning of sustainable development. Sustainable development is seen as a challenger of the government's policy by prioritizing the ecosystem over the economy. It also can be seen that sustainable development attempted to influence developing countries to embrace more environmental-friendly policies as developed countries have achieved. Once developing countries have more hard sustainability and ecological sustainability approaches, the less normative tension we have.

II. Learning Objectives

- Students have a better knowledge of the politics of sustainable development with the focus of the multi-stakeholder initiative

- Students are able to understand the problem of sustainable development in the ASEAN and the EU using the English School theory

- Students have better knowledge on the methods to propose new analysis on the politics of sustainable development with the focus of sustainable development governance in the EU and ASEAN

- Students are able to describe new analysis on the politics of sustainable development in the EU and ASEAN with focus on economic nationalism

III. Primary Topics

- The Reconstruction of English School Theory and the Politics of Sustainable Development in the EU and ASEAN
- Multi-stakeholder initiative in the EU and the ASEAN
- Sustainable Development Governance in the EU and the ASEAN
- Economic Nationalism and Sustainable Development in the EU and the ASEAN

IV. Learning Activities

IV.1. The Reconstruction of English School Theory and the Politics of Sustainable Development in the EU and ASEAN

Sustainable development should serve as a key concept of English School, and it is important to translate sustainable development into English School criteria including the definition, pluralism – solidarism continuum, the secondary institution, and specification of actors, structures, and process. Sustainable development is not discussed within the English School literature. Barry Buzan and Hedley Bull, the leader and founder of English School, didn't mention sustainable development as a leading concept in discussing environmental problems. Hedley Bull mentioned that environmental problems could be addressed at the global level if there is a wide consensus among the government regarding the urgency and the solution to the problem. Meanwhile, Barry Buzan pointed out that environmental stewardship is a primary institution of English School without elaborating on the definition of environmental stewardship.

Baker (1997) is developing a more comprehensive elaboration of sustainable development. To understand the role of non-state actors in global environmental politics, English School has three important concepts, namely the international system, international society, and world society. This study focused on the concept of international society because it is the middle way between the international system and world society. By focusing on

international society, this research can avoid the dichotomy of International relations and able to build new concepts within a wide-range continuum.

It is important to embrace the complexity of International Relations that IR is not simplified into a single track of relationship, neither conflict nor cooperation. Classical realism, for example, believed that International Relations is transformed into discord, conflict, and war; meanwhile, classical liberalism believed that the world community is the only way for humans to achieve progress, prosperity, and peace (Jackson and Sorensen 2010). English School advised the middle way of thinking between classical realism and classical liberalism and developed it into a separate and distinctive theory.

There are a variety of approaches to sustainable development are an indication of differing ideological beliefs about the natural world, which for simplicity can be divided into the anthropocentric and ecocentric positions. Sustainable development, therefore, requires the construction of a new moral and ethical view of nature, which takes account of the interests and values of all living things. As such, ecocentric have visualized sustainable development as part of nature's way, a way designed to assist society by allowing nature to set the parameters of economic behavior. This interpretation of nature serves to put mankind in its place in the cosmic order. Here humankind is situated in nature, not above it, and in the final analysis, nature is seen as conditioning economic, social, and political activity.

Despite the variety of approaches within sustainable development, solidarist maintained their position to challenge the pluralism. Solidarist shows the depletion of natural resources as a result of human greed for wealth. Pollution and garbage due to the industrialization have contributed to global warming and local disasters. Poaching of endangered species also eliminates the chance of maintaining the diversity of wildlife for the future. John Blewitt (2008, 80) says that such problems become the driving factor of pluralist policies. The Montreal Protocol was established to limit the CFC gas from the atmosphere, which is very dangerous. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam formed the Heart of Borneo to maintain the protected forest in Borneo. Indonesia punished illegal forest loggers and companies. These policies are the result of ecological democratization. Democracy becomes an important instrument of economic transformation of the political system of the country.

IV.2. Multi-stakeholder initiative in the EU and the ASEAN

Multi-stakeholder initiative (MSI) is a new phenomenon in global environmental governance. Peters et al. (2009) argued that the presence of MSI reduced the governance gaps

that possibly further reduced corruption, environmental degradation, and human rights abuses. Democratic institutions have been accused very weakly in addressing many global problems, and MSI is expected to be a partner for solving the problems. MSI is a synergy between states, corporations and civil society. Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), World Commission on Dams (WCD), Roundtable Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), and Forest Stewardship Council are examples of MSI.

It is important to investigate the diverse ways by which non-state or sub-state actors such as international environmental non-governmental organizations, multi-national corporations contribute to global and regional rule-setting and public steering. There have been many books and journals highlighting the application of MSIs in global environmental politics. However, none of them has discussed the role of non-state actors in influencing the multilateral environmental negotiation.

If we looked at Baker's definition of sustainable development, then the secondary institution of sustainable development would be international organizations, policy instruments, and civil society. Baker's definition will contradict the economic nationalism and multi-stakeholder initiative in order to reconceptualize the sustainable development based on English School and case studies. By doing this, sustainable development can be confirmed in International Relations as the primary concept.

Blewitt (2008, 101) defines ecological democratization as a process of transformation where politics became a tool to implement the rights of humans and animals as well as plants for environmental conservation. According to Blewitt, the concept of sustainable development is the gateway to the democratization of ecology.

For Eckersley (2004, 115-117), the emergence of the concept of sustainable development is a reflection of deliberative democracy (DD). In DD, there are three main characters that correspond to the concept of sustainable development. First, inclusiveness. In DD, every actor defends not only its own interests but also the interests of others. As with sustainable development, DD contained the spirit to adopt a variety of perspectives, including an environmental perspective and economic perspective. Second, unconstrained dialogue. In DD, no censorship and restrictions were made intentionally to cover certain groups. A decision was taken on the results of open dialogue. DD becomes a forum where every individual is entitled to present reasons and logical arguments. Both DD and SD reflects the principles of justice where decisions are made based on the strength of the ideas, not the material and physical power. The third character is social learning. In DD and PB, every actor must be ready to sacrifice the interests of the group to implement the agreed decision. Through three

characters, DD, namely inclusiveness, unconstrained dialogue, and social learning, sustainable development becomes very clear.

Deliberative democracy is the tool to ensure the coherency of solidarism at the global level to the local level. Emphasizing democracy on the global level opened the possibility of the increasing role of individuals in the global level. This is something the environmentalist didn't want due to their state-centric view of International Relations and International Political Economy.

IV.3. Sustainable Development Governance in the EU and the ASEAN

The emergence of the concept of sustainable development encourages the concept of sustainable development governance. Karin Bäckstrand (2006) discussed this issue intensively. She said sustainable development governance is non-hierarchical order and using bottom-up approaches, which is different from the top-down approach used by states. This governance also combines various types of actors such as countries, companies, and civil society coalition in an organization. Examples of sustainable development governance are the Clean Development Mechanism and the Forest Stewardship Council. As shown in figure 2, sustainable development governance serves to fix the problem of governance in governance, implementation, and legitimacy.

Figure 1. Sustainable Development Governance
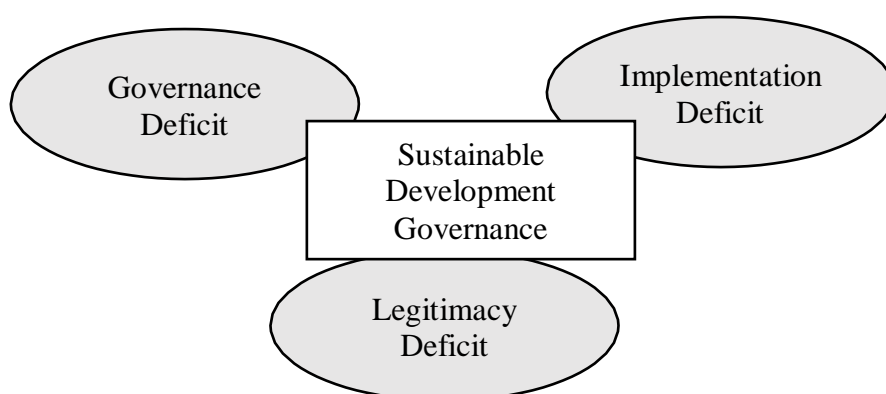
Source: (Karin Bäckstrand 2010, 15)

If we looked at the component of sustainable development governance, there are three deficits that need to be addressed; governance deficit, implementation deficit, and legitimacy deficit. These deficits are the problem of pluralism, and multi-stakeholder initiative wanted to fix. We should look at the governance, the implementation and legitimacy in Stockholm Conference, Rio Conference, and Rio de Janeiro Conference. A similar assignment will also be done with Eckersley and Blewitt's conception of sustainable development.

Since the 1980s, there has been a considerable shift in thinking regarding how to improve the social and environmental performance of transnational corporations. There is an increasing number of corporations, and other non-state actors opted for collaboration as opposed to confrontation. The combination of this two phenomena involves the emergence of so-called multi-stakeholder initiatives where non-governmental organizations (NGO), multilateral and other organizations encourage companies to participate in schemes that set social and environmental standards, monitor compliance, promote social and environmental reporting and auditing, certify good practice, and encourage stakeholder dialogue and social learning pushing companies, states and non-governmental organizations beyond narrow self-interest based bargaining (Moog, Spicer and Bohm 2015, 473). MSI has been branded as a new form of global governance with the potential to bridge multilateral norms and local action by drawing on a diverse number of actors in civil society, government, and business.

MSI is a voluntary approach to a new standard-setting and, therefore, the imperative for getting the appropriate stakeholders committed to a process of dialogue and joint problem-solving. This is using a regulation-by-information approach where the basic paradigm for global regulatory processes is the promulgation of performance standards, codes of practice, and other aspirational models based on compiled comparative information (Slaughter 2003, 1063).

In MSIs, the role of the non-governmental organization has become legitimate at the negotiation table in the making and implementation of governance regimes. In other words, civil society organizations are not merely consulted, but all parties can take an active and engaged role in shaping the process and outcomes through bargaining and argumentative, that is, non-manipulative persuasion. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), the Kimberly Process, and the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) are just a few examples of major MSI. Through comprehensive deliberative processes, involving a broad set of stakeholders from governments, private sector, and civil society, MSI form and adopt new norms, which they seek to make part of the global agenda, and implement on the ground. Koechlin and Calland (2009, 91), have identified five functions of MSI, namely dialogue or forum, institution building, rule sets, rule implementation, and rule monitoring.

MSI was initially coined in the follow-up process to the Johannesburg Conference in 2002 with regard to addressing environmental issues. However, in the past decade, such collective initiatives across sectors have been increasingly used in other areas, such as human

rights regimes, for example, UK-US Voluntary Standard on Security and Human Rights or accountability and transparency initiative. MSIs are regarded as an alternative to government regulation for solving complex problems, in recognition of the global and interconnected nature of new problems, the slow and winding pace and often inappropriate instruments of global negotiation processes, and the interdependencies between the various stakeholders and their actions.

Proponents argue that MSI, spanning the public-private domain, captures the essence of governance from below, counter the participation gap, and effectively address the implementation gap in global environmental politics. MSI has emerged partly as a response to the limits of multilateralism, where intergovernmental diplomacy alone cannot grapple with the pressing problems and complex dimensions of sustainable development.

In MSI, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are the main actor. Clarke (1998, 2-3) defines NGO as an organization focusing on social welfare and not-for-profit oriented. NGO can be categorized using Porta and Diani's typology. As shown in figure 3, activism NGOs are using a radical approach to confront government and corporation's policies. For example, Greenpeace International are actively protesting government and corporation's policies through street protest or direct movement. Meanwhile, lobbying NGOs are using cooperation mechanisms with the government and corporations to achieve social and environmental goals. MSI belongs to lobbying NGOs because it entails synergy between civil society, corporate, and governments.

Why NGOs become an important actor in MSI? First, a variety of projects handled by NGOs run by highly efficient and involving minimal human resources. In contrast, the state has a bureaucratic structure with very long procedures, and international humanitarian assistance was very prone to be lost or corrupted. In 1993, the United Nations Development Program conducted research that mentioned that official international aid failed to reach the poor amounting to 20% while the NGO failed about 5% (Raffer and Singer 1996, 138). Catholic Relief Services only spent 4.78% of the total aid for staff salaries and administration. 95% of Catholic Relief Services assistance directly channeled to beneficiaries (Kim 2011, 8).

Figure 2. Civil Society Interaction Model
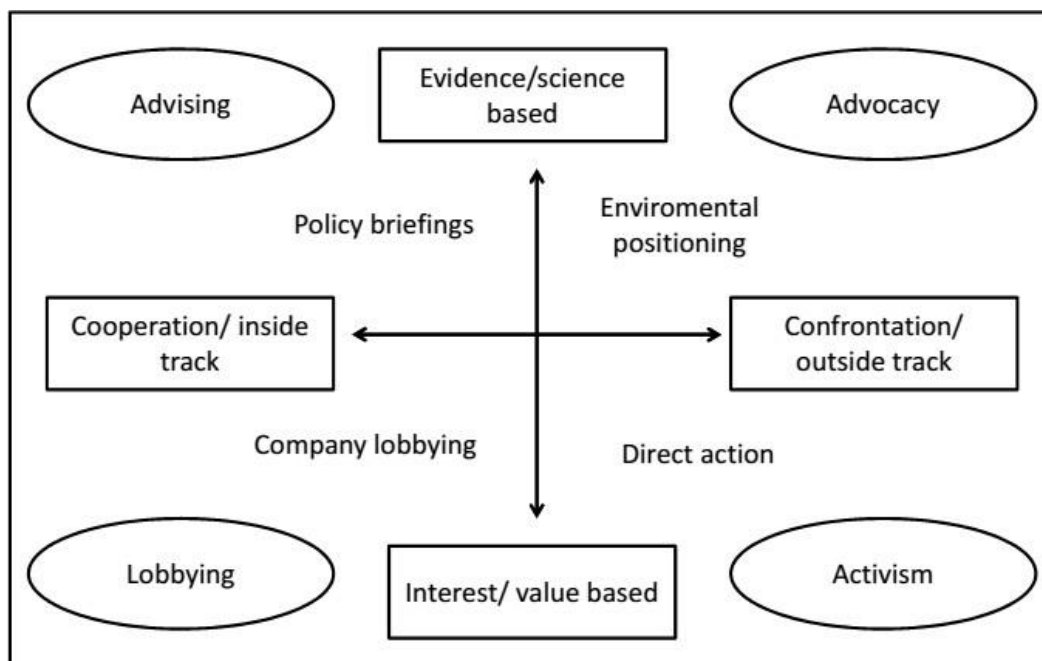
Source: (Porta and Diani 2006, 14)

The second character of NGOs is the community-based approach. This means that NGOs prioritize the micro approach that directly involved grassroots. Raffer and Singer (1996, 138) give the term human-face intervention. NGOs have a better ability to work at the grassroots with the participation of local communities. Decentralized structure and local contacts allow NGOs to directly connect with grassroots. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh provided micro-loans specifically for mothers. It is a new breakthrough for reaching closer to the poor. NGO also have a preventive action and early warning. When natural disasters destroyed so many public facilities and killing many people, NGOs directly get priority in the management of humanitarian aid.

The third character is NGO's international network. Branches and networks of NGOs can reach all countries in the world. Without constrained by the membership of nation-states, NGOs can continue to receive and provide information to other NGOs in other parts of the world. As illustrated below in figure 4, NGOs will seek support from NGOs of other countries by spreading information, and NGO hopes foreign countries will press the attitude and position of that country to directly suppress the destination country. Another scenario is the NGO will seek the support of international organizations in the hope that the organization will press the destination country. Keck and Sikkink call this strategy as the boomerang strategy, as shown in Figure below.

Figure 3. NGO's Boomerang Strategy

MSI

State A

Barrier

State B

NGO

NGO

NGO

NGO

NGO
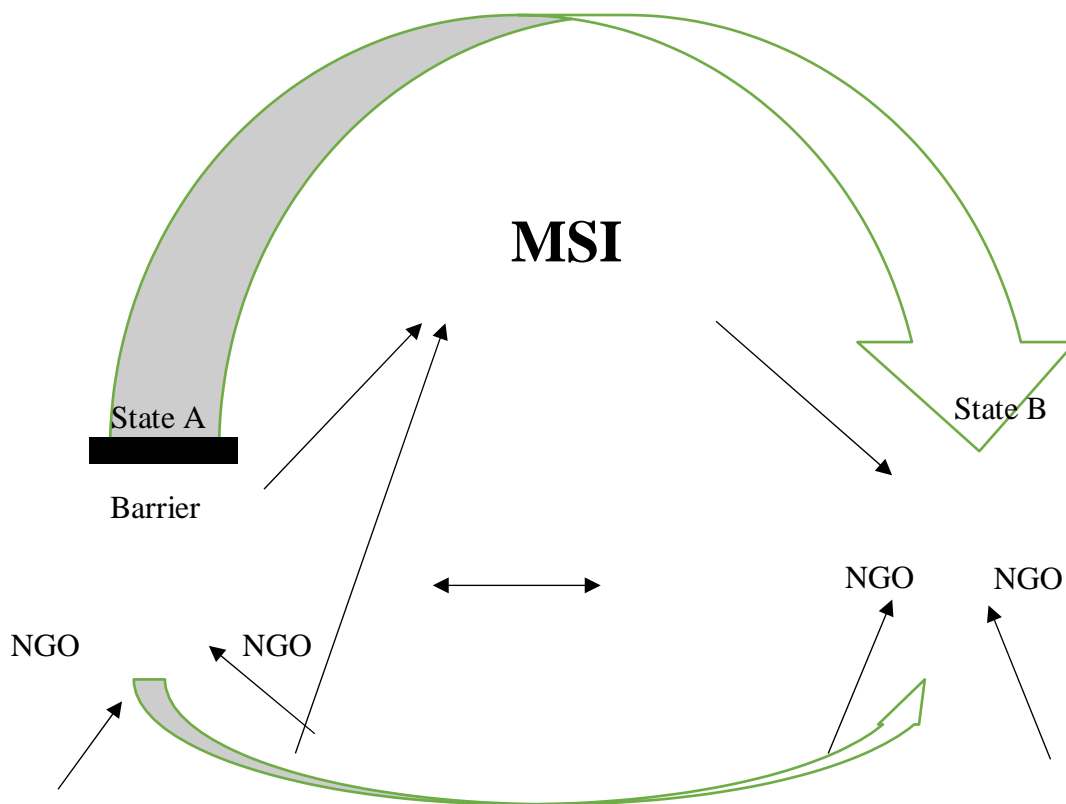
Source: (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 13)

So many NGOs were able to fund a variety of projects related to environmental protection. WWF-US contributed 12.9 million US dollars for the implementation of 407 environmental projects in 33 countries. From the 1980s until the 1990s, WWF funded more than 2,000 environmental projects worldwide with total funding of 62.5 million US Dollars (Princen 1994, 29). There are still many other NGOs that have enormous strength financial like Greenpeace and Great Lakes United (GLU). NGOs were able to attract the attention of the mass media. As NGOs in other fields, the mass media become the "backbone" for the activities of NGOs. Greenpeace, with local television stations, WWF, with its international membership, will be able to become effective media publicity for their activities. Countries and international organizations do not necessarily do the research and data collection on a regular basis regarding environmental issues. NGOs have research capabilities that are able to reach all levels. NGOs were able to force the corporation and states to provide transparency of data and information. NGOs are able to break the information barrier by supplying accurate and comprehensive

information gaps. People who are often unable to access information now can receive information symmetrically.

IV.4. Economic Nationalism and Sustainable Development in the EU and the ASEAN

The concept of economic nationalism first appeared in a book by Robert Gilpin Global Political Economy. Gilpin defines economic nationalism as:

> "Economic activities are and should be subordinate to the goal of state-building and the interests of the state. It recognizes the anarchic nature of International Affairs, the primacy of the state and its interests in international affairs, and the importance of power in International relations" (Gilpin 2000, 14).

By this definition, Gilpin refers to economic nationalism to the tradition of statism and mercantilism doctrine. This concept is clearly outdated because it was not able to analyze the broader notion of the concept of economic nationalism. The influence of the international monetary economics organization, communication, and information technology advances the state of economic cooperation to encourage a new definition of economic nationalism. Based on a literature review, the concept of economic nationalism can be categorized into several dichotomies such as aggressive economic nationalism aggressive, defensive economic nationalism, benign economic nationalism benign and malign economic nationalism.

First, Heilperin (1960, 19) categorizes economic nationalism into a dichotomy of unintended self-sufficiency and self-sufficiency. Deliberate self-sufficiency is the state policy of deliberately attacking another country to meet the domestic needs of the country attackers, while unintended self-sufficiency is the policy of the country to meet its domestic needs in an indirect way. Second, D'Costa (2012, 21) categorizes economic nationalism into two kinds of aggressive economic nationalism and defensive economic nationalism. Defensive economic nationalism is a form of state policy with a focus on the domestic economy with consequences abroad while the aggressive economic nationalism is state policy to encourage investment to another country to economic ruin other countries for the interest of country of origin.

Third, Levi-Faur (1997, 367) categorizes economic nationalism into two kinds of economic nationalism malign and benign. Economic nationalism is the policy of malign attainment of national interests at the expense of other countries' resources, while benign economic

nationalism is the policy of the country is ready to compromise with other countries to accommodate the interests of other countries. Other differences of both types are malign committed to maintaining peace and stability of the world economy and put that commitment in the national identity, while benign reject that commitment.

The emergence of the concept of economic nationalism is driven by the trade deficit faced by developing countries after independence from colonial powers (D'Costa 2006, 5). Developing countries inherited the trading patterns of high-value goods imported from developed countries that the developing countries must spend a big budget to import. Developing countries seek to suppress high-value goods imports by developing domestic production to substitute imported products. This policy is known as Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). In the international political economy, ISI is a response to the dependence of developing countries on the export of agricultural products. ISI becomes a development strategy of countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. They build automotive products and electronics industry to reduce dependence on exports of agricultural products and increase high added value products (Cohn 2012, 307).

Levi-Faur said economic nationalism is not only struggling with the seizure of natural resources but also human resources. Oil and gas is a natural resource that is limited while improving the quality of human resources are not limited. With a focus on improving the quality of human resources, the potential for inter-state conflicts can be minimized. This logic is the foundation of economic nationalism defensive thinking and benign. In addition, improving the quality of HR adds value far greater than the seizure of SDA. Levi-Faur said:

"What is now being traded between nations in this global web is mainly three human skills: 'specialised problem-solving (research, product design, and fabrication), problem-identifying (marketing, advertising, customer consulting), and brokerage (financing, searching, contracting) services, as well as certain routine components and services, all of which are combined to create value.' All that will remain rooted within national borders are the people who comprise a nation. A nation's primary asset, therefore, will be its citizens: their skills, their insights, their training capital rather than metals to be the major source of wealth, may lead to the opposite conclusion regarding the rationality of international conflict. In contrast to metals that are a definite source of wealth, human capital is an unlimited resource that can be augmented almost indefinitely. Moreover, augmenting the human capital of one nation does not necessarily decrease the human capital of other nations" (Levi-Faur 1997, 366).

13

Hellen Callaghan (2012, 4) examined the UK's position related to the thoughts of Levi-Faur. Callaghan argues that economic nationalism is not an obstacle to the privatization of national companies. In contrast to developing countries that retain ownership of state firms, England prioritizes the privatization of national companies. The British position is possible because London is the center of Europe's financial industry. In the financial business, the profits are derived from the arrangement and financing Mergers and acquisitions (M&A) of various companies. In 2007, the industry contributed to the strength of the UK labor market by 4%, against a 15% income tax and corporation tax of 26.5% (Callaghan, 2012, 3). This makes the UK a model for defensive benign economic nationalism. England focuses on the strength development of human resources in the financial sector, so there is less incentive to start a conflict with other countries.

Economic nationalism has a branch of technology nationalism that is called as techno-nationalism. The concept was coined and popularized by Robert Reich in his The Rise of Technonationalism. He said that the United States protects important technology owned by the US from the threat of Japan (Reich 1987, 62). US technological superiority was translated into a national identity that unites the people. Richard Samuels further said that if a country wants to achieve prosperity, he should develop and strengthen science and technology (Samuels 1994). Nationalism technology became a concept popular in Asia because of the desire to tackle technological dependence on developed countries. However, the Asian country's nationalism combines technology with foreign investment. This combined approach into a technological nationalism is an example of the concept of benign and defensive economic nationalism.

James Mayall (1990, 88) sparked a new economic nationalism. It is related not only political but also economic policies related to human health and the environment. The background of new economic nationalism is the global spread of infectious diseases through food and drink. SARS virus, avian influenza virus, and Ebola virus spreads very rapidly through the rapid movement of people across the country.

New economic nationalism advised that states were allowed the movement of humans and goods to prevent transmission of the dangerous virus. The state allowed to prohibit the import of goods if they endanger the safety, health, and security of its citizens. The United States imposed a ban on imports of chicken meat policies from China due to a case of bird flu virus occurred in China at that time. United States has a health standard that does not allow the import of food containing the disease but reiterated that the chicken meat exported to the US safe from the bird flu virus. So China is suing the US to the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB)

of the WTO. DSB panel found no mistakes in US' policy so that panels DSB won the United States not to import chicken meat from China.

The new economic nationalism becomes a justification for the adoption of free trade policies. The negative perception of the idea of nationalism was motivated by an attitude of rejection of the idea of free trade. For Hellneir (2002, 320), free trade policies is a benign form of economic nationalism. By adopting a policy of global trade integration, the country can realize the unity of the national economy, national economic development, and the strengthening of national identity. Research shows that in England, a supporter of economic liberalization is also a supporter of economic nationalism.

Culture has also become an instrument of economic nationalism. Cultural nationalism is also a branch of economic nationalism. Cultural commoditization of many countries have become high-value products and are exported to other countries. South Korea is a model of cultural nationalism. Korea invested so much money to develop the Korean entertainment industry and make it a commodity that is very competitive in the global entertainment market. Korean Wave was initially a nationalist movement that was transformed into a giant industry for excellence in quality and competitive price (Lee and Lee 2015, 51).

The actor who carries out economic nationalism is not only the country but also the company. The state has a very large investment for certain companies to conduct business in other countries. The company is not just looking for profit but also conducting national interest. Matthew Chen and Amy Myers Jaffe (2007, 12) states that the economic power of the national oil company (NOC) is very strong because it was supported by the country of origin. For example, the deficit of energy resources in a country forced the state to use NOC to invest in oil fields controversial, such as Myanmar, Sudan, and Iran. Although opposed by the humanitarian activist, NOC is very aggressive in increasing oil production by investing in oil fields in various countries, including involved in internal conflicts and serious human rights violations. As a result of investing such a huge country, the NOC becomes difficult to behave like a normal international oil company seeking maximum profits.

Many governments use NOCs as a tool to achieve wider socio-economic policy objectives, including income redistribution and industrial development. At home, NOCs compete for capital budgets that might otherwise be allocated to more core oil industry, commercially-oriented activities such as reserve replacement and oil production enhancement. According to the Baker Institute research, this non-core, non-commercial obligations have imposed costs upon the NOC, and in some cases, have diluted the incentive to maximize profits, hindering the NOC's ability to raise internal or external capital and to compete at international

standards. In addition, many of these emerging NOCs have close and interlocking relationships with their national governments. The result has been stagnation in capacity growth and an inability to maintain or grow the countries' oil production capacity.

The absence of explicit pressure to earn a return on capital, often coupled with inadequate financial transparency, has, in many cases, resulted in the inefficient or wasteful allocation of already scarce investment resources. For example, many NOCs are asked to provide fuel to the home market at heavily subsidized prices, stimulating a large growth in demand and reducing the net amount of oil available for export (Chen and Jaffe 2007, 16).

V. Learning Assessment

Students will write a journal article consisting of an abstract, introduction, literature review, research methods, results and discussion, and conclusion and recommendation.

- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, what is your title for your journal article (17 words)?
- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your article's abstract (250 words)?
- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your article's introduction (1000 – 1500 words)?
- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your article's literature review (1000-1500 words)?
- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What is your research method for the article (200-300 words)?
- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What are your article's results and findings (1000-1500 words)?
- In the context of the politics of sustainable development in the EU-ASEAN, What are your article's conclusions and recommendations (300-500 words)?

Description of Journal's Section

No	Section	Description
1	Introduction	The introduction explains why the topic is important or necessary or important. Begin by describing the problem or situation that motivates the research.

2	Literature Review	Move to discuss the current state of research in the field; then reveal a "gap" or problem in the field. Finally, explain how the present research is a solution to that problem or gap.
3	Methods	The methods section tells readers how you conducted your study. It includes information about your population, sample, methods, and equipment. The "gold standard" of the methods section is that it should enable readers to duplicate your study. Methods sections typically use subheadings; they are written in the past tense, and they use a lot of passive voice.
4	Results and Discussions	In this section, you present your findings. Typically, the Results section contains only the findings, not any explanation of or commentary on the findings (see below). Results sections are usually written in the past tense. Make sure all tables and figures are labeled and numbered separately. Captions go above tables and beneath figures.
5	Conclusions and Recommendations	In this section, you summarize your main findings, comment on those findings (see below), and connect them to other research. You also discuss the limitations of your study and use these limitations as reasons to suggest additional, future research.
6	Abstract	The abstract for the report comes at the beginning of the paper, but you should write it after you have drafted the full report. The abstract provides a very short overview of the entire paper, including a sentence or two about the report's purpose and importance, a sentence or two about your methods, a few sentences that present the main findings, and a sentence or two about the implications of your findings.

Scoring Rubric

Rubric	A	B	C	Comments
Abstract	Concisely conveys a research agenda and essential results and avoids introducing new material includes the significance of the research.	Concisely conveys a research agenda and essential results and avoids repetition and introducing new material.	Maybe repetitious, may introduce new material, and/or includes no or extraneous results or no research agenda.	
Introduction	States a problem and the research agenda, and explains its significance. Includes appropriate background.	States a problem and the research agenda, but may not fully explain its scope or significance. Includes some background.	Does not clearly explain the problem, research agenda, scope, or significance. May omit important background.	
Literature Review	Uses sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for the research question and culminates with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	Uses sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for the research question but failed to culminate with a clearly stated	Lack of sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for the research question and failed to culminate with	

		purpose/ research question	a clearly stated purpose/ research question	
Methods	Research is well planned and carefully conducted, and methods and materials are explained as needed, with visuals when appropriate.	Research is mostly well planned and carefully conducted, but method and materials are not always fully explained.	Lacks a full, accurate, or careful explanation of materials and methods.	
Results and Discussion	Each key research finding is given visual prominence. The data presentation is accurate, readable, and free of gaps or inaccuracies.	The data is clearly presented and most accurate and readable, but a few gaps may be present. Some of the key findings are difficult to find.	The findings are not clearly presented or readable. Some of the data is inaccurate and/or contains gaps.	
Conclusions and Recommendations	Conclusions are valid, follow logically from the data, and address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications and potential problems are discussed thoroughly.	Conclusions are valid, follow logically from the data, and address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications	Conclusions do not follow logically from the data or do not address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications	

		and potential problems are mentioned, although not thoroughly explained.	and potential problems are mentioned, but some may be overlooked.	
Use of sources/references	Uses current, relevant, and appropriate sources correctly cited the following appropriate conventions.	Mostly uses current, relevant, and appropriate sources that are usually correctly cited following appropriate conventions.	May use many outdated, irrelevant, inappropriate sources, or does not cite consistently or correctly follow appropriate conventions.	
Mechanics & Styles	Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and usage are appropriate to a scholarly audience.	Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and usage are most appropriate to a scholarly audience, with occasional errors or inconsistencies.	It contains distracting errors in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and/or usage that appear unprofessional.	

VI. Primary Readings

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- Helleiner, Eric. 2002. "Economic Nationalism as a Challenge to Economic Liberalism? Lessons from the Nineteenth Century." *International Studies Quarterly* (Trent International Political Economy Center) 307-329.

VII. Additional Readings

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VIII. REFERENCES

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Module 7

EU and ASEAN

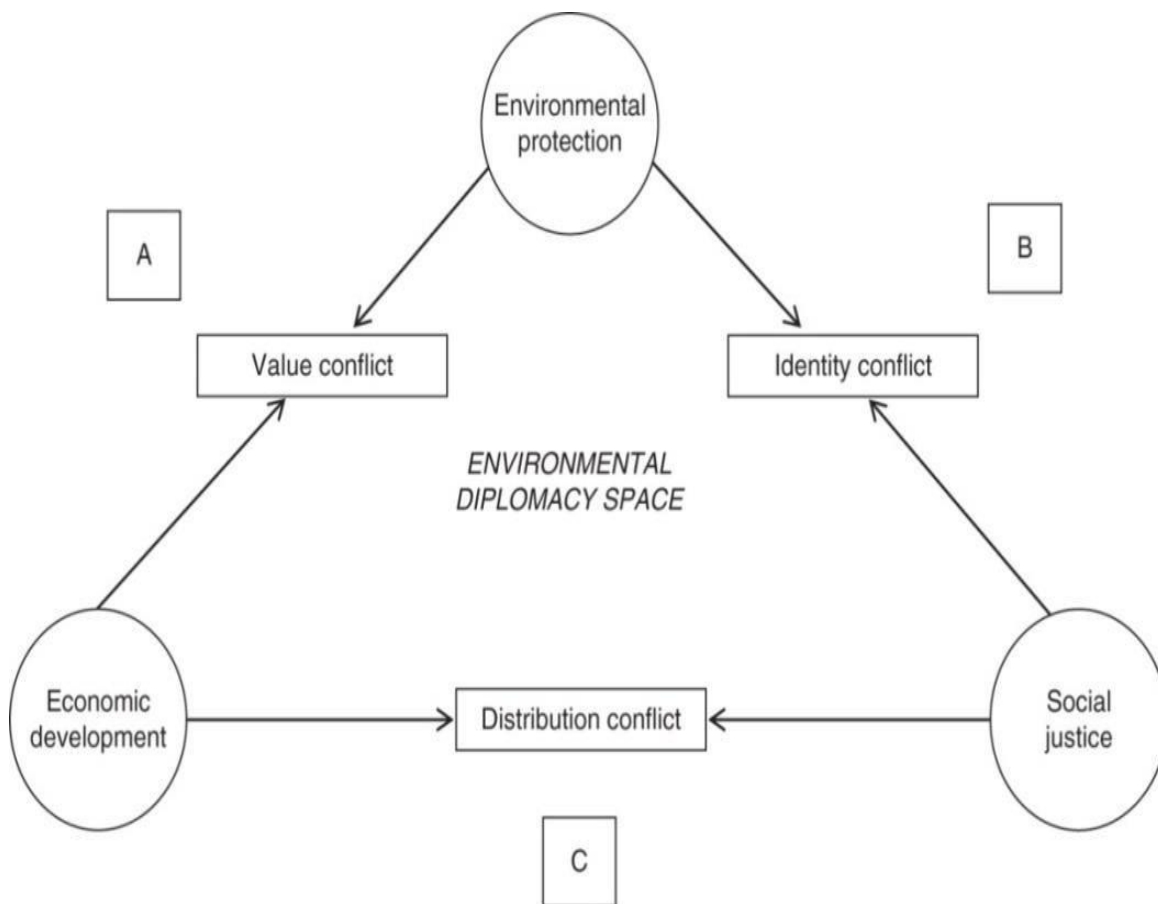# Environmental Diplomacy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Background

Environmental problems such as water pollution, deforestation, and illegal hunting of animals are very alarming at this time. The importance of solving these environmental problems has encouraged international community awareness and created a new form of diplomacy called environmental diplomacy. Environmental diplomacy is formed to be able to address environmental issues through the practice of diplomacy and the foreign policy of a country. Environmental diplomacy in the international sphere has several diverse meanings, according to several experts.

Pramudianto defined environmental diplomacy as the science and art of studying and dealing with environmental issues to achieve conformity with national interests (or the interests and policies of non-state entities), especially foreign policy and domestic politics in a country's environmental field (Pramudianto, 2011). Pramudianto explained that there is an essential component in the study of environmental diplomacy, which we can see from the institutional structure, processes, and plan carried out through environmental diplomacy.

On the other hand, Ali and Vladich mentioned that there are three interrelated elements in environmental diplomacy, namely economic growth, environmental protection, and social justice (Ali & Vladich, 2016). These three elements are linked and complement each other in their very own way. These three elements are parts of the entire diplomacy space. Each of them connects to a specific conflict that indicates the obstacles that obstruct the course of environmental diplomacy. To better understand the relation between these three elements in environmental diplomacy by Ali and Vladich, we can analyze the significance in the illustrated chart below.

Schematics 2.1 Environmental Diplomacy According to Ali and Vladich

Source: Ali, S. & Vladich, H. V., 2016. "Environmental Diplomacy." The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy, 601-616.

The value conflict (A), which is highlighted by the clash of environmental protection priorities and economic development priorities, is the most common type of conflict at the international level where the environmental agreement in the process of negotiation becomes hampered. There is often a fundamental political ideology based on conflict. Identity conflicts (B) around ecological problems stem from social biases felt in society that often manifest in excessive environmental damage where minority communities bear this damage.

This conflict presented terms of political culture and how natural systems form an integral part of the identity of specific populations. Distribution conflict (C): with the scarcity of natural resources, there is undoubtedly a 'zero-sum' aspect in some environmental conflicts (where one party loses because of the other wins). How scarce the allocated resources, especially water resources in the context of riparian communities based on several norms of social justice, is the most challenging aspect of environmental diplomacy.

In facilitating the practice of environmental diplomacy, another essence that can support the application of diplomacy so that it can run well is in need. The essence is public opinion. According to Forsyth, public concerns about environmental issues are significant because they show how ecological change experienced by them become a problem, and because they offer insight into the political processes that shape policy interventions. Social scientists refer to the relationship between public awareness and policy challenges as "environmental narratives" because they formulate the concepts of blame, risk and potential solutions (Forsyth, 2014)

To get support from public opinion, one of the optimal tools used today is the mass media. According to Lang in (Severin & Tankard Jr., 2008) "the mass media imposes specific issues. The mass media builds a public image of political figures. The mass media continually presents objects that show what individuals should consider, know, and feel in society ". This statement indicates that there are several influences as a message which is packaged by mass media to influence audiences as a change of thinking both cognitive and behavior (Severin & Tankard Jr., 2008)

Public opinion, branding, image, and reputation offer rich variations for policymakers in ensuring environmental protection throughout the world. Public relations lobbyists and consulting firms will survey news about specific environmental issues and suggest communication strategies to change perceptions about the government's reputation on environmental issues (Robertua, 2019).

II. Learning Objectives

- Students have a better knowledge of environmental diplomacy with the focus of the E.U. and the ASEAN
- Students can understand the problem of sustainable development with the focus of the role of the corporation in the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN
- Students have better knowledge on the methods to propose new analysis on the history of the E.U. environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN
- Students can describe new analysis on the role of civil society in the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN

III. Learning Activities

III.1. The History of the E.U. Environmental Diplomacy toward the ASEAN

Twenty years after the Stockholm Conference, world leaders gathered again in Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, to discuss global solutions on global environmental problems. Rio Conference or United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) had an important background that World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has published its report "Our Common Future" in 1987. There were 110 heads of states attending this meeting and 2.400 non-governmental representatives (Clapp and Dauvergne 2005, 77).

Twenty years is the learning time needed for leaders to find a solution to normative tension between nationalism and environmentalism. As mentioned before, there was a significant rift between developed and developing countries over their ecological responsibilities. "Our Common Future" in 1987 will be an important milestone in bringing more cooperation between developing and developed countries and changing the nationalism into economic sustainability.

Economic development focused on the compatibility of liberal economic programs and the betterment of environmental livelihood. Not only WSSD, but the World Bank is also an important international organization in promoting economic development by channeling development funds to developing countries with environmental additionality (Bernstein, The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism 2001, 75). Corporations started to think that environmental disaster such as floods and forest fires can damage their reputations and business activities. Profit-making activities are threatened by the exploitation of natural resources. The environmental dimension of business and the global political economy becomes more visible, and governments have to adapt to this new situation. Economic development deals with the changes in the structures of the international political economy.

Rio Conference in 1992 has strengthened the notion that welfare, technology, and economic growth are the key tenets to address global environmental problems. Developing countries play a bigger role in Rio Conference as the poverty alleviation program was synchronized in environmental diplomacy. In contrast with nationalism, economic development focused on the poor that was seen as the agents and the victims of environmental degradation. Most of the poor live in ecologically marginal areas, and welfare programs such as family planning, clean drinking water, sanitation, and education will improve their welfare

and environmental standard altogether (Bernstein, The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism 2001, 76). Government leaders at the Rio Conference realized that environmental degradation in developing countries was linked to the failure of welfare strategy that the only way of obtaining welfare is through resource overexploitation.

To make sure the government addressed the poor community, Rio Conference agreed on common but differentiated responsibility. It is said that environmental protection is a common responsibility for all nations but has a different focus and strategy to promote environmental protection. For rich nations, the responsibilities are to make sure that developing countries implemented effective policies to address poverty and environmental degradation, and developing countries must ensure environmental consideration is included in their economic programs. In this way, economic development has avoided the rivalry talk of developing and developed countries and lead to cooperation with the focus of alleviating poor communities (Epstein 2014).

At the same time, awareness of environmental degradation has increased significantly in developing countries. Bernstein (2001) noted that environmental issues had been considered as important as health care and employment in developing countries. The hierarchy of environmental protection over economic growth was then acceptable in many developing countries. This change, according to Bernstein (2001), was the result of many environmental disasters such as toxic gas in Union Carbide Plant in Bhopal, India in 1984, Chernobyl nuclear leak in 1986, and Exxon Valdez oil spill in 1989. This disaster received serious attention from the world community and changed the perception of the peoples (Bernstein, The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism 2001, 85)

The E.U. environmental diplomacy in ASEAN gave a greater role for non-state actors such as the poor and the corporation. Rio Conference has brought new policies for helping and assisting the poor and created the awareness of environmental protection. However, it is not clear on how to deal with the corporation that attempted to bring prices lower by denigrating the environmental impact of factories production. Rio Conference didn't deal with the rivalry between a corporation and civil society on the priority over environmental protection.

In the Stockholm Conference, nationalism has fueled the debate of the developed and developing countries, and it has been solved by the shift from economic nationalism to economic development. Meanwhile, globalization has given a bigger role to corporations and governments are weaker in dealing with corporations as lesser funds for social subsidy and bigger capital of the corporation. The rivalry of corporations and civil society reflected the

debate between developed and developing countries, as well as the debate between pluralism and solidarism.

Corporation aimed to bring profits as much as possible with the cost as low as possible. Corporation disagrees with the idea of polluters pays principles because it will add cost to their prices that previously taken by the government. Robert Falkner (2009) said that Rio Conferences wanted to address this issue but gathered minor attention from audiences. World Business Council for Sustainable Development was established in the Rio Conference with the aim "to inject a more business-friendly approach into international environmental politics and to legitimize business as a partner in the search for global solutions, something that was eventually recognized in chapter 30 of Agenda 21, UNCED's main plan of action" (R. Falkner 2009, 7).

III.2. The Reconstruction of English School Theory in the E.U. Environmental Diplomacy to ASEAN

The role of environmental diplomacy is hotly debated within the English School community. The international system didn't recognize the presence of corporations due to the domination and aggressiveness of the state. The corporation is merely a representation and tools for states. Barry Buzan has criticized this perspective comprehensively by arguing that English School scholars have to focus on world society that gives bigger participation to non-state actors such as corporations and civil society.

Barry Buzan (2004) even further argues that world society consisted of interhuman societies and transnational societies. Transnational societies consists of no transnational actors, coalitions of like transnational actors, transnational actors coalitions across type and pure medievalism. Meanwhile interhuman societies consists of universal identities, large-scale imagined communities and fragmented societies.

However Barry Buzan didn't establish the interconnection between international society and world society. Rio Conference has shown that corporations have been neglected to the overcome of global environmental solutions which created a failure of Rio Declaration. States have reduced their social subsidy to the poor due to the global financial crisis in 1973 and 1991 (Callagher 2006). Corporations, in other hand, played bigger role in setting the labour and environmental standard due to their financial power in macro-economics and micro-economics (*Ibid*). This neglect of corporation should be address within the concept of environmental diplomacy. By using the case of Rio Conference, English School has to set the response of

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environmental diplomacy toward the increasing role of corporation. Can we talk international society and world society together within economic development?

The lack of corporation participation in the E.U. environmental diplomacy to ASEAN showing that English School focused mostly in international society. International society is defined as "the institutionalization of shared interests and identity among states, and puts the creation and maintenance of shared norms, rules, institutions at the center of I.R. theory" (Buzan, 2004, 7). Meanwhile world society focused on "individuals, non-state organizations and ultimately the global population as a whole as the focus of global societal identities and arrangements and puts transcendence of the states-system at the centre of I.R. theory" (*Ibid*). Buzan's definition is slightly different with Bull's definition that has been elaborated in the literature review and this research used Buzan's definition.

Rio Conference and forest fires in Indonesia provided question on why international society is separated with world society. This research argues that economic development is able to merge the international society and world society. Barry Buzan has successfully merged the international system into international society but why he can't merge the international society to world society. This research argues that case study method provided important foundation to the synthesis of international society and world society.

Incommensurability of international society and world society was due to the inherent nature of state and non-state. They have different ontology that is the main subject of the research. State enjoys special privileged status in International Relations as Buzan (2004, 91) said:

"so the first, and in some ways most important, step in bringing the concept of world society into focus, is to establish the desirability, and in terms of a structural presentation of English School theory, the necessity, of making sharp separation between state and international society on the one hand and non-state and world society on the other".

Next question is on how economic development is suitable to merge international society and world society within the economic sustainability. The way to do the synthesis is to elaborate the idea of international society. If the states is the only factor separating the international society and world society, then it can be scrambled by saying that corporations have driven the states' policy and behaviour. In the extreme case, government is the puppets for corporation. What is the usage of differentiating world society and international society if the states is the puppet of corporation? This argument is clearly obvious in the Marx theory.

Marxian believed that states are the tools for the capitalist to control the labor. States will get rent and fees from the capital owner of the exploitation of labor and natural resources.

International society is part of world society and world society is part of economic development. It is interesting to look on the consequences of this argument. The conflict and cooperation between corporation, states and civil society can be captured under a single institution namely economic development. Having said this, English School can claim as the grand theory due to its power to break the walls between its pillars. Incommensurability and immutability is the key characteristic of mainstream International Relations theories such as Realism and Liberalism. There are many taken-for-granted and undebatable assumptions that lead to simplification and dichotomy of concepts and institutions.

Critical I.R. theories such as constructivism and English School started to debate those taken-for-granted institutions (Quayle 2012). The main assumption of English School and constructivism are the changing norms and values. There is no such permanent and fixed norms, ideas, and values in International Relations. Humans can change the rules as well as the constitution that motivated other units to do so.

By focusing to the human behaviour, English School and constructivism adapted to the constant dynamic by preparing the dynamic concepts such as logic of appropriateness, logic of consequences, international society and world society. However, the deepening of human interaction due to globalizations has created this concepts obsolete and there is urgent need to revitalize this theory by producing new primary institutions such as environmental diplomacy that covered all concepts.

III.3. The Role of Corporation in the E.U. Environmental Diplomacy toward ASEAN

To elaborate this topic, it is important to highlight the case of transboundary haze in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. The haze was the result of forest fires in Indonesian forest, the second biggest forest area after the Amazon in Brazil. The haze and forest fires was partly blamed as the product of forest conversion to palm oil, paper and rubber plantation. Indonesia is the biggest producer of palm oil and rubber and the second biggest exporter of palm oil. Palm oil industry has attracted a significant investment with giants companies such as Sinar Mas, Wilmar, and Bakrie Group (Varkkey 2016).

Forest fires have contributed to Indonesian carbon dioxide emission making Indonesia as the third biggest emitter after the United States and China. Singapore and Malaysia have complained constantly through the regional organizations Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) without any real progress. ASEAN also has neglected the role of palm oil companies despite the fact that many forest fires are located in the palm oil concession area. In the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution, corporations are not attached to any environmental responsibility. Environmental activists have blamed that the government is occupied by the business lobby and the ASEAN negotiation styles "ASEAN Way" that prefer the closed negotiation and state-centric solution (Nguitragool 2011).

However Robert Falkner (2009) believed that corporations have social power in influencing and against the government. This power should not hinder the ability of corporation to enjoy the status of actor in International Relations. As said earlier, the inability of government to help the poor out of poverty and environmentally marginal areas are part of the global financial crisis that caused by the failure of corporation. Government's budget to social funds is also significantly cut due to liberalization programs and budget deficit. This created asymmetrical situation that corporations can control government's policies both in the national politics and international politics. Therefore, the separation of state and non-state actors should be abolished.

Robertua (2014) has researched that corporations have driven European government to neglect human rights abuse in Myanmar. Mass murder to students and human rights activists have provoked worldwide protests to oppressive autocratic countries. European Union (E.U.) has the obligation to uphold human rights norms in their foreign policy and wanted to take measures in punishing Myanmar due to their human rights abuse. United States and Canada have already imposed military sales ban to the government and the E.U. planned to impose investment ban. EU is the second biggest investor in Myanmar after China and investment ban will hurt European business in Myanmar. French oil Company TOTAL S.A lobbied French President to change the E.U. decision. Due to its voting and economic power within the EU, French successfully blocked the plan of investment ban to Myanmar.

We can see that corporation network can bring significant change in international politics and separating corporation and government is not the solution to bring betterment in many global problems. The neglect of corporation in international society has reduced the English School power to be normative theory. From the case of Rio Conference, forest fires and haze as well as the human rights abuse in Myanmar, it is important to think uniting the world society and international society.

Rio Conference is a case on how the lack of grand institutions created the ignorance toward the reality. Governments have been united in battling many environmental problems however they didn't see that corporations is missing from the picture. Corporation is increasingly important in many aspects of individual daily live and international environmental agreements didn't put corporations at the center of attention. This is a backward situation because theory is supposed to be the solution of human problems. The reluctant dialogue between theory and reality has caused the failure to improve environmental situations. International Relations theories are threatened to be obsolete if it can't bring any real solution to the current problems. By doing this, we started to ask the interaction between the states and companies and the impact of those interaction in the E.U. environmental diplomacy to ASEAN. Economic development can advise strategy and policies to bring betterment in corporate policies.

III.4. The Role of Civil Society in the E.U. Environmental diplomacy to ASEAN

To engage with corporate and civil society, world leaders gathered again in Johannesburg, South Africa ten years after Rio Conference. It is held in May 4-10, 2002 with 100 representatives from governments and 1,000 business representatives and more than 8.500 activists from all over the world. Johannesburg Conference is the first environment conference to adopt input from corporates and activists. Previously in Stockholm Conference and Rio Conference, corporate and activists were speaking in the parallel informal event (Seyfang and Jordan 2009, 21).

There are two result of Johannesburg. Firstly, world leaders signed Johannesburg Declaration and Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) and secondly, there are more than 200 public-private partnership amounting $235 million (Backstrand 2006, 296). For example, corporations announced European Union's Water for Life initiative that will harness diverse partners to help provide clean water and adequate sanitation in Africa and Central Asia (French 2015).

The 2002 Johannesburg Conference networks represents the coalition of the willing and become effective collaboration between governments, business and civil society. Johannesburg Conference contradict the Rio Conference and Stockholm Conference that multilateral environmental negotiation should not be limited to inter-state agreements. Rio Conference has provided economic development as the normative foundation to establish a brand new

environmental governance by involving states, corporation and civil society (Backstrand and Kronsell 2015).

However, Johannesburg Conference need a new secondary institution to focus on the implementation of economic development. It will not suffice to use economic development to capture the dynamic between corporation, civil society and states. The primary role ofeconomic development is to bridge the gap between states and corporation. However, the interaction of corporation toward civil society or vice versa will be a new complexity that would be better using another secondary institution.

Corporation, states and civil society are engaged in setting new standard and a process of dialogue and joint problem-solving. This is the way to unite corporation, states and civil society under common institution. It takes different form of governance that the binding forces of this institution is the awareness and the commitment toward achieving certain goal and standard. Slaughter called this new form of governance as regulation-by-information (Slaughter 2003, 1063).

Civil society is indeed important in channeling the fund effectively and efficiently. Corporation has bigger role because they are operating their production in two or more countries with a level of financial, component, and operational flows between different segments and different countries of the corporation greater than the flows within a particular country. Corporation has significant economic and social effects at a global level.

Civil society is aimed to eradicate the phenomena of racing to the bottom. It is said that corporation has geographical flexibility that is an ability to shift resources and operations between different locations on a global scale. They wanted to invest in less developed countries to exploit their natural and labor resources and traded for manufactured goods from the developed countries. The Anganwadi workers in India are paid only $21 a month and their helpers $11 (Balaam and Dillman 2011, 566). There is no allowance, no paid leave, and they also do not have social security. The question is whether corporation is possible their policies of racing to the bottom instead of pro-worker and pro-environment? Koechlin and Calland (2009, 91), have identified five functions of civil society namely dialogue or forum, institution building, rule setting, rule implementation and rule monitoring. Do we see that civil society has done their functions as stated by Koehlin and Calland?

Johannesburg Conference has given legitimate role for civil society at the negotiation table, implementation and supervision of programs. Corporation and civil society are not only worked in parallel sessions but also can take an active and engaged role in shaping the process and outcomes through bargaining and argumentative debate. Roundtable Sustainable Palm Oil,

the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), and the Kimberly Process are just a few examples of major MSI. This research will take the case study of Roundtable Sustainable Palm Oil.

RSPO is a coalition that was built in 2003 with active participation from states, corporation and civil society. Deforestation in forest-rich countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Ghana is the initial motivation for building pressures to palm oil corporation (Nikoloyuk, Burns and Man 2010). WWF Switzerland, Swiss supermarket chain Migros and transnational corporation Unilever are the founder of RSPO and later was joined by other civil society, corporation, and government representatives. The problem of deforestation is closely linked to the expansion of palm oil corporation for supply of palm oil to consumer products such as chocolate, shampoo and cosmetics. Forest fires in Indonesia, for example, was spotted in palm oil concessions area and there were many palm oil corporatios was suspect in intentional forest fires.

A research by Bram (2012) shows that palm oil companies has captured the forest illegally by taking protected forests and indigenous peoples and starting fires to clear the land due to its low cost requirements. Slash and burn policies are being common to corporations instead zero burning plantation due to the cost and the time. This policies has created serious health problems for Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore due to transboundary haze that happened annually. There were growing concern and protests due to Indonesia's inaction toward the suspect of forest fires. RSPO was designed to criticize palm oil corporation by setting the standard for corporation to establish and cultivate plantation. Customers will be encouraged to use products from palm oil corporation that fulfilled the pro-forest standard designed by RSPO.

However, RSPO was criticized for being subjective favoring corporation instead of small farmers. Michiel Kohne (2014) found that RSPO is being used by corporation to portray the corporation as socially- and environmentally- responsible companies amidst the protest and controversy of their plantation. Kohne (2014) conducted the research in two areas in Sumatra that related to land dispute. Kohne found that there were limitation that hindered the ability of small farmers to effectively contributing to RSPO decision-making process. The cost of attending the RSPO meeting in Singapore or Malaysia is unaffordable to small farmers and big corporation can hire their public relation consultant to craft and lobby the document and the related stakeholders.

Greenpeace is an active protester of RSPO. In their investigative reports, RSPO-member's concessions accounted for "a disproportionate 21% of deforestation in oil palm concessions – 63,000 hectares, including nearly 20,000 hectares of carbon-rich forested

peatland" (Greenpeace 2013). Genting, Surya Dumai and Wilmar were the three privately-owned RSPO members with the largest areas of identified deforestation" (Greenpeace 2013). Greenpeace claimed that RSPO is not strict in making sure RSPO members complied with RSPO rules and regulations. RSPO is also not prohibiting the conversion of forest and peatland which are essentials for mitigating the impact of greenhouse gas emissions.

The case of RSPO and deforestation in Indonesia can be a case showing the failure of Johannesburg Conference. RSPO is one of example of environmental diplomacy, the flagship of Johannesburg Conference, and it has many limitations regarding the rivalry between corporation and small actor. The noble mission of taming the corporation by bringing the civil society is not effective due to the nature of power asymmetry. It is important to locate the interaction between state, civil society and corporation.

The Johannesburg Conference has given time mark for leaving the rivalry mode to the coexistence. States, civil society and corporation have given the opportunities to act to civil society to have bigger role in implementing sustainable development. Civil society become the forum and arena for the member to interact, communicate or coffee-talk, leaving civil society as the administrator and facilitator of member interest. This mode of coexistence is not suitable for civil society that characterized as advocacy and activism. The presence of Greenpeace hindered the opportunity of civil society to be independent actor setting the agenda, funding and the instrument achieving sustainable development target. This failure has disappoint the scholar of world society as the integration of states, civil society and corporation can't reach the convergence level that the member of world society has been homogenized and similar in terms political, economic and social character.

The character of civil society will be divided into five component. It will consist of private self-regulation in the shadow of hierarchy (voluntary agreement) involvement of public actor, public adoption of private regulation, co-regulation and joint decision-making, delegation to private actors (standard-setting) with participation from state, consultation and co-optation by private actors. This characters borrowed from the continuum of Borzel and Risse of state and private interaction. The Borzel and Risse's continuum is more complex putting many principles and ideas in between the spectrum of state and private. This research argued that civil society will capture all component that not exists in both extreme spectrum.

Global governance has become a utopian project mainly discussing the possibility of bigger role of civil society and corporation in addressing global problems (Cadman 2011). However, the power dimension of global governance has been neglected. Michael Barnett and

Raymond Duvall argued that global governance with power will be different with global governance without power (Barnett and Duvall 2005).

Klaus Dingwerth and Philipp Patberg (2006) provided two goals of global governance. Firstly, global governance is an observable phenomenon. Global governance is a concept to explain the growth of new international organizations such as FSC and RSPO. This matched with the definition of global governance by Rosenau stating "global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity—from the family to the international organization—in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions" (Rosenau 1995, 45).

Secondly, global governance is a political program. This understanding emphasized the failure of nation states in tackling global problems and trust civil society and corporation to get significant role in replacing some of governmental functions (Scholte 2005). This the focus of the liberals and the constructivists. By having global governance as the normative use, the vision become strange for English School that nations state, civil society and corporation will be merged into global government. European integration become a case confirming that global governance is actually possible. This research agree with the global governance as observable phenomenon but disagree with the idea of making it as a political program.

Opening the concept of environmental diplomacy is not aimed to achieve ideal transformation of ecocentric world where humans are submerged and eradicated. This is the line of argument of green thought that environmental discussion should lead to transformation of nation state. It is feasible and possible but the main finding from this research is that we need to use our critical thinking in looking the contemporary environmental discourse. We should not take for granted the assumption of the primacy of civil society over nation-state. We should not take for granted environmental diplomacy as an ambitious political program envisioning transformation of world political system.

Environmental diplomacy is a tool to understand the contradiction between environmentalism and economic nationalism, the conflict between developed countries and developing countries, the dilemma of global governance and sovereignty. We can understand that there is an element of change that turned the behaviour of states into an opposite direction as seen from the Stockholm Conference to Rio Conference. We can see the transformation from rivalry between states and civil society into convergence in the Johannesburg Conference.

IV. Learning Assessment

Students will write a journal article consisting of abstract, introduction, literature review, research methods, results and discussion and conclusion and recommendation.

- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, what is your title for your journal article (17 words)?
- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, What is your article's abstract (250 words)?
- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, What is your article's introduction (1000 – 1500 words)?
- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, What is your article's literature review (1000-1500 words)?
- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, What is your research method for the article (200-300 words)?
- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, What is your article's results and findings (1000-1500 words)?
- In the context of the E.U.'s environmental diplomacy toward the ASEAN, What is your article's conclusions and recommendations (300-500 words)?

Description of Journal's Section

No	Section	Description
1	Introduction	The introduction explains why the topic is important or necessary or important. Begin by describing the problem or situation that motivates the research.
2	Literature Review	Move to discussing the current state of research in the field; then reveal a "gap" or problem in the field. Finally, explain how the present research is a solution to that problem or gap.
3	Methods	The methods section tells readers how you conducted your study. It includes information about your population, sample, methods, and equipment. The "gold standard" of the methods section is that it should enable readers to duplicate your study. Methods sections typically use subheadings; they are

		written in past tense, and they use a lot of passive voice.
4	Results and Discussions	In this section, you present your findings. Typically, the Results section contains only the findings, not any explanation of or commentary on the findings (see below). Results sections are usually written in the past tense. Make sure all tables and figures are labeled and numbered separately. Captions go above tables and beneath figures.
5	Conclusions and Recommendations	In this section, you summarize your main findings, comment on those findings (see below), and connect them to other research. You also discuss limitations of your study, and use these limitations as reasons to suggest additional, future research.
6	Abstract	The abstract for the report comes at the beginning of the paper, but you should write it after you have drafted the full report. The abstract provides a very short overview of the entire paper, including a sentence or two about the report's purpose and importance, a sentence or two about your methods, a few sentences that present the main findings, and a sentence or two about the implications of your findings.

Scoring Rubric

Rubric	A	B	C	Comments
Abstract	Concisely conveys a research agenda and essential results and avoids introducing new material; includes the significance of the research.	Concisely conveys a research agenda and essential results and avoids repetition and introducing new material.	May be repetitious, may introduce new material, and/or includes no or extraneous results or no research agenda.	
Introduction	States a problem and the research agenda, and explains its significance. Includes appropriate background.	States a problem and the research agenda, but may not fully explain its scope or significance. Includes some background.	Does not clearly explain the problem, research agenda, scope, or significance. May omit important background.	
Literature Review	Uses sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for research question and culminates with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	Uses sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for research question but failed to culminates with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	Lack of sufficient and appropriate primary resources to develop background or context for research question and failed to culminates with a clearly stated purpose/ research question	

Methods	Research is well planned and carefully conducted, and method and materials are explained as needed, with visuals when appropriate.	Research is mostly well planned and carefully conducted but method and materials are not always fully explained.	Lacks full, accurate, or careful explanation of materials and methods.	
Results and Discussion	Each key research finding is given visual prominence. The data presentation is accurate, readable, and free of gaps or inaccuracies.	The data is clearly presented and mostly accurate and readable but a few gaps may be present. Some of the key findings are difficult to find.	The findings are not clearly presented or readable. Some of the data is inaccurate and/or contains gaps.	
Conclusions and Recommendations	Conclusions are valid, follow logically from the data, and address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications and potential problems are discussed thoroughly.	Conclusions are valid, follow logically from the data, and address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications and potential problems are mentioned, although not thoroughly explained.	Conclusions do not follow logically from the data or do not address the initial problem or questions posed in the introduction. Implications and potential problems are mentioned, but some may be overlooked.	
Use of sources/references	Uses current, relevant, and appropriate sources correctly cited	Mostly uses current, relevant, and appropriate sources that are usually	May use many outdated, irrelevant, inappropriate sources or does not cite	

	following appropriate conventions.	correctly cited following appropriate conventions.	consistently or correctly follow appropriate conventions.	
Mechanics & Styles	Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and usage are appropriate to a scholarly audience.	Grammar, spelling, punctuation, and usage are mostly appropriate to a scholarly audience, with occasional errors or inconsistencies.	Contains distracting errors in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and/or usage that appear unprofessional.	

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