

Manipal Academy of Higher Education

Impressions@MAHE

University Departments

MAHE Student Work

Spring 4-30-2021

Evolving Dynamics of EU-ASEAN Relationship in the Twenty First Century

Alina Joseph Kujur

Follow this and additional works at: <https://impressions.manipal.edu/maheud>



Part of the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

EVOLVING DYNAMICS OF EU-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY



ALINA JOSEPH KUJUR

Department of Geopolitics and International Relations

Manipal Academy of Higher Education

Manipal

May 2021

Manipal Academy of Higher Education

Department of Geopolitics and International Relations

**EVOLVING DYNAMICS OF EU-ASEAN
RELATIONSHIP IN THE TWENTY FIRST
CENTURY**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Geopolitics and
International Relations in Partial Fulfilment for Master's Degree in
Geopolitics and International Relations**

Supervisor

DR. DHANASREE JAYARAM

By

ALINA JOSEPH KUJUR

May 2021



MANIPAL

ACADEMY of HIGHER EDUCATION

(Deemed to be University under Section 3 of the UGC Act, 1956)

Date:

DECLARATION

31.05.2021

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Evolving Dynamics of EU-ASEAN Relationship in the Twenty First Century**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Geopolitics and International Relations of Manipal Academy of Higher Education is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

(Alina Joseph Kujur)

CERTIFICATE

I recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

(Dr. Nanda Kishor M S)

Associate Professor and Head

(Dr. Dhanasree Jayaram)

Supervisor

Department of Geopolitics and International Relations

Old TAPMI Building, Manipal - 576 104, Karnataka

dir. 91 820 2922398, 2922996 fax. 91 820 2570062 e-mail. nanda.kishor@manipal.edu, geopolitics.mu@manipal.edu www.manipal.edu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was assisted by a number of individuals, especially Priyanjali, Jhelum, Rosie Ayusha, Noud and Lucas whose support and guidance was invaluable. I would also like to sincerely thank my sister, and family and everyone who has helped me in the completion of this work.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. Dhanasree Jayaram, for her constant support, guidance and invaluable expertise. I am thankful particularly for her patience while dealing with an inexperienced scholar such as myself. I also thank other professors in the faculty especially Dr. Arvind Kumar, for his constant support and guidance during the course of this research.

I am thankful to my family, especially my sister Alice, for continuously supporting, encouraging and motivating me during testing times. I am also thankful to my friends and colleagues for their support. And finally, I thank Manipal Academy of Higher Education for providing me a platform to undertake my research.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACMW	ASEAN Committee on Migrant Workers
ACSDSD	ASEAN Centre for Sustainable Development Studies and Dialogue
ACTIP	ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children
ACW	ASEAN Committee on Women
ACWC	ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Women & Children
ADMM	ASEAN Defence Minister's Meeting
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AIHCR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
APASTI	ASEAN Plan of Action on Science, Technology and Innovation
APB	Asian Development Bank
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Corporation
APRIS	ASEAN Program for Regional Integration Support
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ARISE	ASEAN Regional Integration Support from European Union
ASCC	ASEAN Social Cultural Community
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nation
ASEM	Asia Europe Meeting
ASPC	ASEAN Security-Political Community
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CLMV	Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives in the European Union
COSTI	Committee of Science Technology and Innovation
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CPTPP	Comprehensive & Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction

EAS	East Asia Summit
EBA	Everything But Arms
EC	European Community
ECAP	European Union ASEAN Project on the Protection Intellectual Property Rights
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
EU-SHARE	European Union Support to Higher Education in the ASEAN Region
EUROPOL	European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation
FOIP	Freedom of Information & Protection of Privacy
FONOPS	Freedom of Navigation Operations
FP7	Seventh Framework Program for Research & Technological Development
FPA	Financial Planning Association
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HLDs	High Level Dialogues
HPC	High Performance Computing
ICT	Information & Communication Technology
ILUC	Indirect Land Use Change
IORA	Indian Ocean Rim Association
IUU	Illegal Unreported and Unregulated fishing
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFN	Most Favored Nation
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NTS	Non-Traditional Security
PEP	Policy Exchange Platform
RCEP	Rim and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

READI	Regional EU ASEAN Dialogue Instrument
ReCAAP	Regional Cooperation Agreement Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia
S&T	Science and Technology
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Corporation
SCANN	Special Coordination Committee
SCS	South China Sea
TOR	Terms of Reference
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
USA	United State of America
WTO	World Trade Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents	Pages
Declaration.....	I
Acknowledgement.....	II
Abbreviations.....	III-V
Table of Contents.....	VI-VII
List of Figures.....	VIII
Abstract.....	IX-XI
CHAPTER-1 INTRODUCTION.....	1-13
1.1 Background of the Study.....	2-4
1.2 Survey of Literature.....	4-9
1.3 Research Gap.....	9-10
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	10
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	10-11
1.6 Relevance of the Study.....	11-12
1.7 Methodology Used in the Study.....	12
1.8 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study.....	13
CHAPTER-2 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL EVALUATION OF THE EMERGENCE OF EU-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP.....	14-28
2.1 Neo-Realism.....	15-17
2.2 Neo-Liberalism.....	17-21
2.3 Liberal Institutionalism.....	21-23
2.4 Regional Integration Theory.....	23-27
2.5 Neo-Functionalism.....	27-28
CHAPTER-3 THE GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCE OF EU-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP.....	29-42
3.1 The Development of Inter-Regional Relations and its Challenges.....	31-37
3.1.1 Asia-Europe Meeting.....	33-35
3.1.2 The EU as a Security Actor in Southeast Asia.....	35-36

3.1.3 Contemporary ASEAN-EU Relations.....	36-37
3.2 The EU as a Key Supporter of Regional Integration in Southeast Asia.....	38
3.3 Bilateralism as a Parallel Strategy.....	39-42
CHAPTER-4 CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES IN THE EMERGING	
DYNAMICS OF EU-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP.....	43-55
4.1 Regional and Global Governance.....	44-49
4.2 Economic and Trade Relations.....	49-53
4.3 Security Cooperation.....	53-55
CHAPTER-5 THE FUTURE TRAJECTORY OF EU-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP	
IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.....	56-79
5.1 Growing Interest of the US and China in Southeast Asia –	
A Challenge for the EU.....	57-61
5.2 ASEAN’s Role in the US’s Indo-Pacific Strategy.....	61-64
5.3 Towards a Strategic Partnership?.....	64-79
5.3.1 Trade and Investment.....	64-67
5.3.2 EU-ASEAN Socio-Cultural Cooperation.....	67-69
5.3.3 Science and Technology Cooperation.....	69-70
5.3.4 Rule of Law and Multilateral Institutions.....	70-72
5.3.5 Political and Security Cooperation.....	72-74
5.3.6 Climate Change.....	74-77
5.3.7 Sustainable Development Goals.....	77-79
CHAPTER-6 CONCLUSION.....	80-88
REFERENCES.....	i-xi

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
3.1 ASEAN and EU Milestones.....	33
3.2 EU-ASEAN Trade & Investment Statistics 2018.....	40
4.1 EU Trade in Goods with ASEAN Member States.....	51

ABSTRACT

The dissertation on the theme 'Evolving Dynamics between EU-ASEAN relationship in the Twenty First Century' is an attempt to access and analyze the changing contours of the EU-ASEAN relationship with respect to politics, economy, strategy and diplomacy in the twenty first century. Based on an understanding of the objectives and goals of both these organizations, the research study has critically assessed the convergences and divergence in the relationship. The relationship between EU-ASEAN has been developing one which is progressing as two organizations. Both the organizations aimed at promoting regional cooperation in terms of identity and ambitions. It has also been the foundation of their relationship. Though following different regional integration approaches, both seek to improve their security, prosperity and regional stability. The pillar of EU-ASEAN ties has been cooperation by identifying programmed as well as projects where both can collaborate in the politico-security relationship.

The research study has made use of a number of International Relations theories in order to understand the behavioral patterns of EU and ASEAN and explain the nature of their relationship as well as their approach to cooperate in the twenty first century. ASEAN partnership with the EU was also referred to by the neo-realist idea of hegemonic stability. The initial relationship between EC and ASEAN was struggling as the ASEAN region was under the 'hegemonic' influence of the US. Both the EU and ASEAN have also adopted the neo-liberal notion of 'open regionalism' whereby the regional body encourages external and internal free trade at the same time. Given the issues, concerns of a Southeast Asian 'Fortress Europe' have subsided as more general access to the Single European Market has increased. Contrary, progress towards ASEAN Free Trade Agreement requires the removal of neo-mercantilist trade policies that are still followed by many ASEAN Members. One of the important pillars between them is the non-commercial flow, although EU-ASEAN FTA has yet to materialize. Although integration in Europe has been given an elitist title by the neo-functionalist paradigm, many other organizations like ASEAN believe in restricting their cooperation to functional issues by stressing on their members sovereignty and principle of non-interference. It was reflected in 1991 conflict in Myanmar where the inequalities between the EU and ASEAN became clear when the EU called for a decisive response from the Southeast Asian nations for human rights abuse.

The origins of EU-ASEAN relationship in the 1970s started with regional institutions was one of the key influencers on the actions of nation states and established their own way of establishing international relations with actors around the globe. In 1972, the initiation came from ASEAN which was a remarkable step in the EU-ASEAN relationship as a “political-diplomatic coalition vis-à-vis the outside world,” which developed an institutional dialog with the European Community. Although there have been many ups and down in the relationship for instance Asia-Europe Meeting in 1996 which enhanced their ties. There have also been instances which reflected the differences like FTA in 2009 and the diplomatic challenge of the EU, which raised question of Myanmar’s membership in ASEAN. Both the EU and ASEAN share common elements linked to the Cold War historically. Both of these regions faced a common external threat from a hegemonic power to their stability, which meant that they had to transcend their existing rivalries within the region as well as cooperation between states.

As a way of strengthening the European-East Asia cooperation or transpacific cooperation by Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, ASEM was initiated. ASEM has closely collaborated with the EU-ASEAN dialogue which was proposed by Singapore and got the support from France. It enabled to bridge the gap between the Europe and Asia and later was seen as a link between East Asia, North America and Western Europe as they were considered to be the powerhouse of global economy as well as a route to establish transatlantic and transpacific ties in the region. When the US declared ‘pivot to Asia’ in 2011 as a rebalancing strategy which altered the geopolitics of the Asia-Pacific, the competition between the US and China in Southeast Asia as well as the South China Sea significantly impacted the importance of the region for China. New areas of growth and investment like the ASEAN Economic Community, attracted foreign direct investments from major key players like the EU and US and enabled them to revive their economy.

While there seem to be numerous challenges and continuities which plague and affect their relationship, the fact that the EU and ASEAN are different types of regional organizations, has given space for them to have a meaningful cooperation with each other which has been reflected in their limited areas of cooperation. Major events like the ASEAN-EEC Cooperation Agreement in 1980 and the Nuremberg Declaration on Enhanced Relationship between EU-ASEAN in 2007 showed the participation of both the organizations. Their relationship also was challenged by the nature of concurrent supranational policies of the EU member states. It has been observed that in order to strengthen relations between EU and ASEAN, substantial

progress needs to be made as the perception of their relationship is compared to the donor-recipient relation. But during the battle against COVID-19, the EU has been seen to help the ASEAN nations by funding €350 million in order to combat the pandemic. This includes health aid, provision of improved healthcare services and mitigation of the social and economic impacts of the pandemic. Geopolitics also affects and play an important role in their security relationship, in the context of ASEAN's attempt to enforce its strategy related to the Indo-Pacific. The ASEAN also has a feeling of animosity towards China since the conflict of South China Sea. One of the main reasons behind their continuity is the established Code of Conduct on SCS, although their ASEAN-China relationship has seemed to be closer because of the benefits provided by the BRI. Even when differences are apparent, scholars contend that there is room for improving their relationship in the areas of science and technology, UN Sustainable Goal Developments, climate change, politics and security concerns, socio-cultural cooperation, trade and investment and the rule of law and multilateral institutions. What is necessary to understand is the nature of both the institutions, due to which they choose to conduct and accomplish their policy objectives. What will further mold the future trajectory of their relationship, will depend on how EU and ASEAN would navigate their ways on both bilateral and multilateral fronts. This will only happen if both work on the areas of convergences and try unravelling and address their areas of divergences. The prospects of cooperation, partnership and confrontation between the two countries will be influenced in the near term by both the emerging geopolitical environment and the political leaderships in the organization.