Andalas Journal of International Studies

Ranny Emilia

A World Without Nuclear Power

Apriwan

The Securitization of Environmental Security Issues in Southeast Asia

Poppy Irawan

Crafting The Alternative of Finance Hegemony : Returning Gold Dinar Exchange Economy

Malse Yulivestra

Neo-liberalism and Global Economic Crises (The changing of the state-market relations in Indonesia)

Haiyyu Darman Moenir

Konektivitas ASEAN : Sebagai Sebuah Pergeseran Paradigma dalam Proses Integrasi ASEAN

Rika Isnarti

Gerakan Silicon Valley Indian Professionals Association (SIPA) Dalam Membantu India Mengubah Brain Drain Menjadi Brain Circulation

Andalas Journal of International Studies	Volume 1	No 1	Halaman 1-102	Padang May 2012	ISSN 2301-8208
--	----------	------	------------------	--------------------	-------------------

**Andalas Institute of International Studies
International Relations Department
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Andalas**

Andalas Journal of International Studies

ISSN : 2301 - 8208

Published by
Andalas Institute of International Studies – ASSIST
International Relations Department
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Andalas
Padang

Editor in Chief	: Apriwan
Editorial Board	: Ranny Emilia, Yopi Fetrian, Sudarmoko
Associate Editors	: Virtuous Setyaka, Haiyyu Darman Moenir, Zulkifli Harza Muhammad Yusra
Design/ lay out	: Rika Isnarti
Editorial Advisory Board	: Kim So-il (Busan University of Foreign Studies) Abu Bakar Eby Hara (Univ. Utara Malaysia, Univ. Jember) Philip Vermonte (CSIS Jakarta) Ari Bainus (Universitas Padjajaran) Muhammad Yunus (Universitas Airlangga)
Editorial Office	: Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Gedung Jurusan – FISIP Universitas Andalas, Lt. 2 Kampus Limau Manis Padang, 25163 Telp/fax: (0751)71266,
Homepage	: http://ajis.fisip.unand.ac.id/

Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) is published twice a year. It is published by ASSIST, contains research and analytical platform dedicated to a better understanding of International issues and aims to craft the alternatives in International Studies. AJIS welcomes for papers which never been published. Submit your paper to our editorial office in conditional, type in A4, consist of 4000-5000 words in *Turabian Style* formatting.

Andalas Journal of International Studies

Volume 1, No 1, May Tahun 2012

ISSN 2301 – 8208

A World without Nuclear Power 1

Ranny Emilia

The Securitization of Environmental Issues in Southeast Asia20

Apriwan

Crafting the Alternative of Finance Hegemony: Returning Gold Dinar Exchange Economy 36

Poppy Irawan

Neo-liberalism and Global Economic Crises (The changing of the state-market relations in Indonesia).....55

Malse Yulivestra

Konektivitas ASEAN : Sebagai Sebuah Pergeseran Paradigma Dalam Proses Integrasi ASEAN 70

Haiyyu Darman Moenir

Gerakan Silicon Valley Indian Professionals Association (SIPA) Dalam Membantu India Mengubah Brain Drain Menjadi Brain Circulation88

Rika Isnarti

Preface

The editorial boards of the Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) would like to deliver our praises and gratitude to God the almighty since the first volume of our journal eventually resulted in the first publication. This was our very long and hard struggle to eventually accomplish the publication of our first journal comprising a number of academic writings in order to disseminate the result of the researches with various topics in the field of international relations. The long process ranging from the call for papers to the editing process, from the reviewing to the articulation and now reaching the readers gave such a satisfaction to the editorial team.

The AJIS Vol. 1 No. 1 was the beginning of our contribution in disseminating the knowledge and the discussion of international relations in the form of scientific periodical publishing. As the starter, this edition could be far from such a qualified journal. However, we are seeking to approach and produce the high quality journal in order to give more benefits to both theoretical development and its application to the society, which is resembling our institutional goal, "...for a better future..."

There are six articles presented in this first edition. The first article, written by Ranny Emilia, provides an analysis of potential young leaders, especially Asian youth, in creating a peaceful world without nuclear weapons. With reference to the concept of securitization, the next article, by Apriwan analyzes how environmental issue becomes a threat for the states in Southeast Asia. Assuming that environmental issue has become one of security agenda, this article attempts to draw a map and provide an analysis of how such securitization becomes an inevitable option in the region. Then, Poppy Irawan wrote an article entitled The alternative through the returning of gold monetary system based on the idea of gold dinar exchange economy of global political economy and its impact to the developing states.

The fourth article, written by Malse Yulivestra, analyzes the growing influence of developed countries to developing countries through international treaties, and other international organizations in the era of globalization with reference to neo-liberalism approach. These interventions provide great influence on local policy in the state. Haiyyu Darman Moenir, subsequently writes an article with the title "ASEAN Connectivity: As a shifting paradigm in the process of ASEAN Integration" and the last but not least, an article written by Rika Isnarti, attempts to describe how a network of the Indian diaspora in the USA, is able to changing the brain drain, a phenomenon faced by Indian and also other developing countries, into brain circulation.

Finally, all constructive criticism and suggestion are really welcome and highly appreciated so that we can do significant improvement for the upcoming edition. Thanks for the insightful thought and the generosity to care to share the knowledge.

The Securitization of Environmental Issues in Southeast Asia

Apriwan

apriwan@fisip.unand.ac.id

Abstract

This paper examines how the environmental issues have been securitized in Southeast Asia. It takes three main issues which are atmosphere pollution and deforestation, water resources, and energy resources. The issues could be a potential conflict that will impact to the regional instability. In order to examine the securitization, it uses constructivism approach and securitization concept. This approach and the concept explain about the response and the action of the states, individual or collective related to that issues. The environmental issues have been emerging conflict among the states which got the impact. For the atmosphere pollution and deforestation, Malaysia and Singapore got a tension with Indonesia as the source of problems. On the case of water crisis occurred between Malaysia and Singapore in using water resource from Johor, the same cases also happened among the riparian states with China in using the Mekong River Basin. The complicated conflicts about using energy resources have been happening in South China Sea, Thailand's Gulf and the Ambalat. On the other hand, the state's response also could make a cooperation among them, which are bilateral, multilateral and regional. Thus, securitization of the environmental issues can be seen on how the states give a perception to the issues within an interaction of social structure. Moreover, the states are seen as social actors which interacted within the context of sharing of knowledge, understanding of material resources and the practice of interaction among the states its self.

Key Words: securitization, threat, constructivism, environment, region

1. Introduction

In Southeast Asia, environmental problems have threatened the stability of regional security, whereas the threatening of environmental security will impact on declining the quality of life, increasing competition and tension among the states

in the region.¹ The threat of environmental security is characterized by the scarcity of natural resources, bio and non-bio diversity, such as fish, timber, gas and oil, etc. Moreover, it also includes the declining capacity of environmental services, such as air and clean water.

¹ Sean M. Lynn-Jones & Steven Miller, 1995, "Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security", MIT Press. p 87

Environmental problems in the region are not only about the scarcity itself but also because the states in this region share in using the resources, such as the rivers, the coastal line, basin, clean waters resources, and the forest. Even they also compete for getting the foreign investment.² Elliot has been mapped the environmental problems in Southeast Asia into five agendas, that are environmental degradation which affects terrestrial environment; atmospheric pollution and degradation; water resources; the maritime environment; and energy resources³.

Terrestrial environment covers the issues such as deforestation, desertification, land degradation and the crisis of land farming that becomes important problems in that region. Around 1.2 percent of Southeast Asia loosed its forest land. It also contributes about 25 percent from the total world trading of the tropical forest where Indonesia and Malaysia are the main contributors, followed by riparian states, such as

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Lao which loosed their forest land along the Mekong River.⁴

In term of atmosphere pollution, Southeast Asia region is characterized with hazes pollution that impacts most of states in that area. Hazes pollution is threatening human and the others species sustainability. It also increases the tension among the states, Malaysia and Singapore have a tension with the Indonesia regarding to this problem. Almost every year, it is faced by the states.⁵

Regards to the water resources, this region also lead to the water crisis condition. Based on the prediction, the water demand in Thailand has increased from 16.7 % become 22.5 % within one last decade. ⁶ The same thing was also occurred in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. The increasing water demand has been accompanied by the growth of population and industrialization in the region. While, the water supply also decreases associated with the drought

² Evelyn Goh, The Hydro-Politics of the Mekong River Basin: Regional Cooperation and Environmental Security, in Andrew T.H and J.D Kenneth Boutin, (eds.), 2001, Non-Traditional Security Issues in Southeast Asia, Singapore: Select Books, P.471, as quoted by Kog Yue-Choong, 2006, Environmental Management and Conflict in Southeast Asia – Land Reclamation and its Political Impact, *Working Paper, IDSS* Nanyang Technology University, Singapore, p. 1.

³ Lorraine Elliot, Regional Environmental Security: Pursuing a Non-Traditional Approach, in Andrew T.H. Tan and J.D. Kenneth Boutin, 2001 Op Cit. p. 439

⁴ Ibid. 440

⁵ *RI-Malaysia Kerjasama Masalah Polusi Asap*, <http://menkokesra.go.id/content/view/1562/39/> and http://www.indonesia.go.id/id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2444&Itemid=716

also see <http://www.gatra.com/2002-08-26/artikel.php?id=20032> accessed on June 26, 2009

⁶ Andrew T.H Tan and J.D. Kenneth Boutin, 2001 Op Cit., hal. 443

season, limited of land forest, and climate changes.⁷

The conditions above could lead to a potential conflict among the states in the region, and also could contribute for violence conflict among the actors which involved to the problems. In addition, environmental changes could create conflict in term of war, terrorism, diplomacy and trading dispute.⁸

The paper attempts to describe how the environmental issues got securitization and became a potential conflict that will influence the regional stability in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, it wants to explain how the response and reaction of the states individually and collectively. In describing and explaining that matter, the author will use the constructivism approach and securitization concept.

2. Constructivism and Securitization of Environmental Issues

Constructivism approach in international relations views the state as social actor which is not always as rational actor that works in the context of its social

structure based on the rules, norms, identities and institutions.⁹

Alexander Wendt divided social structure into three elements, namely the sharing of knowledge, material resources, and practices. Social structures are defined as shared understandings, expectations, and knowledge. These constitute the actors in a situation and the nature of their relationships, whether cooperative or conflictual. Secondly, social structures included material resources such as gold and oil, constructivist argued that material resources only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded. Thirdly, the existing of social structure is not in actor's head, nor in material capabilities, but in practices. Social structure exists only in process¹⁰.

The securitization of environmental issues in Southeast Asia could be seen through the states actor behavior and interaction within a social structure in the region. How do they give perception as a state and regional entities regarding to the environmental issues through sharing of knowledge, material resources and practices.

⁷ See Voravit Cheevaporn and Piamsak Menasveta, 2003, *Water pollution and habitat degradation in the Gulf of Thailand*, Marine Pollution Bulletin 47, accessed from

www.aseanenvironment.info/Abstract/43003535.pdf

⁸ Ibid, hal. 44

⁹ Mely Caballero-Anthony, 2005, *Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond The Asian Way*, ISEAS, Singapore, p. 32

¹⁰ See Alexander Wendt, 1995, *Constructing International Politics*, International Security 20, no.1, p. 73

In international politics, security refers to the capacity of the states or the societies for keeping their freedom identity and integrity function.¹¹ A state could be said secure when it can defend saving condition and the basic norms if it tries to avoid the war, if it involves the war it has to keep their winning.¹²

Something can be designed as an international security issue (securitization) when the issue has the important reason compared the other issues and it needs a priority to resolve. Furthermore, securitization of one issue should have three main components. Firstly, the issue has threatened the existential of one state, needs emergency action, and affects on the units relations through the absence of the rules among them.¹³

According to Buzan, at least there are three main units to analyze how an issue is securitized and has existential threat;¹⁴

- a. *Referent Object*: things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival.

- b. *Securitizing actors* : actors who securitize issues by declaring something—a referent object—existentially threatened.

- c. *Functional actors*: actors who affect dynamics of a sector. Without being the referent object or the actor calling for security on behalf of the referent object, this is an actor who significantly influences decisions in the field of security.

The developments of environmental issues in international level have two different agendas, as a scientific agenda and as a political agenda. Scientific agenda tends to develop in debating of sciences and the activities of nongovernmental organizations. On the other hand the political agenda essentially moves on the level of government, and inter-governments. It regards to the policy and decision making policy which relates to the environmental issues. The political agenda reflects all the level in tackling environmental issues.¹⁵

Environmental security reflects the ability of a state or society to survive in the conditions of scarcity of environmental asset, the condition on the risks of environmental changes, and the conditions

¹¹ Barry Buzan, 1991, “*People, State and Fear*”, Lynne Rienner Publisher. p. 18-19

¹² Walter Lippmann in Baylis & Steve Smith, 1999, “*The Globalization of World Politics*”, Oxford University Press. p. 195

¹³ Ibid, p. 26

¹⁴ Buzan, Barry, Ole Waver, and Jaap de Wilde, 1998, *Security: a New Framework of Analysis*”, Lynne Rienner Publisher.. p.35-36

¹⁵ Bary Buzan dkk, *Op Cit.*, p. 72

on conflict or tension regarding to environmental issues.¹⁶ Ted Homer-Dixxon stated that environmental conflict is a source for acute social conflict and also can be expanded or developed into conflicts among the states. The scarcity of resources and environmental degradation are the causal of its conflict.¹⁷

The exposure above shows that the primary referent objects of environmental security is the risk of the losing the achievement level of civilization, the threat of the return barbarism condition, although it seems could be prevented is such away.

3. Environmental Security Threat in Southeast Asia

a. Atmosphere Pollution and Deforestation

Atmosphere pollution is classical issue in this region. One primary cause is forest firing as the impact of deforestation and land desertification at some areas in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. The

great atmosphere pollution covered the region was occurred in 1997-1998. It was caused by El Nino that impact to the forest firing in Indonesia. The hazes of forest fire disseminated to Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Amount of loss reaches US \$9 billion in tourism, transportations, and agricultural sector.¹⁸ Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore got the significant loss. Indonesia losses about US \$1.7, 2.7 and \$0.4 million belonged to Singapore and Malaysia. It also included global costs from green gas house emission about 400 million ton of carbon.¹⁹

Sufficient haze pollution was also happened in 2002, 2005 2006 and the most recently in 2010. So far, the burning of land farming is assumed contributing about 60% - 90% from total of emission. It was also as the main source of carbon emission in Southeast Asia.²⁰ Based on

¹⁶ Elizabeth L. Chaleki, Environmental Security: A Case Study of Climate Change, accessed from www.pacinst.org accessed on October 20, 2010

¹⁷ Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, 1994, Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases, *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1, Peace and Conflict Studies Program, University of Toronto, p. 5-40

Also see Peter Haye, 2001, Environmental Security in a World of Perpetual War, a paper which presented at Environmental Grantmakers Association Brainerd Minnesota October 8, 2001, accessed from <http://oldsite.nautilus.org/archives/papers/security/EnvironmentalSecurity-War.pdf>

¹⁸ Singapura, Malaysia Keluhkan Kabut Asap Indonesia Accessed from <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/1287734342/singapura-malaysia-keluhkan-kabut-asap-indonesia>, on October 26, 2010

¹⁹ Under the European Emissions Trading Scheme, emissions offset credits from projects in developing countries under the Kyoto Protocol are being traded at prices in the order of 40 \$/tC (late 2006), and longer-term technological options for greenhouse gas reductions in energy systems (such as carbon capture and storage are likely to be even more expensive) Luca Tacconi, et al., *Op Cit*, p.12

²⁰ Luca Tacconi, Frank Jotzo and R. Quentin Grafton, 2006, Local causes, regional co-operation and global financing for environmental problems: the case of Southeast Asian Haze

the data above, air pollution and deforestation could be as referent object in the context of environmental issues for the states were affected, such as Singapore and Malaysia.

b. Water Crisis

Given the case of water crisis between Malaysia and Singapore, where the state employed the threat of cutting water supplies to other states, in this vein, the water supply can lead the states into massive conflicts. Besides, conflict can also occur when a small state face the larger one which has water supplies (Bangladesh face India). Conflict also happen when some states reject to cooperating and participating within regional/organizational mechanism, which are designed for arranging water security for all parties²¹.

In Southeast Asia, water crisis can be domestic and regional problems. Thailand for example, receives almost 40% of its water sources from the other

states. Cambodia is also dependent on water supply from the outside reaching 82% of their total needs. Meanwhile in Vietnam about 90% of the population relies on water sources that are inadequate for human health.²²

Table. 2.3 Source and dependency of water ratio

Country	Total Internal Renewable Water Resources (km3)	Total External Renewable Water Resources (km3)	Dependency Ratio (%)
Cambodia	121	356	75
Indonesia	2.838	0	0
Laos	190	143	43
Malaysia	580	0	0
Myanmar	881	165	16
Filipina	479	0	0
Thailand	210	200	49
Vietnam	366	525	59
Singapore	1	139	94.5

Source: Asia's Next Challenge: Securing the Regions Water Future, A report by the Leadership Group on Water Security in Asia, April 2009, pp. 44²³

The problems of across border water resources have emerged in Indo China states regarding to use Mekong river basin²⁴. It relates to the changing in the

pollution, *Economics and Environment Network Working Paper*, 20 December, hal. 9

²¹ Paul J. Smith and Lt. Col. Charles H. Gross, 1999, *Water and Conflict in Asia, a seminar report entitled "Water and Conflict in Asia?" the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) September 17*, accessed from http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Report_Water&Conflict_99.html November 10, 2010

²² *Advocacy and Water: a practical guide* Tearfund, Middlessex, May 2001 p.13

²³ Also see Steve Morris, *Singapore's Quest for Water Self-Reliance* accessed from <http://www1.american.edu/ted/ice/singapore.htm> on November 4, 2010, and A.Y Hoekstra and P.Q Hung, 2002, *Virtual Water; a Quantification of Virtual Water Flows between Nations in Relation to International Crop Trade, Value of Water Research Report Series No.11*, September, p.58

²⁴ Thailand and Laos has the highest percentage owner of Mekong river Basin, about 23% and

Mekong River due to the construction of hydropower plant. It threatens the agriculture, food security and livelihoods of poor farmer around the region. China was blamed as the cause of the declination water debit in Mekong River. Construction of the dam up stream has increased a political tension among riparian states and affected the regional stability.²⁵ The tension in using trans-boundary water resources also arise among Malaysia and Singapore. The water could be a national security issue for Singapore. It is not just for the daily life of Singaporean society, but also as a buffer sustainability of industry and other economic sectors²⁶. It has sufficient water resources (see table 2.1), as the result, Singapore is very dependent from Malaysia water supply. It buys the water form Johor Malaysia that was located next to Singapore.

c. Energy Crisis

In Southeast Asia, the need for energy supplies is increasing in line with the rate of population, economy and industrialization growth. The economy of

Southeast Asia grows significantly in post Asian Crisis in 1997, economic growth also accompanied by increasing urban population every year. Estimated about 1/3 population will increase in the next ten years.²⁷

Moreover, for Southeast Asian states, the scarcity of energy sources is in line with the increase of world oil pricing, between 2004 and 2006 for example, gasoline and diesel prices raised up throughout region sharply, within two years period, the increasing gasoline prices per liter more than 100% was occurred in Indonesia, 77% in Thailand, 72% in Vietnam, 70% in Malaysia and 68% in the Philippines.²⁸

Despite the fact that competition is a normative condition, as argued by some security analyst, the effort to gain access to energy sources could eventually result in a rivalry among states. Thus efforts to improve energy security could become a zero sum game – that a country's efforts in fulfilling the needs of a barrel of oil is a reducing for the other parties.²⁹ Thus, such a circumstance, where the use of energy sources is prone to raise conflit among the states, is evident to the dynamic

25%, Asia's Next Challenge: Securing the Regions Water Future, *Op Cit.* 16

²⁵ Ibid

Also see Marwaan Macan-Markar, Mekong River's development may flow into conflict, Asia Time March 26, 2002, accessed from <http://www.atimes.com/se-asia/DC26Ae03.html> on November 02, 2010

²⁶ Segal, D., 2004, Singapore's Water Trade with Malaysia and Alternatives. Harvard University, p. 7

²⁷ State of the Environment in Asia and the Pacific 2005, p. 29

²⁸ Security Through Cooperation, 2008, *CSCAP Regional Security Outlook 2008*, Booksmith, Singapore, p. 25

²⁹ Dr Clive Schofield and Dr Ian Storey, 2005, *Loc. Cit*

of environmental security in Southeast Asia.

Seizing the utilization of the Mekong river basin is not glued to the water problem itself. It was also used as a supply of energy sources for the riparian states. They want to build hydro power as an alternative energy by building the dams in the territory. The consequences of this power plant impact on water conditions and environment in the Mekong river basin.

The same thing also happened between Malaysia and Indonesia regarding to Sipadan-Ligitan and Ambalat disputes. It seems as conflict upon the energy resources than as territorial conflict. The boundaries area is rich enough of energy resources, such as oil and gas. Take a look at the Ambalat dispute, the rich of energy potential which has the area have become long dispute among Indonesia and Malaysia. Currently, there is no the best solution for resolving the dispute.

The territorial problems regard to use energy resource also happen in South China Sea. It involves most of Southeast Asian states, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, China and Taiwan. Likewise, the tension among

Cambodia and Thailand also happen regarding to Thailand Gulf resource.³⁰

4. The Actors of Environmental Security

The securitization of environmental issues could be seen from the response of the actors which involved within the issues. For constructivist, the response could be understood in the context of social structure. Here, social structure has three components, sharing of knowledge, material resources and social practices.

In term of sharing of knowledge, the actors which part of securitization of the environmental issues will construct their knowledge and understanding about the pretension of them. Additionally, their interaction will be constituted within a situation, either conflictual or cooperative. Besides, material resources are the starting point for creating an environmental issue as security agenda, because of sharing of knowledge showed environmental issues relating to material resources. It will influence the actor's behavior. Lastly, securitization of the issues could be understood on interaction practices among

³⁰ Christopher C. Joyner, *The Spratly Islands Dispute in the South China Sea: Problems, Policies, and Prospects for Diplomatic Accommodation*, p.56 accessed from www.southchinasea.org/.../Joyner,%20Spratly%20Islands%20Dispute.pdf on November 11, 2010 For more detail about South China Sea look at <http://www.southchinasea.org/pub.html>

the actors in the region, not to mention their capacity and capability, but on how the actors make interaction regarding to environmental issues in the region.

There are different views of various actors in the securitization of environmental issues. Some of them would reject securitizing move that's being proposed by one actor, and they tend to ignore the effort to prioritize an environmental threat. While, other actors try to be active for sounding and supporting that environmental security issues have an impact on social sedimentation, and this will be vulnerable if there is rejection about the issue. More explicitly, the actors of environmental security issues can be divided into three components, e.g.³¹

- a. Lead actors; are the actors which has a strong commitment within sounding specific of environmental issues in international level. The actors in this category could be nation states, environmental epistemic community and NGOs
- b. *Veto actors*; beside the nation states, it could be NGOs, Industrial and agriculture sector whereas in their lobby attempts to debilitate the issues.

- c. And *Veto Coalitions*; is a group of state actors that construct the agreement over important issues and has the power to counter a formulating a regime if it is needed.³²

Table 3.1 The State Actors in Environmental Security Issues in Southeast Asia

No	Environmental Security Issues (referent objects)	Lead Actors	Veto Actors	Veto Coalitions
1	Atmosphere Pollution and deforestation	Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand	Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand	ASEAN
2	Water Johor water resource Water resources in Mekong	Singapore <i>Riparian States</i>	Malaysia China and Thailand	- Mekong River Commission
3	Energy Energy resources Mekong River Basin Ambalat block South China Sea Thailand Gulf	<i>Riparian States</i> Indonesia, Malaysia Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam Cambodia	China and Thailand - China Thailand	Mekong River Commission - ASEAN, ARF UNCLOS, and (US?) -

Sources: Compiled from some sources.

³¹ Ibid hal.77

³² David Potter, 1996, NGOs and environmental policies: Asia and Africa, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd p. 92

5. The States Response Over Environmental Issues in Southeast Asia

Response over Hazes Pollution and Deforestation

In the case of trans-boundary hazes pollution and deforestation in Southeast Asia, Malaysia and Singapore are in the position as lead actors. The two countries got the impact of hazes pollution that produced by Indonesia. They have complained about the haze from Indonesia since 1997.³³ The case has triggered for other problems, such as health respiration and loosing in billion US dollars regarding to tourism and transportation sectors³⁴.

Indonesia could be in position as veto actor, since haze pollution and deforestation is prevalent in this country. In this vein, Malaysia and Thailand have become the source of this problem, but not as much as Indonesia. In addition, negotiation over the resolution of this

matter also depends on Indonesia. It has not ratified the agreement on haze pollution in the ASEAN level.³⁵

Response over the crisis in Mekong River Basin

In the Mekong River Basin, the water and energy crisis go hand in hand, these problems arose and threaten the area along the river. Its range from China as the country's upstream to the riparian states (indo-china) as the downstream part. In this context, China has controled over the flow of the Mekong River before it reaches the downstream. This action caused the government in the riparian states which led by Thailand protest against China, appealed for international helping in the effort to address such problems³⁶.

Hence, the riparian states on the banks of the river are positioned as the lead actors, because China has built a hydropower to stem the flow of river in the upper Province of Yunnan in Southern part of China. As the result, water in the flow downstream is degraded. Even it affects to the economics of the states.

China and Thailand tend to stand as veto actors, as well as the factor

³³ Smoky Singapore urges Indonesia to act on haze, Reuters October 22, 2010, from <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/SGE69K0FK.htm> ; Indonesia Faces Heat for Slow Action Over Haze, Jakarta Globe, October 22, 2010 from <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/home/indonesian-haze-increases-singapore-health-problems/402743> November 22, 2010

³⁴ Lagi, Indonesia "Ekspor" Kabut Asap ke Malaysia, Harian Kompas, Rabu, Agustus 5, 2009, from <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2009/08/05/1532065/Lagi..Indonesia..quot.Ekspor.quot..Kabut.Asap.ke.Malaysia> October 10, 2010
also see <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/1287734342/sin-gapura-malaysia-keluhkan-kabut-asap-indonesia> accessed on October 10, 2010

³⁵ Govt renews efforts to ratify ASEAN haze agreement, *The Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Friday, July 30, 2010

³⁶ John Guerrero, The stage for conflict over water is under construction in Southeast Asia, accessed from <http://www.examiner.com/energy-in-national/the-stage-for-conflict-over-water-is-under-construction-se-asia>, on November 15, 2010

upstream region, the status of China as the great power also has influenced enough in the region both political security and economics. On the other hand, Thailand became a pioneer for the Indochina states in fighting their interest in using the Mekong River Basin.

Thailand has been pursuing to create the Mekong River Commission (MRC) in 1995, a commission to address issues surrounding the using of the Mekong River Basin. Both linked in the utilization of water and energy resources along the river. Furthermore, Thailand is quite vocal about China policy, through MRC, Thailand asked the other states to give a diplomatic pressure on China, so it will be more open and willing to cooperate³⁷.

Response over the Energy Crisis

Problems in the South China Sea is quite complicated and complex. The actors are not only the states in Southeast Asia and East Asia, but the United State also has interest in the area. In addition, the growing issues in the region are not only territorial disputes but also about the

energy and marine sources, and sea transportation routes.

Southeast Asian states like Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Brunei Darussalam can be categorized as the lead actors, as well as the capacity and capability of these countries are still far below China. China as a middle power in world political order can be positioned as the veto actor. Capacity and capability China's diplomacy be'came one of the considerations, so that this state can be positioned at that level.

So far, the dispute in the South China Sea has not yet found the resolution among the warring parties, The United Nations Convention on The Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) also has not been able to resolve the dispute of ownership in the area. Although, the convention in 1982 has created a number of guidelines regarding to the status of the island, the continental shelf, exclusive economic zone (EEZ), enclosed seas, and territorial boundaries, but each party in this dispute is still persist on their claim³⁸.

China which claimed sovereignty over most of the South China Sea has contribution enough within the dispute in the region. Attached with the ambition and capability of China in exploring the area, much more showing how its claim

³⁷ When the Mekong runs dry, Asia Times, March 13, 2010 accessed from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/LC13Ae01.html on November 22, 2010
Also see Philip Hirsch, 2010 The Changing Political Dynamics of Dam Building on the Mekong, *Water Alternatives - Volume 3, Issue 2*, hal. 312-323

³⁸http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/South_China_Sea/Full.html

stronger over the area. Meanwhile, the other states feel the same rights as well, they don't accept China's claim³⁹. Even though, China, Philippines and Vietnam have experienced armed conflict regarding to claim over the region. The Philippines is the states that quite pro-actively criticized China's claim, especially regarding the ownership of the Spratly islands. Even there was rounds of negotiation, the Philippines consider China as a betrayed which tend to leave the agreement⁴⁰.

The disputes in these regions also invited the U.S.intervention during the last few years. The U.S under the pretext of global marine transportation interests was concerned over the sea transportation routes in the South China Sea, as conveyed by Hillary Clinton, U.S. foreign minister, at the ASEAN forum in Vietnam in July 2010, That the United States rejected China's territorial claims over the South China Sea, which tends to harm others globally.

In this case, dispute in the South China Sea entered a new phase, the U.S. intervention openly showed external actors seeking to play in this area. U.S. interests in the

region, allegedly to support U.S. corporate interests in exploring the resources, Exxon Mobil is working with Vietnam in offshore oil exploration in the region.⁴¹.

Lastly, regarding to the dispute in Thailand Gulf, as a newly developing country, for Cambodia gains from offshore oil exploration will provide a significant economic impact. In addition, natural gas supply will also help reducing their dependence on oil as their energy generation. Soaring world oil price also makes high inflation in Cambodia which reached 18.7% in last January. While the Thailand Gulf or Overlapping Claims Area (OCA) offers an opportunities. Because, this region is believed having rich of energy resources which relatively abundant⁴².

6. Conclusion

Environmental issues have been broadening issues for all the parties in Southeast Asia region. It has been social construction which spreading of all over the region. The ideas about the threatening of environmental issue have been getting social reconstruction. Whereas the actors

³⁹ Lieutenant Michael Studeman, *Loc. Cit.*

⁴⁰Ralph A. Coss, 1998, Mischief Reef: A Double Betrayal, *PacNet*, December 22,2010 from <http://csis.org/pacfor/pac1698.html>

⁴¹ Ibid. also see Containing China's Ambitions in The South China Sea, *Current Intelligent*, from <http://www.currentintelligence.net/features/2010/8/5/containing-chinas-ambitions-in-the-south-china-sea.html> , November 22, 2010

⁴² Andrew Symon, Temple spat may delay oil riches, *Asia Times*, July 30, 2008, from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JG30Ae01.html , November 22, 2010

in the region have built and believed what is going on and will happen related to environmental threatening.

Based on the explanation above, the environmental issues (energy, water and atmosphere pollution) have been a part of political issues. Even though, it has been securitizing. At least there are three reasons that can be explained, firstly these issues have been threaten the existential of the states in the region, each of them felt getting a threat from the other states regarding to the environmental issues. Even, in some circumstances, some of them have been use the military an armaments for securing their interest.

Secondly, these conditions are needed emergency response, because it's not only related to the national sovereignty itself but also related to human security issues. So that, it needs quick response as soon as possible to resolve the dispute, and the crisis which faced by the region can be tackled as well.

Thirdly, these conditions affect the relations among the states actors in the region. Haze pollution, energy and water crisis have been a dispute which not only create a tension but also influence the regional stability. The tension emerged as the result of the absence of rules which arrange the problems. The situation led the states acted based on their interest only without concerning of the others.

References

- Aggarwal, Vinod K. and Jonathan T. Chow, "The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN's Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation." *Working Paper Series* No.177, 1999, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, NTU, Singapore.
- Anthony, Mely Caballero, 2005, *Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond The Asian Way*, ISEAS, Singapore.
- ASEAN Strategic Plan of Action on Water Resources Management, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, October 2005.
- Asian development outlook 2010, : Asian Development Bank, Mandaluyong City-Philippines, 2010.
- Buzan, Barry, 1991, *People, State and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Waver, and Jaap de Wilde, 1998, *Security: A New Framework of Analysis*", Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Cheevaporn, Voravit and Piamsak Menasveta, "Water Pollution and Habitat Degradation in the Gulf of Thailand." *Marine Pollution Bulletin*, No. 47, 2003.
- Choong, Kog Yue, "Environmental Management and Conflict in Southeast Asia – Land Reclamation and its Political Impact." *IDSS Working Paper*, 2006.
- Dauvergne, Peter, "Environmental Insecurity, Forest Management and State Response in Southeast Asia." *Working Paper/2* 1998, Dept. International Relations, ANU.
- Fourth ASEAN State of the Environment Report, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, October 2009.

- Hayes, Peter, "Environmental Security in a World of Perpetual War." *A Paper which Presented at Environmental Grant makers*, 2001, Association Brainerd Minnesota.
- Klöpper, Yvonne, "Southeast Asian Water Conflicts—from A Political Geography Perspective," *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 6, No.2, 2008.
- Lynn-Jones, Sean M. and Steven Miller, 1995, *Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security*, MIT Press.
- MacQuarrie, Patrick R., Vitoon Viriyasakultorn, and Aaron T. Wolf, "Promoting Cooperation in the Mekong Region through Water Conflict Management, Regional Collaboration, and Capacity Building." *GMSARN International Journal* No. 2, 2008.
- Nathan, K. S., "Malaysia–Singapore Relations: Retrospect and Prospect." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* Vol. 24, No 2, 2002.
- Nicolas, Francoise, "ASEAN Energy Cooperation; An Increasingly Daunting Challenge." *Note de l'Ifri*, September 2009.
- Onn, Lee Poh, "The Water Issue Between Singapore and Malaysia: No Solution in Sight?" *ISEAS Economics and Finance* No.1 January 2003.
- Page, Edward, "Theorizing the Link between Environmental Change and Security," *RECIEL Journal* 9 (1) 2000
- Pettiford, Lloyd and Melisa Curley, 1999, *Changing Security Agendas and The Third World*, Pinter London, New York.
- Qadri, S. Tahir (ed.), 2001, *Fire, Smoke, and Haze; The ASEAN Response Strategy*, ASEAN & ADB, Manila.
- Schofield, Dr. Clive and Dr. Ian Storey, "Energy Security and Southeast Asia: The Impact on Maritime Boundary and Territorial Disputes." *Harvard Asia Quarterly* Volume IX, No. 4, 2005
- Segal, D., 2004, *Singapore's Water Trade with Malaysia and Alternatives*, Harvard University Press.
- Simpson, Adam, "The Environment – Energy Security Nexus: Critical Analysis of An Energy 'Love Triangle' in Southeast Asia", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2007, hal. 539 – 55.
- Smith, Paul J. and Lt Col Charles H. Gross, "Water and Conflict in Asia." a seminar report entitled "Water and Conflict in Asia?" the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) September 17, 1999.
- Smith, Steve & Baylis, 1999, *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford University Press.
- Snyder, Craig A., (ed.), 2008, *Contemporary Security and Strategy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- State of Water Resources Management in ASEAN*, 2005, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta.
- State of the Environment in Asia and the Pacific 2005*, Asia Development Bank.
- Tay, Simon S. C., "Southeast Asian Forest Fire: Haze over ASEAN and International Environmental Law." *Reciel*, Vol.7, Issue 2, 1998.
- Vayrynen, Raymon, "Regionalism: Old and New." *International Studies Review*, No.5, 2003, Oxford, pp. 25-51.
- Wendt, Alexander, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* Vol.46, no.2, Spring 1992, pp. 391-245.
- Wendt, Alexander "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* Vol.20, No.1, Summer, 1995, pp. 71-81.
- Xuegang, Zhang, "Southeast Asia and Energy: Gateway to Stability." *China*

Security, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring, 2007, pp. 18 – 35.

Online Articles

ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution, accessed from <http://haze.asean.org/hazeagreement/> “ASEAN claims to address haze.” *The Jakarta Post*, September 16, 2006.

ASEAN Cooperation on Environment, accessed from <http://www.aseansec.org/8914.htm>

ASEAN Peatland Management Strategy, Jakarta, ASEAN Secretariat, January 2007, accessed from <http://haze.asean.org/peatlandmanagement/apms>

Daunay, Kit, “Containing China’s Ambitions in The South China Sea.” *Current Intelligent*, accessed from <http://www.currentintelligence.net/features/2010/8/5/containing-chinas-ambitions-in-the-south-china-sea.html>

Giam, Gerald, “Haze problem: Bilateral pressure on Indonesia.”, *Works Best*, 13 Oct 2006 accessed from <http://www.singaporeangle.com/2006/10/haze-problem-bilateral-pressure-on.html>

“Govt renews efforts to ratify ASEAN haze agreement.” *The Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Friday, July 30, 2010

Graham, Emma-Harrison, “Analysis: South China Sea spat fresh threat to Sino-US” <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE66Q2GW20100727>

Guerrerio, John, *The stage for conflict over water is under construction in Southeast Asia*, accessed from <http://www.examiner.com/energy-in-national/the-stage-for-conflict-over-water-is-under-construction-se-asia>

Kirchner, Andree, *Environmental Security, Fourth UNEP Global Training*

Programme on Environmental Law and Policy, accessed from www.uvm.edu/~shali/Kirchner.pdf

ties.” *Reuters*, July 27, 2010 accessed from Kean, Damian,

ASEAN, MRC to Boost Cooperation on Mekong Issues, diakses dari http://www.mrcmekong.org/mrc_news/press10/ASEAN-MRC-to-Boost-Cooperation4-Apr-10.htm

Keamanan Energi, Kemanan Bernegara; Industri ekstraktif di Aliran Sungai Mekong, accessed from www.inrr.org/files/13_Aug_07_Keamanan_energi_13_Aug_07.pdf

Kog, Yue Choong, *Water Security in Southeast Asia*, accessed from www.unesco.org/water/wwap/.../Keynote_Speech_Kog.pdf

“Lagi, Indonesia "Ekspor" Kabut Asap ke Malaysia.” *Harian Kompas*, Rabu, 5 Agustus 2009

Land Use, Land Degradation and Decision Making in the Rural Hinterland, accessed from <http://www.sarcs.org/new/issp/ct2.htm>

Marwaan, Macan-Markar, “Mekong River's Development may fFow into Conflict.” *Asia Time*, March 26, 2002, accessed from <http://www.atimes.com/se-asia/DC26Ae03.html> tanggal 02 November 2010

Myers, Norman, *Environmental Security : What’s New and Different?* Diakses dari www.envirosecurity.org/conference/working/newanddifferent.pdf

Panel of ASEAN Experts on Fire and Haze Assessment and Coordination, diakses dari <http://haze.asean.org/experts/>

Quick meeting among ASEAN ministers needed if haze worsens, accessed from <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/singaporelocalnews/view/1088213/1/.html>

Singapore's PM says water security may spark conflicts." *Reuters*, Jun 24, 2008, accessed from <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSSIN27852320080624>
Sidik, Jafar M., Singapura, Malaysia
Keluhkan Kabut Asap Indonesia, diakses dari <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/1287734342/singapura-malaysia-keluhkan-kabut-asap-indonesia>
Symon, Andrew, "Temple Spat May Delay Oil Riches." *Asia Times*, July 30, 2008, accessed from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JG30Ae01.html
The Low Carbon Society: a Very Long Journey for Alternative Energy, Diakses dari <http://www.trendsoutheast.org/index.php/news-leter01/58-the-low-carbon-society-a-very-long-journey-for-alternative-energy>
"Transboundary haze pollution: More to be done to address heightened anger

amidst helplessness." SIIA, Tuesday, Oct 10, 2006, accessed from <http://www.siiainline.org/?q=programmes/insights/transboundary-haze-pollution-more-be-done-address-heightened-anger-amidst-helpless>
US-China tensions over South China Sea, accessed from <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2010/aug2010/usch-a04.shtml>
Valencia, Mark. J. and Nazery Khalid, The Sulawesi Sea Situation: Stage for tension or storm in a teacup? Accessed from <http://www.nautilus.org/publications/essay/s/napsnet/policy-forums-online/security2009-2010/09060ValeniaKhalid.pdf>
Vaknin, Sam, The Emerging Water War, accessed from <http://www.progress.org/2005/water27.htm>
Watkins, Eric, Asian Maritime Boundary Disputes Driven by Oil, Gas Demand, accessed from

PETUNJUK PENULISAN

1. Artikel harus orisinal dan belum pernah dimuat di media penerbitan lain atau sedang dipertimbangkan untuk dipublikasikan.
2. Tulisan ditulis dalam Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Inggris
3. Jumlah kata 4000-5000 Kata dengan format penulisan *Turabian Style*.
4. Sistematika Penulisan artikel sebagai berikut :
 - a. Judul (spesifik dan efektif, maksimal 15 kata)
 - b. Nama Penulis
 - c. Abstrak dalam Bahasa Inggris (150-200 kata)
 - d. Kata-kata kunci (5 kata)
 - e. Pendahuluan
 - f. Metode Penelitian (untuk artikel hasil penelitian)
 - g. Hasil dan pembahasan
 - h. Kesimpulan dan Saran
 - i. Bibliografi
5. Berikut adalah contoh penulisan (Style Turabian) catatan kaki (**N**) dan sekaligus contoh penulisan pada bibliografi (**B**). Panduan ini berasal dari buku *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* ed. yang ditulis Kate L. Turabian.

Catatan: Pengutipan pada sumber berupa ide atau kutipan langsung harus muncul dalam catatan kaki dalam angka yang berurutan.

Pengutipan untuk pertama kalinya harus dilakukan secara penuh; nama (nama pertama lebih dulu), judul, tempat, penerbit, tahun dan nomor halaman atau bagian yang dikutip.

Pengutipan selanjutnya untuk karya yang sama bisa disingkat.

Buku

Dua Penulis

N 1. Kai Bird and Martin J. Sherwin, *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 52.

B Bird, Kai, and Martin J. Sherwin. *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Bentuk Singkat dari Satu karya yang sebelumnya sudah pernah dikutip

Ketika satu karya yang dikutip telah dikutip sebelumnya dan langsung pada satu halaman berikutnya dikutip.

N 20. Philip Ball, *Bright Earth: Art and the Invention of Color* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 140.

N 21. *Ibid.*, 145.

Jika karya yang dikutip sudah pernah dikutip sebelumnya, tapi tidak langsung pada satu halaman yang sama dan hanya satu karya dari penulis yang sama pernah dikutip

N 22. Ball, 204.

Jika dua atau lebih karya sudah pernah dikutip sebelumnya, gunakan tambahan judul singkat

N 23. Ball, *Bright Earth*, 204.

6. Naskah dialamatkan pada Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Gedung Jurusan – FISIP Universitas Andalas, Lt. 2 Kampus Limau Manis Padang, 25163 Telp/fax: (0751)71266,

Formulir berlangganan	
Andalas Journal of International Studies	
Mohon dicatat sebagai pelanggan Andalas Journal of International Studies	
Nama :	
Alamat :	
Telp/ HP :	
e-mail :	
Jumlah Berlanggan :	 eksamplar
Biaya berlangganan saya kirim lewat rekening a/n Bank no Rekening	

Biaya berlangganan 1 eksamplar atau 1 edisi terbit Rp. 35.000,,- sudah termasuk Ongkos kirim

Andalas Journal of International Studies, is a journal for scholars, observers, and researchers in international studies in expressing ideas and thoughts related to the dynamic and issues of international relations. The dynamics of contemporary in international relations are increasingly complex. It demands the academic community to provide ideas that are more creative, brilliant and helpful for humanity. From these conditions, this journal comes to participate in scholarly discourse within the framework of strengthening the scientific community of international relations more solid and dynamic. Andalas Journal of International Studies to carry the ideals of unity not only in the frame of the mainstream, but is also present in the struggle optimism alternative ideas, like the spirit of crafting the alternatives from the corner of the community in the ideal arrangement for a better understanding in International Studies

ISSN 2301-8208