

SCENE@CMM

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Director's Message

We are delighted to bring out the inaugural issue of the Newsletter, Scene@CMM. The Newsletter is a way to connect the partners of the Jean Monnet Network on Challenges to Multilateralism and Multiculturalism (JMN-CMM) to the students, staff and faculty, and the research and policy communities in Southeast Asia and Europe.

The JMN-CMM network comprises the EU Centre in Singapore (which in itself is a partnership of the National University of Singapore, the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore and the Singapore Management University), Universitas Indonesia, the University of Malaya and Maastricht University.

The two research themes – Multilateralism and Multiculturalism – were chosen in view of the two key challenges that we face in an increasingly complex and contested world. At the global level, international institutions and norms, and the very principle of multilateralism – that have underpinned a rules-based international order – are being challenged, not only by emerging powers, but increasingly by anti-globalisation and nationalistic leaders such as Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen in Western democracies. Principled multilateralism, an essential pillar for building trust and cooperation among countries, looks set to be sorely tested in the years ahead with the rise of a transactional approach – as opposed to a more forward-looking transformational approach – to politics as exemplified by Trump's "America First" slogan and the unfettered proliferation of non-state actors.

The similar forces that plague international cooperation are also challenging how societies in Southeast Asia and Europe manage diversities within. Multiculturalism emerged as a concept and policy to accommodate ethnic, religious and cultural diversities, particularly in immigrant societies. In recent years, we are getting a chorus of voices particularly in western European societies about the failure of multiculturalism in a knee jerk reaction to the rise of identity politics and the minorities' assertion of their collective identity. The atrocities of the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and the recurring terrorist attacks in Europe have further fuelled fears in many societies on how to deal with identity politics and radicalism. Yet, multiculturalism remains a useful principle for accommodating cultural minorities. Translating the principle to public policies that can strike a balance between accommodating differences and enlarging common spaces deserves our attention and research.

The CMM network through its conferences, summer programmes and publications hope to inform debates and generate inter-regional dialogues on how to strengthen multilateralism as an organising principle in regional and international institutions and examine the challenges to multiculturalism in the context of culturally diverse European and Southeast Asian societies.

The CMM Newsletter will bring you our commentaries and op-ed on issues related to our research themes, highlight our past and upcoming activities – both of the Network itself, but also of the relevant activities of the partner universities. It will be published quarterly, and if you are not already in our mailing list, and would like to receive the Newsletter by email, please visit the EU Centre homepage & join our mailing list.

-- Message from Academic Coordinator, JMN-CMM Dr Yeo Lay Hwee (Director, EU Centre)

The EU Centre will serve as the overall coordinator for the Network, with the following external Jean Monnet Network Partner Institutions and Academic Coordinators.

Overall Coordinator



External Jean Monnet Network Partners







Academic Coordinators





Dr Evi Fitriani, Universitas Indonesia



Prof Dr Azirah Hashim, University of Malaya



Prof Dr Thomas Christiansen, Maastricht University

UPCOMING EVENTS

9th of May, Europe Day

Europe Day, held on the 9th of May every year celebrates peace and unity in Europe. The date marks the anniversary of the historical declaration made by Robert Schuman, then French foreign minister in his speech in Paris in 1950. His speech called for the elimination of age old opposition of France and Germany, and the creation of an institution, the European Coal and Steel Community, that would pool and manage coal and steel production, and beginning a new form of political cooperation that would make war unthinkable. Schuman's proposal is considered to be the beginning of what is now the European Union (EU).

Every year, various activities and events from concerts to debates will be organised by the EU institutions around the world to celebrate Europe Day.

This year, the EU Centre is organizing a Social Media Contest as a lead up to Europe Day, encouraging people to learn more about the EU by posting their questions on our social media (Facebook and Instagram) page.

Win a pair of tickets to European Film Festival *or Be invited for Tea and Dialogue Session with the EU Ambassador*

EU Centre Social Media Contest in conjunction with Europe Day 2017!



To participate:

- Follow us on Social Media (@eucentresg on Facebook or Instagram)
- Share with 3 of your friends (Tag 3 friends under the comment of our Facebook Post or Instagram Post)
- Post a photo together with one burning question you would like to ask about the EU (Post the photo on your Facebook or Instagram

with the question as the caption, remember to tag us @eucentresg and include hashtag #EUCEuropeDay)

* make sure your Facebook/Instagram post is set to Public

Click here to view Sample Post! * Terms and Conditions applies

Contest ends 19 April 2017, 2359hrs Winners to be announced on our Social Media pages on 24 April 2017

AEI-ASEM Summer School 2017

Malaysia 24 July to 4 August 2017 (2 weeks), Brussels 7 August to 11 August 2017 (1 week)

This 3-week Summer School with interactive learning modules and field trips in Malaysia and Belgium (Brussels and Bruges) will explore the broad theme of integration and multiculturalism. The 2-week programme in Kuala Lumpur will examine topics from religious pluralism, cultural diversities to issues on migration and connectivity. The one-week programme in Brussels will focus on how the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) deal with issues of identity and integration, and also discuss the challenges of populism and rise of the far right movement in Europe.

Asia-Europe Conference 2017

Malaysia 3 & 4 August 2017

Multiculturalism: from Myth to Reality or the Opposite?

Azirah Hashim $^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$ and Yee Chee Leong $^{\scriptscriptstyle 2}$

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For more information on AEI's International Masters, please see: https://aei.um.edu.my/programmes/masters

For more details on the Asia-Europe Conference and AEI-ASEM Summer School 2017, please see: http://aei-asc.edu.my/

Please contact AEI for any other inquiries at <u>asia_euro@um.edu.my</u>

Whether it was a melting pot, salad bowl, cultural mosaic or kaleidoscope that someone has spoken to you about, they all refer to multiculturalism in today's contemporary societies where everyone belongs to a particular community which comprises a fusion of nationalities, cultures and ethnicities. This phenomenon is driven by immigration influx across national boundaries, movements of labour for economic development and historical developments of states, nations and regions in the global world. Recent concerns regarding the failure of multiculturalism, rising tensions and clashes of cultures, political radicalisation and terrorism, and ethnic and religious conflicts, have all contributed to global challenges today, especially in Asia and Europe.

So, does multiculturalism continue to exist? Has it evolved and become more complex? How have multicultural experiences shaped our community today? Why is it a controversial issue in global societies, particularly in Asia and Europe? Whether multiculturalism is a myth of the past or a reality in the future, or perhaps vice versa, the Asia-Europe Institute (AEI) of the University of Malaya, Malaysia will help you to answer these intriguing questions through its programmes, activities and events in collaboration with the CMM partners.

A brand new elective course, QQX7005: Multiculturalism in Asia and Europe will be offered as part of AEI's International Masters in European Regional Integration (IMERI) and International Masters in ASEAN Studies (IMAS) programmes for the upcoming 2017/2018 intake in September. This module aims to equip students and learners with a sound knowledge and in-depth understanding on various issues revolving around the concepts, principles and policies of multiculturalism in Asia and Europe through theoretical learning, policy discussions, and case studies, and dual-perspectival examination of the phenomenon at the local, regional and global contexts. By completing this course, learners will be able to appreciate the cultural settings and historical background of Asia and Europe; analyse and gain in-depth understanding of both traditional and emerging elements of multiculturalism; and will eventually be able to evaluate and discuss issues and perspectives related to multiculturalism in both regions.

In discussing the challenges to multiculturalism in European and Southeast Asian societies with key scholars, researchers and experts, and the interested public, a key panel session has been included as part of the international Asia-Europe Conference to be held in Kuala Lumpur on 3-4 August 2017. This event convenes all participants to explore Asia-Europe relations including comparing both Asian and European regionalism, threats to both regions, the efficacy of multilateralism, as well as exploring relevant issues on migration and multiculturalism. This is a great opportunity for enthusiasts to share their insights and gather state-of-the-art developments in the field. The participants will also discover why and how multiculturalism may be the key to facilitating inter-regional cooperation, initiatives that have shaped soft power and values, and closer Asia-Europe engagement in today's uncertain world that is plagued by threats of economic nationalism and technological transformation.

The AEI-ASEM Summer School 2017, coinciding with the Asia-Europe Conference, will be held from 24 July until 4 August (for 2 weeks in Malaysia), and until 11 August (including 1 week of optional visit to Belgium). This event is jointly organised by AEI, Maastricht University and the CMM coordinator, the EU Centre in Singapore with support from the Erasmus+ Jean Monnet Networks programme. The theme of the Summer School for this year focuses on "Cultural Pluralism in Asia and Europe" which complements the diversities in making multiculturalism and accepting cultural pluralism as a way of life. Participants who sign up for this excellent opportunity will be meeting their peers and scholars from different regions to exchange ideas and enhance their cultural understanding through interactive and multicultural learning experience via lectures and seminars, field trips, and roundtable dialogues and discussions. The dual-perspective views (both the EU and ASEAN insights) on multiculturalism is rare and stands as the main highlight of this Summer School.

SCHOLARSHIP APPLICATION

AEI-ASEM Summer School 2017

The EU Centre together with its partners in the Jean Monnet Network on Challenges to Multiculturalism and Multilateralism (JMN-CMM) are supporting the 2017 AEI-ASEM Summer School on "Cultural Pluralism in Asia and Europe" (from 24 July to 11 August).



This 3-week Summer School with interactive learning modules and field trips in Malaysia and Belgium (Brussels and Bruges) will explore the broad theme of integration and multiculturalism.

Five + Seven Scholarship Grants Available for the Summer School!

The EU Centre is providing 5 grants for matriculated students from three Singaporean universities (NUS, NTU, SMU), and 7 grants for matriculated students from Southeast Asian and European universities. Each Grant will cover the USD1000 fees for the Summer School plus a €300 travel subsidy. The USD1000 fees will cover course materials, accommodation, meals and cultural trips and activities in Malaysia and Belgium.

If you are interested in applying for the grant for the Summer School, please send in your CV, copy of transcript and a personal motivation letter (500-600 words) spelling out your interest on the theme of Cultural Pluralism in Asia and Europe.

Your application should reach <u>eucentresg-jmncmm@nus.edu.sg</u> (before 21 April 2017)

For more information and updates, visit JMN-CMM Website and follow JMN-CMM Facebook



Trade Facilitation Agreement and its Implications for Multilateralism

Ji Xianbai Associate Fellow



The year 2016 was full of setbacks and frustrations for multilateralists with Britons going to the polls to "extricate" themselves from the EU and Americans voting in Donald Trump whose policies reflect deep-seated suspicion towards globalisation and free trade. Yet, 2017 could mark a turning point for the beleaguered multilateralism, starting with the entry into force of the Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) championed by the World Trade Organisation (WTO). As the first successful pluri/multilateral agreement in the history of the WTO, the TFA is a remarkable achievement not least because it offers handsome economic benefits while charting a course forward for conducting multilateralism in the 21st century.

What is the TFA?

Approved in 2013 in Bali, Indonesia, the TFA aims at simplifying, digitalising and harmonising customs procedures, speeding up global value chains, and promoting administrative transparency at the border. Notwithstanding a short-lived interlude concerning India's threatened veto, the deal was on 22 February taken over the line after fulfilling the requirement that two-thirds of the 164 WTO members have to ratify it.

International trade bodies had for long focused on reducing tariffs, quotas and subsidies alike. But as traditional trade barriers go down, regulatory burdens, corruption, and unintended border inefficiencies such as outdated customs inspection technologies emerge as the greatest impediments to freer flow of goods, services and investment.

The TFA, if conscientiously implemented, therefore could have even bigger impacts than eliminating all remaining tariffs. Indeed, the WTO reckons that with the TFA global economic output and annual exports could grow by 0.9 per cent and 3.5 per cent, respectively. The gains from the TFA could be disproportionally higher for developing and least developed countries.

That being said, compelling economic logic alone does not necessarily lead to satisfactory outcomes of trade talks nor does it guarantee the sustainability of the negotiated results. (The Trans-Pacific Partnership drama is just a case in point.) The TFA's eventual passage was driven as much by the timing of the deal and the way in which negotiations were handled as its sound economic calculus.

More multilateralism

Trade facilitation first appeared on the WTO agenda in 1996. But the issue did not gain much traction primarily because many developing countries, led by an alliance called the "Core Group", harboured reservations about embarking on a new global rule-making exercise just when they were struggling to implement what they had agreed to during the previous Uruguay Round. And given the economic preponderance of wealthy Western economies in those days, poorer countries worried that advances on individual policy areas such as trade facilitation would only erode their leverage over issues of interest to them, resulting in more extraction of concessions to their disadvantage.

The situation could not be more different nowadays. It has been more than two decades since the world saw a successfully brokered global trade deal, and the

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composition of global economy has gone through a tectonic shift with developing and emerging-market economies now making up more than 40 per cent of global trade. Emboldened rising economic powers appear to be more confident than ever to participate in multilateral matters and perform global agenda-setting functions.

Just as importantly, countries mindful of rampaging nationalism and Mr Trump's running assault on international cooperation, realised that their interests can be best served by collectively preserving the rules-based, market-oriented international order through buttressing multilateral institutions such as the WTO; harvesting "low-hanging fruit" like trade facilitation was deemed the first step in the right direction.

Inclusive multilateralism

Yet, it would be remiss to assume that countries are craving for all sorts of multilateral initiatives and structures. The relatively smooth commencement of the TFA underscores the importance of inclusive multilateralism, which entails stronger democratic foundation and a real sense of ownership, as opposed to exclusive multilateralism. Instead of negotiating among a by-invitation-only "club-in-club", the WTO membership in its entirety was represented throughout the preparatory and negotiation phases of the TFA formation.

The inclusive nature of the TFA talks stands in stark contrast with the modus operandi of some prominent institutions like the International Energy Agency and the Group of 20 (G20). It is telling that following the global financial crisis, the G20, the pro-claimed "premier forum" for international economic affairs, agreed amongst themselves on initiatives in relation to reforming financial industry regulation and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) voting rights before dictating their resolutions to the rest of the world. Some 160 countries were called on to stand by their decisions without being consulted, leading to even United Nations orchestrated political backlashes against the so-called "elite multilateralism".

Tailored multilateralism

While the TFA process clearly boasts input legitimacy, the agreement in itself can be seen as an illustration of output legitimacy. In Asia, memories about how the IMF failed its regional members through a cocktail of instructive approaches, conflicting policy responses, and harsh structural conditionalities attached to the bail-out programmes that worsened the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-98 remain alive and well. The Fund also constituted a source of political instability and economic turmoil in Argentina, Brazil, Greece and Peru, to name a few, where people frequently took to the street to agitate for the termination of the IMF-prescribed austerity measures and reforms since late 1990s.

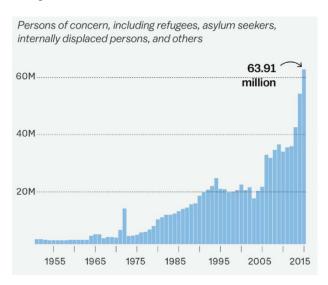
The opposite is what the WTO attempts to experiment with via the TFA. It is the first time that implementation of a trade accord is linked to a country's capacity to meet the requirements. In the agreement, there are three types of provisions. Countries will be at liberty to notify the WTO which provisions can be implemented since day one (Cat. A), which provisions require a transitional period (Cat. B), and which provisions will enter into force only upon the receipt of help from donor members (Cat. C), such as the European Union which through the Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility pledged more than €480 million in assistance. Though this new approach has its drawbacks, it is arguably better than an agreement with a blanket formula that is difficult to forge and leaves countries neither time nor external resources to adjust.

Compared to the original ambition of the WTO's Doha Development Agenda, the entry into effect of the TFA would have been a rather mundane event. But more than the provisions of the agreement itself, what the TFA has come to symbolise – inclusive and tailored multilateralism whereby countries undertake commitment commensurate to their capacity and national circumstances – is the real reason that the TFA is ought to be celebrated and followed through with enthusiasm.

Global Displacement Crisis: the Refugee Crisis and the EU's response

Julia Gour Research Associate

Globally, for the past years, the numbers of people forced to flee their homes has been on the rise. In 2015 for instance, close to 65 million have been displaced, the largest number since 1945. According to the UN's refugee agency (UNHCR) a refugee is someone fleeing conflict or persecution, whereas an asylum seeker is someone whose request for protection has yet to be processed.



2015 was also an exceptional year for the European Union (EU): more than 1 million refugees and migrants arrived with the vast majority coming from the world's top 10 refugeeproducing countries (primarily Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria). The trend continued in 2016, with around 1.3 million arrivals. The EU's ability to respond to those arrivals was challenged, resulting in scenes of chaos and cracks in the reception and asylum system. Much of the debates on the arrival of the migrants revolved around the impact on security, cultural identity, and growing support for populist parties. The EU's response thus far has focused mostly on external border control and outsourcing responsibility for refugees to other regions, such as Turkey. Attempts to craft a unified EU response have come up against opposition from some member states. The differences amongst the member states on how to deal with the influx of refugees is one of the key challenges.

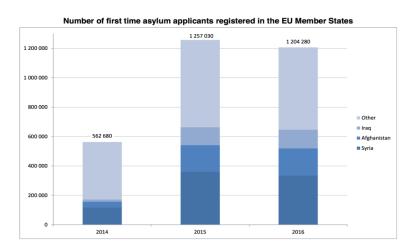
Facts and Figures of the EU's Refugee Protection Regime

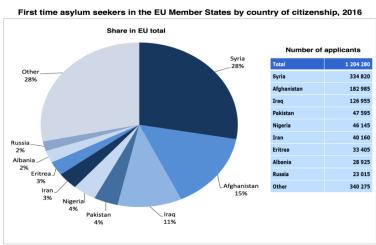
In 2016, the highest number of first time applicants was recorded in Germany (8,789 first time applicants per million inhabitants), followed by Greece (4,625), Austria (4,587), Malta (3,989), Luxembourg (3,582) and Cyprus (3,350). In contrast, Slovakia had the lowest numbers (18 applicants per million inhabitants), Portugal (69), Romania (94), the Czech Republic and Estonia (both 114).

Around 30% of first time asylum seekers in the EU were from Syria. Most of them applied for asylum in Germany – almost 80% of first time applicants of Syrian origin were registered in Germany (266,250). Afghanistan (15% of the total number of

first time applicants) was the second main country of asylum seekers in the EU in 2016. Of the 183, 000 Afghans seeking asylum protection in the EU in 2016, nearly 70% applied in Germany (127, 000). Iraq came in third with 127, 000 Iraqis as first time applicants (11% of the EU total) in 2016. 75% made their applications in Germany.

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(Source: Eurostat)

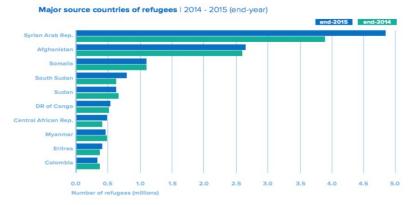
Civil War in Syria as a Main Driver of the Refugee Crisis in Europe

The civil war in Syria resulted in the single largest source of refugees worldwide, which is why many people think of the refugee crisis as a Syrian refugee crisis. But in absolute numbers, Syrians only make up one third of the world's 16 million refugees. The other two-thirds are due to many smaller conflicts, e.g. in Afghanistan, South Sudan and Myanmar.

The civil war in Syria has been going on for the past six years, with no end in sight. The spread and intensification of fighting

has led to a dire humanitarian crisis, with around half a million of people dead, 6 million being internally displaced, and almost 5 million people seeking refuge abroad. Not only the government but also ISIS and

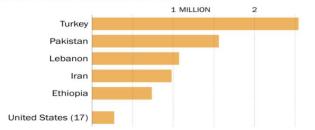
Jabhat Fath al-Sham (the former Al-Qaeda affiliate in Syria) have been responsible for systematic human rights violations, leading to the exodus of refugees.



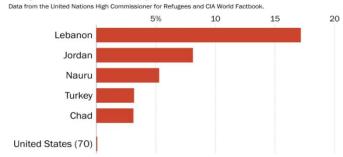
Major Host Countries

The majority of people who have been affected by conflicts are internally displaced (Internally Displaced People - IDPs), and those who seek refuge outside their country are hosted primarily in neighbouring countries, such as Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey and not in the EU. These neighbouring countries often bear the brunt of the crisis. However, the public perception in Europe is a different one and has been widely exploited by far-right parties which spoke of a wave of refugees which would swamp Europe. For instance, Turkey is hosting about 2.5 million people (the largest recipient of Syrian refugees), while Lebanon, a country the size of the Czech Republic, has taken in about 1 million (which amounts to about one quarter of Lebanon's population). In order to stem the flow of irregular migrants the EU has stepped up cooperation with Turkey, Libya and Jordan, and also engaging some of the source countries in Africa.





Largest percent of refugees in population



Routes to Europe

The Central Mediterranean was the main gateway to Europe with some 180,000 arrivals in 2016 but also the most dangerous one: in 2016, over 4,000 died or have gone missing while making the crossing to Europe. This makes the Mediterranean the world's deadliest migration route. People mainly start their journey from Libya, Egypt and Tunisia to Italy. The EU is currently focusing on anti-smuggling measures, including preemptive seizure and destruction of boats used by smugglers. However, William Spindler, UNHCR spokesperson, noted that "[t]his high death rate is also a reminder of the importance of continuing [the] robust search and rescue [operations] – without which the fatality rates would almost certainly be higher."

The Balkan route was another popular route from which people try to enter the EU. However, as border fences came up, tens of thousands were left stranded. With increased border controls, and violent push backs at the Bulgaria-Turkey and the Macedonia-Greece borders, the flows along this route have been dramatically reduced. Several EU member states such as Hungary had taken a hard stance on refugees, building fences and rounding up into camps to try and stop the refugees through their border.

Resettlement Programme of the EU

The current EU law obliges refugees to claim asylum in the first EU member state where they enter. Therefore, some 160,000 refugees are currently stranded in Greece and Italy. In order to address this issue the European Commission had launched the so called Refugee Allocation Plan to put less pressure on those "frontline" member states and to promote the principle of burden-sharing and solidarity. However, until now only 13,500 people have been relocated. Austria, Hungary and Poland are refusing to participate in the scheme.

Conclusions

There is no easy solution to the refugee crisis that the EU is facing. The EU needs to develop a set of comprehensive policies that can look beyond the current political climate in order to address the challenges of receiving and integrating the refugees. The EU just celebrated the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome. In 1957, the spirit which guided the EU's founding fathers was one of hope, tolerance and freedom. Today's EU leaders should be inspired by these values and take bold decisions to fully respond to the current challenges.

Past Events

Will Populism 'Trump' in the upcoming elections in Europe?

on 29 March 2017 (jointly organised with Singapore Institute of International Affairs) Talks by Mr Jonas Condomines, former Head of the Asia, Australia & New Zealand Unit of the European Parliament.

As the year 2017 will see major elections two of the EU's largest member states (i.e. France and Germany), there are concerns that a "populist outsider" like Marine Le Pen can get in to power and destabilise Europe. Mr Condomines kicked off by asserting that "Populism is a simplified label", often used by the establishment to criticise things they dislike. Turning to the upcoming French presidential elections, Mr Condomines cited polling results to show that Ms Le Pen may not break the proverbial 50% ceiling in the second round of election, and that democratic and liberal forces would probably coalesce behind Emmanuel Macron, the centre left candidate.

In the case of Germany, the first vote to watch according to Mr Condomines is the state election in Nordrhein-Westfalen, on 14 May. It is the most populous state in Germany and will give the best idea of what will happen in September elections. Nevertheless, it is likely Germany will see a repeat of the current ruling coalition. The only uncertainty is who will lead the coalition (which may not be incumbent Chancellor Angela Merkel). "I don't see any populist threat to the stability of Germany," Mr Condomines stressed.

Regardless of the results, France and Germany will take time to form new governments. Thus, in practical terms, Mr Condomines suggested that this year will be "a year of introspection" for the EU.



Challenges to an Interdependent World: Nationalism and Populism in Comparative Perspective

on 30 March 2017

Mr Condomines began his lecture by pointing out that the concept of populism is actually an old one, which was already used centuries ago, e.g. in the ancient Rome. To speak of the rise of populism as though it is new phenomenon is a mis-representation. Instead he believed that the recent developments are the result of a number of socioeconomic changes which created pressure on the political system and resulted in heightened competition. Furthermore, the general perception of populism as a right-wing movement is also not entirely true as reflected in the fact that the 5 Star movement in Italy is considered populist but not far-right. There are also parties such as Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain which are left wing but also labeled populist.

What worried Mr Condomines more in the politics in Europe now is the politics of fear and the discussions on how to relate to "the others" associated with the rise of nationalism. Politicians played on the fears of groups of people and invoked the "us versus them" concept amplifying differences and leading to polarization which could have serious implications for intra and inter-state relations. This is particularly worrying for a world that has become far more interdependent and intertwined.

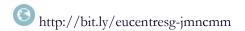
About the Jean Monnet Network

The Jean Monnet Network on Challenges to Multiculturalism and Multilateralism in Europe and Southeast Asia – Policy Research and Debate (CMM Policy R&D) is a network comprising the EU Centre in Singapore (supported by NUS, NTU and SMU), the Universitas Indonesia, University of Malaya and Maastricht University.

The two broad research themes that the Network has chosen to focus on - Multiculturalism and Multilateralism, centre around the issue of managing diversities within societies in Europe and Southeast Asia, and between nations and regional organisations in the international society.

On the broad theme of "Multiculturalism", the Network would explore issues related to challenges to social cohesion in European and Southeast Asian societies brought about by increasing diversities as a result of migration and the rise of identity politics, political polarization and radicalisation. Is multiculturalism the answer to managing these diversities and what should be the essence and specificities of "multiculturalism" that can be sustained.

On the broad theme of "Multilateralism" the Network seeks to review the current decision-making practices in the EU and ASEAN and how the principle of multilateralism is understood within these regional organisations and their member states. More importantly, the Network hopes to revive the debates on whether and how "multilateralism" can be made effective in the current political climate with the changing global and regional order.





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