



**ALDE
CALD**

**SUMMIT
2 0 1 2**

**TRADE: FROM
PATRONAGE TO
PARTNERSHIP**



**Council of
Asian Liberals
and Democrats**



Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
Alliance des Démocrates et des Libéraux pour l'Europe

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

4-8 JUNE 2012 | BRUSSELS, BELGIUM



TRADE: FROM PATRONAGE TO PARTNERSHIP

4-8 JUNE 2012
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Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

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Concept Paper

Trade has been one of the most controversial issues in the relationship between developed and developing countries. From a liberal standpoint, it is mutually beneficial for countries to engage in trade, and free trade is one of the means to lift countries out of poverty. How free trade is actually practiced, however, has been marked with a number of controversies and disagreements. There are claims, for example, that trade, instead of forging a mutually beneficial partnership between developed and developing countries, has been a mechanism to subject the latter into a dependent relationship.

This issue has also been raised in the trading relations between Europe and Asia, which arguably represent the developed and developing economies respectively. On the one hand, it is said that Europe has been an important trading partner of Asian countries, and has been an important contributor to the latter's export-led growth. On the other hand, it is claimed that the reliance of export-led growth to external markets makes it unsustainable and vulnerable to changing economic situation. The ongoing economic crisis, for example, shows that a recession in Europe could have implications on its trading relations with Asian countries.

It is in this light that the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats of Europe (ALDE) and Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD) examine trade relations between Europe and Asia in their 5th biennial meeting. Previous ALDE-CALD meetings were held in Brussels, Belgium (2008 & 2004), Manila Philippines (2006), and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (2010). Prior to these, a meeting between European and Asian liberals was also set under the auspices of European Liberal Democrat and Reform Group in the European Parliament (ELDR) and CALD at Seoul, South Korea (2002). These gatherings were aimed at discussing the challenges and opportunities for liberals and democrats in the two continents, and were organized in cooperation with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF), the German foundation for liberal politics.

The 5th ALDE-CALD Meeting on 4-8 June 2012 at Brussels, Belgium brings together delegates from European countries and Asian countries in order to discuss the state of trade relations between the two regions. Hosted by ALDE with the support of FNF, the gathering carries the theme "Trade: From Patronage to Partnership". The objectives of the meeting are as follows:

- To assess trade relations between Europe and Asia in the aftermath of the recent global financial crisis;
- To discuss the effectiveness of social standards clauses included in trade agreements which aim to promote democracy, human rights, good governance, sustainable development, others;
- To analyze the nature of relationship between multilateral and bilateral trade agreements and its implications for international trade;
- To examine points of convergence and divergence between the two regions on their trade relations; and
- To identify specific policy recommendations on how to improve the state of trade relations between the two regions towards the goal of promoting sustainable and equitable economic development.

The meeting is divided into four sessions, with opening and closing keynote addresses dealing with the most important trade issues that will be discussed in detail during the sessions. The opening keynote address will tackle the current state of EU-Asia trade negotiations, the issues and problems that arise in the negotiation process, and its future prospects. The first session provides a background on how the current financial crisis impacted on trade relations between Asia and Europe. The second session looks at how social clauses that come with trade agreements affect the promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance in the trading countries. The third session addresses the issue of whether multilateral and bilateral trade agreements are complementary or conflicting, and how they affect the future of international trade. These sessions are capped by the fourth (world café) session, where the major issues and recommendations are to be summarized and elaborated. Below are the guide questions in the keynote addresses and in each of the four meeting sessions. Please note that this list is not exhaustive but is only meant to facilitate conceptualization and discussion. Session Chairs/Presenters may tackle other related issues and questions apart from those listed.

Session I: EU-Asia Trade Relations Getting Through the Crisis

How did the recent crisis impact on EU-Asia trade relations? Is the impact positive or negative? What are the main issues that EU and Asia bring to the trade negotiation table? How would the ongoing crisis in the Eurozone, as reflected in the economic woes of Greece and Spain, affect Europe's trade relations with Asia?

Session II: Clauses for a Sustainable Political Relationship in Trade Agreements: Effective Against Possible Threats to Democracy?

Should trade agreements include social clauses, or should these be separated from trade agreements? How effective are social clauses embedded in trade agreements in promoting human rights, democracy, rule

of law, sustainable development and good governance? How can the implementation of social clauses be enforced?

Session III: Multilateralism vs Bilateralism in International Trade (Doha Development Agenda; Intra-Asian FTAs; Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreements)

What are the prospects for the continuation and successful conclusion of Doha Development Round? How would it be affected by the popularity of bilateral trade negotiations? Are multilateralism and bilateralism in trade relations complementary or conflicting? What are the ways to promote inter-regional trade between Asia and Europe? How can international currency wars be addressed?

Session IV: Discussion Session on the Topics of the Previous Sessions with the Perspective of Representatives of the ALDEPAC and ALDELAT Liberal Parliamentary Network

What are the most important problems we have identified? What were the major differences of opinion at this summit? What were the most important things we agreed on at this summit? Why are liberal solutions to the problems we have discussed the best ones?

Keynote Address: Chinese and Indian Dominance in Asia?

What are the implications of the economic rise of China and India to ASEAN and SAARC? What should be the response of ASEAN and SAARC to such rise? In terms of trade, what are issues and problems brought about by the increased economic might of China and India?

This meeting aims to analyze the nature of trade relations between Europe and Asia, and whether it has evolved into a mutually beneficial partnership or remained to be imbalanced. In particular, the meeting focuses on policy proposals on how to make trade relations more sustainable and equitable. By discussing one of the most controversial issues in Europe-Asia relations, this event hopes to serve as a venue for “meeting of the minds”, towards harmonious trade relations between Europe and Asia.



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Program of Activities

4 June 2012, Monday

Variable Arrival of participants
Hotel check-in

Thon Hotel EU
Rue de la Loi/Wetstraat 75
B-1040 Brussels, Belgium
Tél.: +32 (0) 2 204.39.11
Fax: +32 (0) 2 204.39.12
<http://www.thonhotels.com/hotels/countrys/belgium/brussels/thon-hotel-eu/>

5 June 2012, Tuesday (Venue: Various Venues)

08.30 Assembly at the hotel lobby

09.00 Introduction to European Liberal Forum (ELF)
Structures and Activities

Ms. Susanne Hartig
ELF Executive Director

Meeting Room Luxembourg, Business Centre Science14 Atrium
Rue de la Science 14b, 1040 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 (0)2 401.61.12

10.30 Visit of European Liberal and Democratic Reform (ELDR)

Mr. Philipp Hansen
ELDR Head of Political Unit

Rue Montoyer 31, 1000 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 (0)2 551.01.60 ; +32 (0)2 237.01.40

- 12.30 Lunch - Restaurant L'Atelier Européen
Rue Franklin 28, 1000 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 (0)2 734.91.40
- 15.00 Meeting with European Commission DG Trade
Mr. Peter Berz
Deputy Head of Unit for Relations with South and South-East Asia
European Commission - CHAR Building
Rue de la Loi 170, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium
- 16.00 Visit of European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS)
67, Rue de la Loi, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 (0)2 230.81.22
- 18.30 Departure from Hotel Thon EU
- 19.00 Welcome Dinner hosted by ALDE
La Maison des Maîtres Chocolatiers Belges,
Grand Place 4 Grote Markt, Bruxelles B, Brussels, Belgium
- Welcome Addresses**
- Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi MEP**
Vice-President of ALDE
- Mr. Hans Stein**
FNS Regional Director European Institutions & North America
- Hon. Sam Rainsy MP**
Chair of CALD
- 22.00 Departure from Restaurant

6 June 2012, Wednesday

(Venue: European Parliament)

- 08.30 LI-CALD Meeting on ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD)
Venue: Hotel Thon EU Breakfast Area
Facilitator
Mr. Emil Kirjas
Liberal International (LI) Secretary General

09:30 Departure from Hotel Thon EU

10.00 Registration at the European Parliament
Spinelli Entrance Place Luxembourg

10.30 Visit of the European Parliament

11.00 ALDE Group Meeting Participation

12.30 Lunch hosted by ALDE
Members' Salon in the European Parliament

Speakers

Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi, MEP
Vice Chair of ALDE

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP
Chair of CALD

14.00-15.00 Opening Session - Room PHS 6B054

Photo Session

Session Chair

Sir Graham Watson, MEP
Member of ALDE and President of the ELDR Party

Opening Speeches

Hon. Guy Verhofstadt, MEP
President of ALDE

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP
Chair of CALD, Former Cambodian Minister of Finance

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP
President of LI

Mr. Jules Maaten
Country Director of FNS Philippines

CALD Multimedia Presentation

15.00-16.30 Session I: EU-Asia Trade Relations: Getting Through the Crisis

Session Chair

Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi, MEP

EP Rapporteur for the EU - Malaysia FTA & FTA EU-India
(Safeguard Clause)
Special Address

Hon. Cecilia Malmström

European Commissioner for Home Affairs on "EU Asia Visa Policy"

Speakers

Hon. Metin Kazak, MEP

ALDE Coordinator for International Trade
and Rapporteur for the EU-Japan Trade Relations

Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Member Sam Rainsy Party of Cambodia
Former Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Cambodia

(Coffee will be available outside the meeting room from 16.15)

16.30-18.00 Session 2: Sustainable Development Clauses In Trade Agreements: Effective against possible Threats to Democracy?

Session Chair

Mr. Bryan Lim

Member of Central Executive Committee
Singapore Democratic Party

Speakers

Mr. Peter Thompson

Director for Sustainable Development
EPAs, Agrifood and Fisheries
DG Trade, European Commission

Hon. Win Htein, MP

Senior Adviser to the Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi
National League for Democracy of Burma

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation

Hon. Marietje Schaake, MEP

ALDE Coordinator for Urgencies

19.30 Departure from Hotel Thon EU

20.00 Dinner hosted by FNS

Maison du Luxembourg, Rue du Luxembourg 37
1050 Brussels, Belgium

Speakers

Mr. Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff

Head of Asia Desk, FNS Potsdam

Former FNS Project Director on Malaysia, Burma and Cambodia

Hon. Win Htein, MP

Senior Adviser to the Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

National League for Democracy of Burma

22.00 Departure from Restaurant

7 June 2012, Thursday

(Venue: European Parliament)

08.30 Departure from Hotel Thon EU

08.45 Registration at the European Parliament
Spinelli Entrance Place Luxembourg
(Please note change of meeting - Room ASP 5G1)

09.00-10.30 **Session 3: Multilateralism versus Bilateralism in International Trade: (Doha Development Agenda, Intra-Asian FTAs, Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement or TPP)**

Session Chair

Hon. Silvana Koch-Mehrin, MEP

ALDE Shadow Rapporteur for the EU Korea FTA

Speakers

Mr. Ng Lip Yong

Chairman of Central Unit on International Relations and Affairs

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Former Malaysian Deputy Minister of Trade

Hon. Jerry P. Trenas, MP

Chairperson, Committee on Good Government & Accountability and

Vice Chairperson, Committee on Trade & Industry

Philippine House of Representatives

Member of Liberal Party of the Philippines

Mr. Pascal Kerneis

Senior Adviser on Trade Policy Business Europe

Hon. Eynar de los Cobos Carmona, MP

Nueva Alianza, Mexico

10.30-11.30 **Discussion Session on the Topics of Three Previous Sessions
(With the perspective of representatives of the ALDEPAC and
ALDELAT liberal parliamentary network)**

Session Chair

Mr. Jules Maaten

Country Director of FNS Philippines

Reactors

Hon. Sall Amadou Ciré, MP

Senegalise National Assembly

Hon. Buchard Enrique Rodriguez, MP

National Assembly of Honduras for the Liberal Party

Hon. Eynar de los Cobos Carmona, MP

Mexican Deputy of Nueva Alianza

11.30-12.30 **Closing Session**

Session Chair

Hon. Nutt Bantadtan, MP

Member of Democrat Party of Thailand

Keynote Address

"Chinese and Indian Dominance in Asia?"

Sir Graham Watson, MEP

President of the ELDR Party

Chair of the India Delegation, Member of the China Delegation

Sub-Member of the Asian Delegation

Closing Speeches

Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi MEP

Vice-President of ALDE

Hon. Sam Rainsy MP

Chair of CALD

Mr. Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff
Head of Asia Desk, FNS Potsdam

- 13.30 Pickup from Hotel THON EU
- 13.40 Pickup from European Parliament
(Corner of Rue Montoyer/Rue Wiertz)
- Packed lunch in bus

Program in Antwerp

- 14.30 Arrival in Antwerp
- 15.00 Boat Visit of the Port of Antwerp on the Flandria 1
- Boarding in Londenbrug, Port of Antwerp
- 18.00 Transfer by bus to "het steen" for the walk through the historic
centre
(het Steen, Vleeshuis, Stadshuis, Kathedraal and through de
Groenplaats and continue until the Zuiderterras where the dinner
will take place)
- 20.00 Dinner in Antwerp hosted by ALDE
- ZUIDERTERRAS
Ernest Van Dijckkaai 37, 2000 Antwerpen
Tel: +32 (0)3 234.12.75
- 22.00 Return to Hotel Thon EU Brussels

8 June 2012, Friday

- 09.00 CALD Consultative Meeting - Room ASP A5G375
(With participation of ALDE's Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi and IFLRY's
Thomas Leys)
- Departure of participants



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Friedrich Neumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

Profile of Participants

Burma



Hon. Win Htein, MP

Senior Adviser to the Office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi
National League for Democracy (NLD)
Email: info.nldburma@gmail.com

Hon. Win Htein is a founding member of the NLD and was recently elected as Member of Parliament in the 1 April 2012 election in Burma. He was arrested twice and served a total of 20 years and two months in prison between July 1989 and November 2010. Before and after his imprisonment, he served as senior adviser and secretary to the office of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He is also currently her head of security affairs.

Prior to his involvement in the NLD, he served the military from 1959 to 1977. He graduated as Best Cadet and earned a Bachelor of Science degree from the Defense Service Academy.



Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint

Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee
National League of Democracy – Liberated Area (NLD-LA)
National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB)
Email: nyomyint@hotmail.com

Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint is the director of the foreign affairs committee of the NCUB and secretary of the foreign affairs committee of NLD-LA. He has been a policy adviser to the democratic movement since 2003. He graduated from Rangoon University in 1984 with a BA (Honors) in History. He received his second bachelor's degree in Asian Studies and economics at the University of Texas in 1997. He also served as visiting researcher at the Harvard Institute for International Development.

Cambodia



Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD)

President of the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition

Email: samrainsysrp@gmail.com

Hon. Sam Rainsy is the current chair of CALD, the President of SRP, and leader of the national opposition of Cambodia. His political career began with Prince Ranariddh's Funcinpec Party, becoming the Prince's European representative in 1989. He had previously served as Minister of Finance in a coalition government that emerged in Cambodia after the UN-supervised elections in 1993, and was a Member of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia from 1992 to 1993.

In 1995, he formed the Khmer Nation Party, which became the current SRP when it was forced to change its name in order to contest the 1998 elections, in which he was re-elected to the Parliament. In the July 2003 elections, the SRP garnered the second largest number of votes.

Prior to his entry to politics, he was a financial analyst and investment manager with various banks and financial institutions, positions which included chairman and chief executive officer of DR Gestion, a Paris-based investment company and Bank Director at Paluel-Marmont. Hon. Sam received his MBA from INSEAD Paris.

In 2006, Liberal International awarded him with the Prize for Freedom honoring his dedication to championing human rights, democracy, and the rule of law.



Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)

Email: saumura@gmail.com

Hon. Saumura Tioulong is currently an opposition parliamentarian of the SRP, representing the capital city of Phnom Penh, a post that she holds since 1998. She obtained her MBA as well as her Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from the University of Paris. In Paris also, she later started her successful business career. Hon. Tioulong had been supporting the democratic development in Cambodia even if she was in France. From 1993 to 1995, she served as Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Cambodia. She is a signatory of the Win with Women Global Initiative and has been actively involved in CALD projects.



Mr. Channa Ir

Head of Norway Chapter
Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
Email: channamoon@yahoo.com

Mr. Channa Ir is the Head of the SRP Chapter in Norway. He previously worked as an English teacher in Phnom Penh, Cambodia and an Interpreter of Kristiansand Municipality and Noricom Språktjeneste in Kristiansand, Norway. He studied History in University of Cambodia and currently taking up Political Science at University of Agder in Norway.

Indonesia



Mr. Hanjaya Setiawan

Head of the International Affairs Department
Member of the National Leadership Board
Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)
Email: hanjaya@gmail.com

Mr. Hanjaya Setiawan is the Head of the International Affairs Department of the Central Leadership Board of the PDIP. He also serves as the chairperson of the foreign affairs division of the party's youth wing where he has been an active member since 2006.

Mr. Setiawan has also been involved in the Indonesia Young Politician Forum, Mega for President Team (Presidential Election 2004), Professional Society for Democracy, and Institute of Peace and Justice. He graduated from Trisakti University where he majored in Electronic and Telecommunication Engineering.

Malaysia



Mr. Ng Lip Yong

Chairman, Central Unit of International Relations and Affairs
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM)
Email: lipyong@ieee.org

Mr. Ng Lip Yong is the chairman of the International Relations and Affairs of the PGRM. Since joining the Party in 1981, he has held many positions at various levels including Vice President and National Youth Chairman. He was Deputy Minister of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Malaysia from 2006 to 2008. Prior to that, he was the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Plantation Industries and Commodities. He was a Member of Parliament from 1999 to 2008.

Mr. Ng holds a B.Eng (Hons) degree in Electronic Engineering from the University of Sheffield and a M.Sc. degree in Microwave and Communications Engineering from the University of Leeds.

Mongolia



Ms. Togtokh Battsetseg

Member of the National Council Committee
Civil Will Green Party of Mongolia (CWGP)
Email: tbattsetseg@gmail.com

Ms. Togtokh Battsetseg is a member of National Committee of the CWGP. She is an economist and she graduated from the Martin Luther University in Germany. Ms. Battsetseg has focused her work on developing civil society, NGOs, micro-finance, credit unions, co-ops, and women rights. She is a researcher, consultant, trainer, and team leader at both national and international levels. She can speak German, English, Russian and Mongolian.

Philippines



Hon. Jerry P. Treñas, MP

Vice Chairperson of the Committee on Trade and Industry
Philippine House of Representatives
Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP)
Email: jptcongress@gmail.com

Hon. Jerry Treñas is currently the Chairman of the Committee on Good Government, which has jurisdiction on all matters directly and principally relating to malfeasance, misfeasance and nonfeasance in office committed by officers and employees of the government and its political subdivisions and instrumentalities, inclusive of investigations of any matter of public interest on its own initiative or upon order of the House of Representatives.

He represents the lone district of Iloilo City and serves as the Vice-Chairman of both the Committee on Local Government and the Committee on Trade and Industry. He is also a member of the Committees on Appropriation, Ecology, Energy, Ways and Means, and Information Communications Technology.

Despite only being in his first term in the House, Hon. Treñas already spearheaded several bills of national importance, such as the Anti-Extralegal Killing and Enforced Disappearance bill and the Protection Against Juvenile Criminal Exploitation bill.

Singapore



Mr. Bryan Lim

Member of Central Executive Committee
Singapore Democratic Party (SDP)
Email: bryan.lim.bh@yoursdp.org

Mr. Bryan Lim was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Singapore Democratic Party in 2011. He also heads the Ground Operations Party Organizing Department, one of the sub-committees organized by the Party in preparation for the next General Elections in 2016.

He was an inaugural member of the Young Democrats (YD), the youth wing of the Party and held its Vice-President position from 1999 till 2001. He became the YD's first elected President in 2001. He was the chief drafter for the YD Charter, the youth wing's Constitution and was instrumental in lobbying for YD's inclusion in the International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth (IFLRY).

Mr. Lim read Business in Monash University with majors in Marketing and Management and graduated as a top 15% student in comparison with his peers from the University's local and international campuses. He was subsequently invited to join the Golden Key International Honor Society, which recognizes students with academic excellence and scholastic achievements.

He is currently working as a Manager in the local healthcare industry and is married with a daughter.

Sri Lanka



Prof. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Leader, Liberal Party of Sri Lanka (LPSL)
Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation
Former Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD)
Email: rajiva.wijesinha@gmail.com

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha is a Member of Parliament and serves as the Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation and Leader of the Liberal Party of Sri Lanka. He previously served as Secretary General of the Secretariat for Coordinating the Peace Process in Sri Lanka and was Secretary of the Ministry of Disaster Management and Human Rights. He was vice-president of Liberal International and has recently concluded his term as Chair of CALD.

Prof. Wijesinha is a leading liberal theoretician in South Asia, and has conducted workshops on liberalism in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan and Indonesia. His publications include "Liberal Values for South Asia", "Declining Sri Lanka" and "Political Principles and Their Practice in Sri Lanka."

Thailand



Hon. Nutt Bantadtan, MP
Democrat Party of Thailand
Email: nbantadtan@gmail.com

Hon. Nutt Bantadtan is Member of Parliament from the Democrat Party of Thailand who currently represents district 15 in Bangkok. Prior to his political career, he had a background in Business and Banking finance. Hon. Bantadtan received a Bachelor Degree in Banking Finance from University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce and a Postgraduate Diploma in Business Management from University of Plymouth, in the UK.

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN FOUNDATION FOR LIBERTY



Mr. Hans H. Stein
Director, International Political Dialogue
European Institutions and North America
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF)
Email: Hans.Stein@fnst.org

Mr. Hans H. Stein is the FNF Director on International Political Dialogue for the European Institutions and North America. He was the Head of Staff of the Office of Paul K. Friedhoff, a Member of the German Bundestag from the FDP. He served as Head of the Department of Economic Policy of the Association of Independent Entrepreneurs in Bonn in 1997 and also served as its Executive Director in Berlin in 2000. In 2006, he became the Director of the Representation of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia to the European Union in Brussels.

Mr. Stein studied Political Economy at the University of Bonn and finished his Master of Economics in University of Cologne in Germany.



Mr. Jules Maaten
Country Director
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF)
Philippine Office
Former Member of the European Parliament
Email: Jules.Maaten@fnst.org

Mr. Jules Maaten is the Country Director of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty in the Philippines. He was elected as a Member of the European Parliament in the European Elections of 10 June 1999 as a member of the Dutch Liberal Party (VVD). He subsequently joined the Liberal Group in the Parliament. He worked on the Committee for the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Affairs and, since 2002, the Foreign Affairs Committee. During the first part of the legislature he sat on the Economic and Monetary Committee. Since the end of 2001, he has been leader of the VVD-group in the European Parliament.

Before his election as MEP, Mr. Maaten was secretary general of the world union of liberal parties, the Liberal International, in London (1992-1999), during which time he was involved among others in supporting democratic movements in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Central and Eastern Europe. Prior to that (1986-1991) he was a municipal councillor in his hometown of Amstelveen, near Amsterdam, where he dealt with public finance education and social affairs. As President of the International Federation of Liberal Youth (IFLRY) from 1983 to 1989, he worked on issues of disarmament and east-west co-operation.



Mr. Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff

Head of Asia Department

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF)

Email: Moritz.Kleine-Brockhoff@fnst.org

Mr. Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff is the Head of the Asia Department of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty in Potsdam. He was previously FNF Project Director in charge of the foundation's activities in Malaysia, Burma and Cambodia (2009-2012). Before joining FNF, Mr. Kleine-Brockhoff was the Southeast Asia Correspondent of German daily newspaper Frankfurter Rundschau. He covered all ASEAN countries and lived in Jakarta, Indonesia, from 2000 to 2009.

LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL



Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President

Liberal International (LI)

Email: vanbaalen41@hotmail.com

Hon. Hans van Baalen was born in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, on June 17, 1960. He studied International Law and International Relations at Leyden University. He served in the Royal Netherlands Army as an Officer for International Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC). At present, he holds the rank of Reserve Colonel. In 1988 he joined Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu as a Management Consultant. He left Deloitte in 1998 as Chief Executive Officer of Public Affairs Consultants, to start a career in politics.

In 1986, Hon. van Baalen joined VVD, the Dutch Party for Freedom and Democracy. In 1988, he became a Member and subsequently Chairman of the Dutch Group of Liberal International. From 1993 until 1998, he was International Secretary on the National Executive Committee of VVD and was VVD National Campaign Manager for the 1998 and the 2003 general elections. In May 1998 he was presented with the VVD Thorbecke Award.

In September of 1999, Hon. van Baalen succeeded Frits Bolkestein as a Member of the House of Representatives of the States General, the Lower House of Dutch Parliament. After the May 2002 general elections in which he lost his parliamentary seat, Hon. van Baalen went on a tour of duty to Bosnia for humanitarian relief work. In the January 2003 general elections, he recaptured his seat in Dutch Parliament.

Hon. van Baalen was Parliamentary Spokesman for VVD on Foreign & European Affairs and Defence. He was subsequently Chairman of the Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Defence and of the Netherlands-Belgian Parliamentary Exchange Commission. At the 56th LI Congress in Cairo, Egypt he was elected President of Liberal International, and re-elected at the 57th LI Congress in Manila, Philippines last year.



Mr. Emil Kirjas

Secretary General

Liberal International (LI)

Email: emil@liberal-international.org

Since September 2007, Emil Kirjas has been Secretary General of Liberal International, the world federation of liberal and progressive democratic political parties. From 2004 to 2006 he was State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. His working experience includes involvement in various international organizations and institutions, including the Council of Europe, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and the International Federation of Liberal Youth. He holds a Master's Degree in Geopolitics from King's College in London.



Robert Wintraecken

Membership and Policy Officer

Liberal International (LI)

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Mr. Robert Wintraecken has been working for Liberal International as Membership and Policy Officer since January 2012. He is a MA student of History of International Relations at Utrecht University in The Netherlands. Mr. Wintraecken previously worked as an International Officer on the National Board of the youth wing of the Dutch social-liberal party D66, where he initiated setting up a capacity-building seminar with young Tunisian liberals in the wake of the Arab Spring. Some of his other work experiences include assignments with the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Dutch embassy in Rome, Italy, and with the global network of child helplines 'Child Helpline International', which is based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

CALD SECRETARIAT



Mr. Celito Arlegue

Executive Director

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Mr. Celito Arlegue is the Executive Director of CALD, where he also previously served as Program Officer from 2001 to 2002, and for certain projects in 2003 and 2004. In-between his stint in CALD, he also taught political science, social science, and economics courses in a number of schools in the Philippines such as the University of the Philippines, the University

of Asia and the Pacific, San Beda College and De la Salle University. At present, he serves as Senior Lecturer in the International Studies Department of Miriam College.

He obtained his bachelor's and master's degrees in the University of the Philippines, where he has also finished the course work for Ph.D in Political Science.



Mr. Paolo Zamora

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Mr. Paolo Zamora is the Senior Program Officer of CALD. He started working with CALD in 2002 and was tasked to organize conferences, workshops, and missions. He has been active in coordinating with liberal networks in Asia and across the globe. He was part of a series of joint-projects with the National Democratic Institute for international Affairs (NDI) on political party accountability and transparency and has also worked on several electoral missions organized by CALD together with NDI and with the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan (DPP). He is active in organizing forums with regional liberal networks in Europe, Africa, and Latin America to help strengthen the alliances of liberal and democratic parties. Mr. Zamora has attended the last three ALDE-CALD Meetings.

Mr. Zamora is a member of the UNESCO Youth Network for Peace-building and PHILCORPS Organization that provides sports, art, and computer training in the Philippines. He graduated from the University of the Philippines with a Bachelor's degree in Political Science.



Ms. Rosanna Ocampo

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Ms. Rosanna Ocampo is program officer of the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats and works closely with the CALD Women's Caucus and CALD Youth. She first joined CALD in 2007 as project assistant and has also worked with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF). Ms. Ocampo served as program officer for one of the Foundation's partners in 2009 and most recently, was a political communications staff member for the senatorial campaign of CALD Secretary General Neric Acosta under the Liberal Party of the Philippines. She graduated cum laude from the De La Salle—College of Saint Benilde where she majored in Consular and Diplomatic Affairs.

Opening Session

The opening session was chaired by Sir Graham Watson, MEP, president of the European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party (ELDR) and former leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE). Watson expressed delight to see CALD “go from strength to strength” as it welcomes new members and as it intensifies its cooperation with ALDE under the stewardship of Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi, MEP, with the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) and under the auspices of the Liberal International (LI). Among those who gave the welcome remarks were Hon. Guy Verhofstadt, MEP, leader of ALDE and former Prime Minister of Belgium, Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP, chair of CALD and leader of the Cambodian opposition, Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP, president of LI, and Mr. Jules Maaten, country director of FNF Philippine Office and former MEP from the ALDE Group.





Hon. Guy Verhofstadt, MEP

Leader, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)

Verhofstadt welcomed everyone at the European Parliament (EP) and expressed gratitude to members, friends, and partners of CALD on behalf of the ALDE Group. He shared insights on the current issue that confronts Europe and the difficult path it is trying to traverse today. He said that the European Union (EU) needs to make a choice on whether to continue a closer union in Europe or to give in to disintegration. But as for the opinion of the ALDE Group, he noted that they are convinced that the best way forward is to be more integrated, to be stronger and be more capable. This is good for Europe and for the world, he said.



He made clear that the crisis confronting Europe is not a crisis about Greece, Portugal, Italy, or Spain. "It is a crisis of politics", he stressed, where European leaders are unable to make the right timing and decisions in forging a "real fiscal and economic union" in the continent. He said that what started as a small financial crisis in Greece, representing only 2% of the European GDP, the leaders "have transformed...into a crisis of unseen magnitude," with consequences reaching even the other regions of the world.

Verhofstadt shared the three fundamental reforms that they are requesting the European leaders to consider: 1) the establishment of a real economic and fiscal union because a monetary union and a single currency requires it; 2) the need for a real Europe bond market and a mutualization of debt; and 3) the need for a growth packet to re-launch the European economy as fast as possible.

Trade, the theme of the conference, "continues to be the most effective way...to support global growth," Verhofstadt said. There is, however, that tendency in Europe to make trade policies seem like a charity work of the EU;

nevertheless, Verhofstadt explained that Europe needs trade as much as its partners. As liberals, “Free trade is essential and has to be based on mutually agreeable rules and standards,” Verhofstadt said. By breaking down barriers, the flow of goods, services and capital can increase and this would help restore confidence in global markets in the future. Likewise, he emphasized the importance that policies of European nations must not be based on patronage, but on bringing Europe closer to its economic partners and vice versa. Verhofstadt also informed the CALD delegation about the “ambitious free trade agreements” that the EU is currently working on with South Korea, India, Japan, Philippines, Vietnam, and with Indonesia. But ambitious as they are, he said that when Asia is experiencing continuous growth, “it is in our common interest to enhance trade and investment relations and to attract foreign investment.”



Interdependence, Verhofstadt noted, is the key word in economic relations. Stagnation in Europe can translate to economic decline in other regions of the world. And with the successes in each region, he said, we can extend solidarity or, as more commonly known in the liberal world, the sharing of common interests.

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD)

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition

Sam was pleased to address the 5th biennial ALDE-CALD Meeting and was thankful not only for the opportunity to discuss once again the common challenges and opportunities between Europe and Asia, but also to strengthen the friendship and solidarity that liberals and democrats have developed over the years.

As liberals and democrats, Sam said trade is seen as a means to increase the wealth of nations to achieve what Adam Smith referred to as “universal opulence.” Liberals are challenged, however, when liberal



economic policies conflict with issues of sovereignty and national interests. Opening up markets may initially harm other sectors of society that are vital in national development, as forwarded by many developing societies. There are governments which abuse this notion and impede market from fully opening. Sam also explained that there those who agree to the idea that a nation's right to subsistence and economic development comes before the respect for human and

personal rights and therefore, "individual, civil, and political rights should be legitimately sacrificed provided that its purpose is to pursue the right to subsistence and development." Sam recalled and highlighted the message of the previous LI Congress in Manila in 2011 where liberals discussed the tensions and interactions between free trade and human rights. He stressed that "trade and human rights are mutually reinforcing" and it is imperative for liberals to correct the notion that "free trade can be practiced without recognition of fundamental human rights." He added that "the system of free trade entails respect for fundamental, political, civil, economic, and social rights" and with this system in place, "citizens can hold the government accountable for its economic policies, prevent corruption, and abuse of power, protect people from the cruelties of autocratic regimes, and promote individual human development." Lastly, Sam noted that trade is not an end in itself, but a means to the betterment of individuals.

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President, Liberal International (LI)

"Asia is on a move", said van Baalen. Considering this dynamism of the region, he conveyed his satisfaction that liberals and democrats around the world find a valuable partner in CALD.

van Baalen pointed out that many say that this period belongs to China. He conveyed his hope, however, that it would be a democratic China. And with the increasing influence of Asia, he hoped that it would be a liberal and democratic Asia. He shared his perception on some Asian countries that show a positive trajectory towards a more democratic, liberal, and open-minded society. Indonesia, for example is going fast in that direction same as the Liberal Party of the Philippines and the Democratic Party of Japan where governments have a clear trajectory and a message for the country. In Malaysia, opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim has been put to jail and acquitted and should remain as a free man. In Thailand, the Democrat Party suffered defeat in the last elections, but is now getting back and regaining a "forceful power."



Europe, on the other hand, should embrace optimism once again and continue to be an international continent that is active in trade and democracy. Europe, van Baalen explained, needs to move forward and convince voters to work together. He said that one optimistic thing about the liberal family in

Europe (ALDE, LI, ELDR, etc.) is that they all work together. And liberals can continue to work together by providing assistance to networks in the Arab world, in Latin America, in Africa, and the rest of the world. In doing so, liberals could unite and form a force that “fights conservatives and populists...”

Mr. Jules Maaten

Country Director, Friedrich Nauman Foundation for Freedom (FNF)

Former Member of the European Parliament, ALDE Group



Maaten was thankful for the opportunity to meet together at an international level, but shared his sadness on how Europeans currently view European cooperation and integration. He said it is easier now to get votes in elections by simply implying how difficult and “awful” international cooperation is. “It is a sad reflection on our society today that we somehow got into this state that the political debate is dominated by those who are very critical of international or European cooperation,” Maaten further explained.

In his experience in Asia, Maaten said he is able to work in a completely different context. However, integration is also not making a lot of progress especially in the case of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). He said there are a lot of reasons why ASEAN should speed up the cooperation and integration process because “there is this phenomenally big country that used to be a sleeping dragon, but it’s waking up, that will soon dominate, not just the world, but the whole of Asia.” For Maaten, ASEAN can be an enormous force, which is half the size of China in terms of population. The EU-ASEAN or the EU-Asian cooperation is also not doing better.

It is understandable that countries have differences and these make cooperation more difficult, but doing nothing is not the way forward, Maaten explained. He shared the experience of the ALDE Group in the EP and how it is doing a great job in moving forward. He said that over the years, with its former leader, Watson, and the current leader, Verhofstadt, that political tradition of doing more and moving forward has kept the liberals actively involved in encouraging stronger cooperation and commitment. CALD, he said, is a similar story. “It’s a success story and it’s unique,” but Maaten said it’s also unfortunate because “it’s only the liberals who cooperate in such a close way.”

Maaten also explained the misconstrued notion that too much freedom leads to abuses of economic power as recently observed in the banking sector. There is now a trend towards more state intervention and this is reflected in the results of the recent elections in France. Maaten believes that the “actual solution” is that “we need more liberalism, not less.” There is that type of liberalism that would argue for the “wild west type of economy” or “libertarianism,” but Maaten thinks that the way forward is the “civilized style of

liberalism” or the “social market economy” that liberals can be proud of having throughout decades.

People are after their own interests and this is a legitimate part of politics. It is like saying “it is in your interests to be powerful because it means we keep a seat at the table and that this is the way to sell Europe.” Maaten said this is all good, but it is not inspiring. There is actually more to just having personal interests. Given that countries have their own history and people, there is still that possibility to transcend and work together with other countries regionally and even globally. “We should find a more inspiring argument than just saying cooperation is in everybody’s interests. And we have the ability to inspire as liberals,” Maaten said. He is convinced that liberals can inspire and he is a witness to what transpired in the Philippines when the people elected Noynoy Aquino as the president not because of economic interests, but because of inspiration. They voted for Aquino, who ran with a liberal agenda, with a strong anti-corruption and anti-poverty platform, because people wanted to eliminate corruption and they wanted to be proud of their country again.



The ability to inspire as liberals is based on the core value of liberalism, which is freedom. Though Maaten thinks most societies are not yet free enough due to various constraints, as liberals, he said that it is imperative to push more for the freedom arguments not toward closed societies, but open ones – “societies that communicate, societies that welcome other influences, [and] societies that welcome cooperation with each other rather than closing them down.” Lastly, he said that the inspiring way forward is to follow the path that makes possible what seems impossible, as Hillary Clinton once said, and to transcend from narrow interests and seek to inspire people with liberal values. The ALDE-CALD cooperation is an excellent example of how these values can be further brought forward.

Session I: EU-Asia Trade Relations

Getting Through the Crisis



The first session discussed the recent crisis' impact on EU-Asia trade relations as well as the main issues that EU and Asia could bring forward to the trade negotiation table. The session also discussed the ongoing crisis in the Eurozone, as reflected in the economic woes of Greece and Spain, and how it affects Europe's trade relations with Asia. Hon. Niccolò Rinaldi, MEP, Vice President of ALDE and the EP Rapporteur for the EU on Malaysia FTA and EU-India FTA (Safeguard Clause), facilitated the session. Hon. Cecilia Malmström, European Commissioner for Home Affairs on "EU Asia Visa Policy," delivered a special address. Among the speakers were Hon. Metin Kazak, MEP, ALDE Coordinator for International Trade and Rapporteur for the EU-Japan Trade Relations and Hon. Saumura Tiouloung, MP, member Sam Rainsy Party of Cambodia and former deputy governor of the National Bank of Cambodia.



Hon. Cecilia Malmström

European Commissioner for Home Affairs on "EU Asia Visa Policy"

Malmström was happy to be invited in the conference and to meet once again members of CALD and the liberal family whom she has been working with over the past years. Having been an MEP before, Malmström said she is now the European Commissioner responsible on matters regarding migration, asylum, border, visa, fight against organized crime, among others.

She said that trade is also about "people-to-people contact" and this is where visa policy becomes vital. Visa policy directs the increase of mobility



and the possibility of increasing networks. “It’s very good if we can trade our services and goods and facilitate and have those agreements, but we must also by, all means, facilitate people-to-people meeting between us,” Malmström explained. She discussed the work done on European visa policy and said that visa facilitation, visa procedures, and visa liberalization, are extremely important tools to increase people-to-people contact. This would enable people to get to know each other better and would pave the way to more frequent discussions and closer cooperation for other policy areas.

There is already huge progress made in terms of visa policy, she noted. Schengen visas holders, for example, can already travel to all 26 Schengen countries for a maximum period of 3 months within 6 months. A total of 12.6 million visas were issued last year of which 2.8 million were issued to Asian countries. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, Brunei, and Malaysia are some of the Asian countries enjoying visa free travel. However, Europe’s visa policy, she said, continues to operate under strict condition and follows certain criteria to not only facilitate foreign policy as a tool, but also to ensure the security of European citizens. She said the visa policy has different elements and one of them is a visa regulation that puts up negative and positive lists of countries. The challenge as a commissioner, Malmström said, is to make sure the positive list would be as long as possible. It is a complicated process, but clear procedures of transferring a country from the negative to the positive list must be followed. Evaluations are based on a case-to-case basis. “Security, regular migration, reciprocity of regional coherence, external relations, and sometimes the country’s more general economic situation,” are just some of the criteria they focus on for country assessment.

Visa liberalization, on one hand, is becoming an integral part of foreign policy as well, but again it is easier said than done. Malmström said foreign ministers call her to remove visas, but this matter lies on the interior minister’s decision because they are more concerned about border protection, security, and migration than in any other foreign affairs matter. She also discussed their efforts in making visa facilitation procedures shorter, easier, and cheaper. Malmström said this is also a way to engage and use the full benefits of the “visa code,” which is “a regulation that establishes the procedures and conditions for issuing visas for short stays in and transit through the territories of Member States.” She added that, “The visa code gives member states the possibility to lower the fees for visa applications, to issue multi-entry visa to a much larger extent, even to get rid of fees for certain categories, such as students or researchers, and to make the procedures shorter.” The struggle they are currently having is to make sure that there is a uniform list of requirements and that these requirements are valid for all countries. They are currently trying to further revise the visa code to put all the procedures in place.

Malmström also mentioned the visa information system, which is “the system for the exchange of data on short-term visa between Schengen states.” She said visa applicants would have to provide identity marks, via retina scans or fingerprints, every five years. Once identity marks are secured in the system, future applications would be faster. This system is now being observed in North Africa and in the Gulf, and next year, they will introduce it in Asia.

Malmström emphasized the need to increase mobility between people because Europe has a clear demographic deficit. Many European countries are facing huge unemployment and serious deficit of workers, she noted. Many employers cannot find the right skilled workers. The need ranges from healthcare workers to engineers to Information Technology (IT) specialists. Malmström highlighted that they are focusing on easy and efficient procedures that guarantees minimum wage, insurance and checks to avoid abuses. The Inter-Corporate Transferees (ICT), she explained, tries to establish more transparent and simplified procedures and aims to harmonize legal status with clear definitions. With the vision to provide companies operating in Europe the access to the right people with the right skills, ICT would be very valuable to Europe’s mobility of workforce efforts.



The increase in mobility on a global scale is a vision, but it is not politically possible at the moment because there is not enough leadership focusing on this issue in the EU. But Malmström said she is committed to utilize all the tools and use them at full scale to facilitate the increase of people-to-people contact.

Hon. Metin Kazak, MEP

ALDE Coordinator for International Trade and Rapporteur for the EU-Japan Trade Relations

Kazak is a member of the International Trade Committee, which is one of the smallest committees in the EP. He is tasked to monitor “democratic scrutiny” on behalf of their electorate, and decide on and defend, as much as possible, the interests of the EU in all negotiations. He narrated that the mission to deal with common trade policies is of growing importance especially after the Lisbon Treaty, a treaty that amended the EU’s two core treaties, the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community. Through this development, the EP received a powerful task to be co-legislators with the Council of International Trade. Kazak also functions as a coordinator for the negotiations on the conclusion of an FTA with Japan, one of the world’s biggest economies.



Kazak discussed the developments and the progress of the EU on starting trade negotiations with Japan. In the past 20-30 years, Japan had a huge economy and was very powerful in the international arena, but its global role in the past 5-10 years diminished a bit especially after the natural disaster. Nevertheless, Kazak said Japan remains important. He noted “the total amount of bilateral trade between EU and Japan, in terms of GDP, was 116 billion” with “Japan being the 7th biggest trading partner for the EU, and the EU ranking 3rd biggest trading partner to Japan.” The Copenhagen Economics study in 2009 estimated that the “trade costs associated with non-tariff barriers” constitutes the foremost hindrance of improving and enhancing bilateral trade relations. Kazak explained that if non-tariff barriers were to be removed, “it would allow increases of exports to Japan of €42 billion and respectively of €53 billion of Japan exports to the EU.”

In his presentation, Kazak highlighted the results of the previous EU-Japan Summit in 2011, which explored the possibility to start negotiation for the conclusions of a “comprehensive and very ambitious free trade agreement.”

According to the Joint Press Statement issued online on 28 May 2011 during the 20th EU-Japan Summit in Brussels, “leaders including Hon. Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, Hon. Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, and H.E. Naoto Kan, Prime Minister of Japan, reviewed cooperation initiatives and agreed to continue discussions on bilateral policy coordination together with their G7/G8 and G20 partners to promote the recovery of the world economy, by securing strong, sustainable and balanced growth, fostering job creation, avoiding excessive macroeconomic imbalances and ensuring financial stability and fiscal sustainability.” The Summit also addressed the global challenges on climate change and the fight against terrorism as well as regional issues including democratic transition in the Middle East, the call for genuine reform in Syria and denuclearization in North Korea, and the fostering of energy cooperation between EU and Japan, among others.



Japan is interested to conclude such an agreement especially after the successful conclusion of a similar agreement between the EU and South Korea. Kazak explained that South Korea is a major competitor of Japan in automobile and electronics industries and with the progress between South Korea and EU, Japan will be put to a disadvantaged position vis-à-vis EU. The EU-Japan Summit, therefore, decided to launch the so-called “scoping exercise” to define the level of ambition of both negotiations, to explore the readiness of both sides, and to resolve the remaining issues of mutual interests. Kazak said the scoping received very positive results based on the information received from the European Commission. Mr. Karl De Gucht, Commissioner for International Trade who is also a liberal, expressed that there is enough positive basis that an eventual negotiation could be concluded. However, there are still controversial issues and concerns - commitments that Japan has to take in

order to meet the expectations, in the EP and in some member states, particularly France, Germany, Italy, and Spain - countries that are producers of EU automobiles and electronics. During the scoping, Kazak said that Japan is committed to “a clear road map on more than 30 different non-tariff barriers” in order to advance from the impending obstacles. At the moment, Kazak hopes that the EP will have enough voice to form a majority to encourage the Commission and the Council to start the negotiations.

Kazak also briefly shared the negotiations for a conclusion of an FTA with Singapore, which he explained are much more advanced. They expect that such negotiations will be successfully concluded by the end of the year. But as in all negotiations on the table, there are still issues related to “the rules of origins, the geographical implications, and also the access to the European service providers to the Singaporean markets” that need to be sorted out. He remains positive though that the negotiations will be successful.

Lastly, Kazak said that as members of the International Trade Committee in the EP, they would continue to play the role as co-legislators and as responsible representatives defending the interests of the EU citizens and the EU industry.

Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP

Member of the Sam Rainsy Party

Former Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Cambodia



Tioulong thanked ALDE for the welcome dinner held at the chocolate restaurant. She shared her observations, as her introduction, regarding the video about manufacturing chocolates that was shown before the dinner. It saddened her to know that poor countries in Africa actually harvest the agricultural commodities, which are then exported as raw materials (cocoa beans) to consuming economies and more developed countries. These developed economies then process the raw materials to produce the final product in the form of chocolates – products which are then sent back as imported goods in African countries. As liberals she said, we should take note of the following questions: Why have we kept this habit of exporting raw materials and importing finished products? Why do we leave the value-added somewhere else rather than in our own economy?

Tioulong enumerated the negative effects of an economy relying on the exportation of raw materials. First, raw materials are subjected on the world market fluctuation of prices. In Cambodia, for example, grassroots people/ordinary farmers complain about the devastating effects of decreasing price of cassava. Harvesting, producing and selling cassava is not worth the effort anymore because none of the producers themselves have any influence at all. Second, producers experience “decreasing returns.” Tioulong explained that, “It is not [through] decreasing returns that we are going to accumulate

the wealth that is necessary in order for us to really develop and get out of poverty.” The production of timber is an example she gave where $\frac{3}{4}$ of the forests in Cambodia have been cut down to export roast timber, while at the same time, they import doors and windows frames. Even in tourism, Tioulong said Cambodia targets the backpacker type of tourist who will spend only \$5 for a stay rather than those who can spend \$500 per stay, with both tourist types using and polluting the same amount of water, traffic, roads, and infrastructure. The problem she said is because the country is focused on “low-end range of products” and as liberals, she believes “we should push out producers to move up towards the higher quality type of product range...we should go for more value-added that we must keep in our economy instead of exporting gross raw materials...”

The role of the state is important. In her presentation, Tioulong posed a debatable question of what kind of liberalism do we want to practice, “Wild capitalism or a market economy that still gives a lot of weight to the state?” In tourism, in order to attract the high spending type of tourists, the state needs to invest in infrastructure, in good sanitation system, in efficient and convenient airports and roads. To manufacture high-end products, Tioulong said that the state needs to upgrade the education and training system as well as the research and development system to produce more skilled workers with diverse skills. “My freedom stops when the freedom of others begins” so Tioulong said it is also important for the state to secure “a proper legal framework that is well enforced and well implemented.” She added that the state’s role also consists of delivering incentives - including tax incentives and subsidies for economic initiatives or businesses that are sustainable, that are pro-environment, and that respect human rights and labor laws.



Tioulong also emphasized the need to encourage the “weak elements” in society – the women, the ethnic and religious minorities, etc. She said there should be a proactive economic policy towards businesses owned by the “weak elements.” She believes that if such a policy is implemented and if the country develops along this path, “it will create a middle-income society, where the trickling down effect of these economic developments will be more or less fairly distributed amongst the population.” This will then help eradicate the most extreme poverty and create a market for imports – imports for rich economies such as the EU and the American economy for instance.

When countries have succeeded in developing in a sustainable manner by upgrading and establishing market niches for entrepreneurs, Tioulong explained that these countries will be more resistant to global recessions and they can help the economies that are currently in crisis. In conclusion she said, “This is when we start to go from patronage to partnership and this is when, what used to be, poor economies will need less aid and will involve in more trade.”

Open Forum

The Focus on the “Real” Partnership

Wijesinha asked if there is a policy developing in Europe regarding exchange of people as oppose to Europe’s focus on trade and finances. He said the debate on the liberal concept of free exchange is opening up and this could be moving towards what Tioulong mentioned on partnership wherein people from both sides would be lifted. Malmström responded and stated that, “liberal values are not very high in Europe today.” She said liberals are going through extremely difficult and challenging times especially with the “rise of populism, extremism, xenophobia, protectionism, and nationalism in the aftermath of the economic crisis” and it is hard to see an immediate change of trend in this respect. Another factor is the lack of courage and leadership to address these issues because the political leaders only focus on “demographic deficit” and migration is not the sole solution to this, but it is rather part of it, Malmström emphasized.

Hon. Sall Amadou Ciré, member of the Senegalese National Assembly added on what Tioulong presented about partnership. Ciré said they stand for regional integration and actually proposed economic partnership for development. Similar with Cambodia, Ciré explained they have the raw materials, but they do not have the capacity to process it to generate added value. “If we want to activate the economic partnership agreement then the EU should also have development plans for the countries”, Ciré added. Mr. Nyo Myint, head of the International Affairs of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), had a similar comment on how the EU can help Burma, currently in a transition period, in terms of job creation, skills training, and generally, technology and human development.

Ciré also shared the discussions from the last African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) sessions and said that the EU has an objective to develop renewable energies for 2020. However, developing countries today focus on “self-sufficiency and food” and developing more land for biofuels is detrimental to farmers who produce the food. Ciré proposed to review the current policies to forge a solution that is beneficial to both the EU and the developing countries. He said they asked in European ACP Committee to do an assessment to explore “how we could move towards a partnership agreement that is advantageous for everyone.” In response, Mr. Peter Thompson, Director of the Directorate for Development and Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) within the trade directorate of the European Commission, said that “the liberal group is looking to maintain the internal payments for farmers because our farmers, like your farmers, are out of business if the price crashes... we have nothing to fear from the APC countries and a lot of intermediate countries by completely opening up our markets to you. We will be pursuing that approach in our... APC reform, but what we won’t be doing is trying to get rid of our internal support.”

Rinaldi explained that the ratification procedure in the EP makes everything more complicated because of the pressure from public opinion and

the accountability that the MEPs will have to face after they cast their votes. He said in addressing partnership and trade, there is a need to go deeper in the negotiations and have a more informative approach on the positive and negative aspects of any kind of trade provision.

Environment and Trade

Thompson asked about the take of Cambodian representatives on the rules, if any, regarding the extent in which environmental criteria in the trade sphere represents or does not represent a non-tariff barrier. Tioulong said the Cambodian government should be creative enough to take advantage of the current innovations. Producing fuel on a land meant for food production, for instance, would cause a huge problem. The government will have to regulate and allot a certain percentage from each hectare of land for production. She added that it is vital “to maintain a minimum to biodiversity” otherwise people will jeopardize the country’s foundation. She also said leaders should monitor and track down good and bad practices and sustain discussions to diminish the pitfalls. Kazak, on the other hand, presented the European perspective. He said that as part of the purely commercial trade aspects are some clauses emphasized by the EP – “It is so called sustainable development clauses, human rights, and environmental standards requirements that we insist every time.” He added that as liberals, they work together with the Green group in exerting pressure to the Commission and negotiators in being attentive and in promoting and imposing the standards to “allow deepening of our negotiations.”



Fair Perspectives, Fair Trade on Renewable Energy

Mr. Hanjaya Setiyawan, member of the International Affairs Department of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), commented that the campaign for renewable energy, such as palm oil and soybean conversion to biodiesel, emerged from the West. Because of this campaign, Asia built a lot of plantations - more than ten in Indonesia and more than ninety in Malaysia. Setiyawan is saddened though that after having all these plantations and after progress and development has started, the West became critical of the biodiesel producers in Asia because they claimed that they jeopardize the environment. In Indonesia, he said only 15% of the forest is used for generating palm oil, smaller compared to Europe, which has less forest. Setiyawan hopes there could be a fairer view on this matter.

Thompson agreed with Setiyawan and stressed that rules should be constant especially in the midst of development. He said, however, the while countries stick to the agreements, they should remain “carbon sync.” Mr. Ng Lip Yong, head of the International Affairs Department of the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM), explained that there is already a decline in the production of renewable energy and this is affected by various factors. Palm oil conversion to biodiesel, for example, is not viable anymore because the

price of palm oil jumped from \$400/ton to \$1,100/ton. Solar panel factories close down as well with UK slashing its subsidies in the half and Spain and Germany completely withdrawing their subsidies. Ng said, what is important is to view green energy in a very holistic manner. It is important to know the right sources for these renewable energies.

Session II: Sustainable Development Clauses in Trade Agreements: Effective Against Possible Threats to Democracy?



Session II focused on the role and effects of social clauses vis-à-vis trade agreements. The session discussed how effective social clauses embedded in trade agreements are in promoting human rights, democracy, rule of law, sustainable development and good governance. The plenary also talked about whether or not such clauses should be part of trade agreements. Mr. Bryan Lim, Member of Central Executive Committee of Singapore Democratic Party (SDP), served as the session chair. The speakers were: Mr. Peter Thompson, Director of the Directorate for Development and Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), Trade Directorate of the European Commission; Hon. Win Htein, MP, senior adviser to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and member of the National League for Democracy of Burma (NLD); Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP; and Hon. Marietje Schaake, MEP, ALDE Coordinator for Urgencies.

Mr. Peter Thompson

Director of the Directorate for Development and Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), Trade Directorate of the European Commission

Thompson presented his speech's framework by discussing first the interface between trade and sustainable development and moved on to explain and share sustainable development vis-à-vis bilateral approach by providing EU's recently concluded FTA with South Korea as an example.

Sustainable development, Thompson described, is one of the primary goals in the international community including the international trading community and is one of the defined objectives in the Marrakech Agreement that established the World Trade Organization (WTO), which was then



“reinforced” in 2011 during the launch of the DOHA Development Agenda. He added that based on EU’s perspective, “sustainable development is in fact a fundamental principle, which is now embodied in the Lisbon treaty. It is one of our key objectives both domestically and in external relations.” Thompson said that all policies – social, environment, climate, development, even trade, should aim to contribute to sustainable development. Trade has a role to play. Not only can it help promote economic growth, it can also foster sustainable development. There are, however, challenges to attain this given that trade rules and regulations “cannot guarantee stability, prosperity, and democracy” because the actual impact of increased trade depends on many other policies. Thompson said it is vital to observe consistency and mutual supportiveness between various policy instruments.

Thompson narrated that even before they started negotiating free trade agreements, they were compelled, and willingly did, to carry out sustainable impact assessments. While it is not the most accurate way to recognize current trade status, he said, these assessments are useful in providing “fairly independent view of things.” It is useful for civil society and for the parliament to inquire on the status of negotiations so they could set the direction. “These are important building blocks that help feed that process early on before we even get started to negotiating texts face to face with our negotiating partners,” Thompson emphasized further.

Including provisions on sustainable development in negotiations is important and EU’s FTA with South Korea is an example of one of the first new generation agreements to include this approach. Thompson presented a few elements that described the process of concluding a successful negotiation. First, they work on internationally agreed principles of agreements (i.e. multilateral labor and environment agreements). They do not invent their own. He said they understood shared values and there was no point in creating a “parallel universe”, so access to globally accepted agreements provides meaningful outcomes. Second, they highlight the party’s right to regulate to ensure freer and more competitive trade and not go “downhill in terms of environmental standards.” Through this, high level of protection and enforcement of domestic laws can be safeguarded. Third, they incorporate in the discussions the sensible use of natural resources and biodiversity. Fourth, there is a great attention to dialogue and transparency so the discussions are operating on closed doors. It is not exclusive, but rather, inclusive. They operate on the understanding that the civil society has a critical role to play just as the parliament. “There are broad public consultations [and] there are participative processes...they are an integral part of the EU’s external relations,” Thompson concluded.

Hon. Win Htein, MP

Senior Adviser to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi
National League for Democracy



Htein was thankful for being able to attend and address the conference. He shared that it was his first trip to Europe after spending twenty years in jail. He also briefly narrated his past and recent experiences with the current government in Burma and noted that a lot of changes still need to be done.

In terms of the economy, Htein said their country was under economic sanction for nearly twenty years because the military junta was ruling the country by decree and not according to law. There is commerce and trade, but the government relied mainly on border trade because geographically, Burma is in-between China, India, Thailand, and Bangladesh. The border trades, he said, were one-sided and a lot of corruption and unethical transitions have been made throughout the years of trading with Burma's neighbors. Even with the newly elected government, Htein said their trading policies have not yet been established.

Htein said the previous military government relied on gas, which were transported and sold to Thailand and China. Since the military government relied politically and economically on China, they had to agree to develop a gas pipeline across the country from the west to the east to Hunan, China. Htein noted that the project is not complete yet, however, once it starts operating, all the petroleum from Arab countries will be transported through Burma's ports to Hunan directly. He said this project would become a controversial issue one day.

The recent by-elections reflected the people's thirst for reform in Burma by electing to serve in the parliament the candidates of NLD. They won forty-three out of the forty-four seats they contested, however, Htein said it is only 10% of the total number of seats. Proposing and crafting reform-oriented policies would still be difficult, but they are hopeful that through Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's leadership and the current government's promising initial reform policies, NLD would be able to win more seats and help re-shape Burma's economy through sound legislation and effective implementation.

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Sri Lankan Presidential Adviser on Reconciliation
Leader of the Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

Wijesinha discussed the threats to democracy and how these can distort the general perspective of free trade being a beneficial conduit to nations. He started his presentation by reiterating the preamble to the ALDE-CALD dialogue stating that, "from a liberal standpoint, it is mutually beneficial for countries to engage in trade, and free trade is one of the means to lift countries out of poverty." He said that this is "under attack" by mostly the powerful countries, thus, liberals should overcome this predicament and see

to it that there is a mutually beneficial partnership and not a dependent relationship between developed and developing countries.



The threats to this ideal can be observed with the US, for example, forcing countries to stop trade with Iran due to suspicions of the latter's nuclear ambitions. Because of this, Wijesinha said that, "in the process the ideal of free trade is being traduced, with no concern for development as opposed to vindictive dogma." Wijesinha is saddened by the "total silence" of Liberal colleagues around the world on this matter. In other instances, there are failures to demand for accountability regarding the human rights violations by British and American governments. While Thucydides, a Greek historian who studied the relations between nations based on might rather than right, noted that countries acted in their own interests, Wijesinha believes that liberals should "work towards our common goals...that aberrations are focused upon, that principles are always kept in sight, and that we do not simply keep quiet when all these are forgotten."

He also presented the case of Sri Lanka as an example of "frightening injustices" as a consequence due to ignorance and/or carelessness of some countries. Sri Lanka was dealing with the terrorism that has hunted the country for years, but the British government, for instance, turned a blind eye to the violations of norms and international law when George Bush and his "collaborators within Europe" claimed they were at war against terror. This is a sad example of "sanctimonious pronouncements on the importance of democracy and human rights." The British, Wijesinha added, "proved vindictive" when the Sri Lankan government managed to overcome terrorism to ensure a better future to the Tamils of Sri Lanka and to ensure a better approach to human rights. He said that "The assumption amongst those in authority here was that they knew best, and if the people of a country have a different idea, that must be suppressed for their greater good."

Given the realities of power politics, Wijesinha still remains on the optimistic side and trusts that those who genuinely believe can fulfill the liberal ideals. He refuses to accept what Thucydides posits, that the practice of powerful nations is human nature. He still believes "that greater understanding can lead to stronger moral purpose" and that liberals should "promote democracies...[and] avoid clauses that allow for subjective assessments." Going back to the basics is a start – to view free trade that provides not only economic development, but also "social upliftment" and to include the free movement of people because the people are the strength of developing nations. Wijesinha hopes that ALDE will take up this matter to promote globalization also with regard to people-to-people relations.

Hon. Marietje Schaake, MEP
ALDE Coordinator for Urgencies

Schaake focuses on foreign policy work in the EU particularly on international trade and Europe's digital agenda. She was delighted to hear the Asian perspective on trade because she largely concentrates on Middle East issues as ALDE Group's spokesperson on Iran. Schaake discussed the ways conditionality clauses in the EU trade agreements work, in the formal context. She also gave some concrete examples of how liberals strike a balance between interests and values, in this case, between trade and economic interests as well as human rights.

To Schaake, conditionality clauses must be included in all EU international trade agreements including sectorial agreements. She said that currently, the member states have to monitor conditionality, but she believes that a common agency should be established "with the mandate to administer all of the EU's conditionality policies." Moreover, the wording of conditionality clauses in international agreements should be consistent and it would help if these clauses were "time-limited" in order for the new measures to be adjusted and justified. She also explained that, "Any proposal to apply conditionality policy should be subjected to a human rights impact assessment and all conditionality policy should be verified for consistency with WTO law." Schaake added that conditionality clauses should be invoked as well because conditionality exists only on paper and up until the negotiating stage. Invoking conditionality is a real challenge, but is vital to every agreement.



Conditionality clauses in relation to trade are also very relevant in relation to Europe's "neighborhood policy countries." Schaake explained that in the current trade talks with Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan, and Morocco, countries expected to undergo changes and transitions, they have introduced a new concept where they seek more reforms on human rights, democracy, and respect for minority, among others, in return for market access to the EU markets. Schaake said that as liberals, "we have a real opportunity to ensure that we leverage the economic weight of the EU to emphasize and to encourage reform in the field of human rights, democracy, and minorities."

Schaake also presented Iran as an example where extreme sanctions are applied. She said the EU "has consistently sought to separate the impact on those in power with a clear goal of getting them to the negotiating table, and to try to limit the impact on the general population." She believes that the real sustainable change in Iran can only come from within Iran so it is important to ensure "that we do not make the discussions about sanctions and the nuclear issue a zero-sum game vis-à-vis human rights issues." She added that there is a real risk in focusing on the nuclear negotiations. Systematic violence, torture, and censorship would simply go on, she cautioned,

effectively preventing any opportunity for academic freedom, entrepreneurship, free speech, free media, a viable opposition, etc.

Schaaake also discussed the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA), the most politicized trade related issue on the EU agenda, which sought to limit the trade not only in counterfeited goods, but also pirated goods. She explained that in this trade agreement, the tension arising is between seeking to limit the trade on certain goods and concerns about fundamental rights, which include access to information and Internet freedom. To Schaaake, the threat that new technology brings to fundamental rights is becoming more and more a prominent feature in trade discussions - the mass censorship in China or even the export of technology systems from the EU or the US designed to repress people (investigative journalists, for example, discovered that the tools used in Syria to monitor the Internet traffic to identify the opposition were made in the EU). She hope that the EU would focus more prominently on addressing censorship in the context of trade, and on whether there should be a barrier or potential new regulations on the export of technology systems.

Lastly, Schaaake shared two schools of thoughts on the liberal approach when it comes to trade. First, she noted that there are liberals who believe that the sooner you can apply free trade to the greatest extent, the more the natural process of free thinking and development of middle classes would flow. Second, there are others who say one should approach it gradually and stick to the principles as much as possible especially in the beginning. Schaaake believes, on a number of issues, "it is very difficult to actually clearly separate values from interests or principles from trade." Transparency and accountability, she said, are both integral to the way the EU would like to conduct its business in order for to highlight the value of accountability to citizens, to governments, and to companies.

Open Forum

Nuclear Issues and Collateral Effects in the Middle East

Ciré asked Schaaake about what the EU is doing regarding the collateral effects that occurred as a result of the interference of US to get rid of Muammar al-Gaddafi. The African Union, he said, is now trying to find solutions to remedy the political and military aspect. Schaaake explained that she could not speak on behalf of the EU so she shared her thoughts as a liberal. She said it is important for the EU to stay committed to the transition in Libya and to address the process of institution building – seeking to work towards a freer and fairer society. The Libyan people should take charge of their own country, however, Schaaake stressed that the EU must ensure that the new start for Libya would not become a new scenario of repressing minorities. Freedoms must be guaranteed. EU will remain committed to ensure that freedoms are guaranteed in Libya as well as in Tunisia and Egypt.

Regarding nuclear weapons, the overall goal is to have a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East, Schaaake said. But in reality, this is not

the case. Schaake explained that Iran today destroyed the trust relationship between itself and the international community so it is very difficult to deal with the threats of nuclear weapons. The tension between Israel and Iran must be suppressed to prevent an escalation of the situation. Schaake believes it is important for the EU to take the lead in negotiations to forge a peaceful resolution of the issue.

Counterfeit Trading

Myint asked Schaake how she could respond to the counterfeit products from China in relation to the counterfeit laws and trade laws. He also asked how countries trade with China knowing that products maybe counterfeit. Schaake said there are various kinds of counterfeit – from the tangible good such as bags, perfume, mobile phones to the digital goods of the digital economy and the Internet. She explained that there is a need to reform the laws to ensure that those who create the content get remunerated. When it comes to China, while the EU attempted border measure, it is difficult for the grouping to prevent counterfeit trades. A lot of the trades, she said, go to the customers in Asia and addressing it poses a lot of difficulties.

On Economic and Political Sanctions

Ng asked Htein about his view regarding sanctions in Burma whether they actually benefitted the people or just a selected few because the generals, as a result of sanctions, could easily resort to corruption. He also asked the Thompson about western European companies operating in Burma given that there are still sanctions in the country.

Htein said that the sanctions from the US, Japan, EU, Canada, Australia, and others cause difficulty for the government because of restrictions in the movement of commodities and money. At the same time, cronies were prohibited to visit Europe and the US. However, despite the challenges in trade, the generals were able to profit privately from corruption and nepotism.

Thompson related the case of Africa and said that the sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa had an effect on regime change. But in the case of Burma, the withdrawal of the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) benefit, for example, is being given a great consideration. It was labor-related, not politically-related, Thompson explained. GSP aims to increase the export earnings of developing countries to promote further industrialization and economic growth. The EU may consider the re-instatement of GSP for Burma after the assessment of the International Labor Organization (ILO) whether to lift the restriction of Burma's full participation in its activities.

Ciré added that sanctions are indeed effective in some countries. He explained that it all depends on its nature and composition. It is not clear-cut, but it had a significant effect in Africa.

Mr. Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff, Head of FNF's Asia Desk in Potsdam said he was always skeptical of the sanctions in Burma. There were

comprehensive sanctions in South Africa before, but in Burma, only the powerful countries imposed sanctions. In Cuba, there are sanctions, but there is not much political change. Kleine-Brockhoff explained that the military regime might have enjoyed the situation because China was able to deal with them without any competition.

Kleine-Brockhoff also asked if there was a timetable for the EU to withdraw the sanctions given that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was able to meet and discuss with ILO and leaders in Europe. Thompson said the EU will wait for the recommendation of the ILO and if the conclusions are clear, then he might be ordered to start preparing for the legislative process. He added that the proposal might come from the Commission in September or October.

Sam shared his experience regarding sanctions. He explained the kinds of sanctions that have varying effects. There are sanctions that target individuals that would not really hurt the interests and well being of the country as a whole. And there are sanctions that target visas, bank accounts, and similar essential requirements that directly hurt the rich and corrupt public officials who send their children abroad, who shop abroad, and buy properties abroad. By limiting them from entering developed countries, it shows “a combined political and psychological effect.” Sam also said that more than the sanction itself, the message behind it is important. When he was expelled from parliament and forced into exile in 2004, there were pressures behind the scenes on donor countries to evaluate international assistance to Cambodia, which relied heavily on donor funds. He was able to go back to Cambodia eventually, but currently, the Cambodian government is more defiant because of its engagement with China. Sam said it is good that EU functions as one voice, collectively pursuing the unity of 27 nations. The EU has a significant leverage and its pressure still has a substantial effect on Cambodia.

Session III: Multilateralism versus Bilateralism in International Trade (Doha Development Agenda; Intra-Asian FTAs; Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreements)



Session III focused on the prospects for the continuation and successful conclusion of Doha Development Round and how it would be affected by the progress of bilateral trade negotiations. The debates on this session tried to confront whether multilateralism and bilateralism are complementary or conflicting. Speakers also presented the ways to promote inter-regional trade between Asia and Europe and how international currency wars can be addressed. Hon. Silvana Koch-Mehrin, MEP, ALDE Shadow Rapporteur for the EU Korea FTA, served as the session chair. The speakers were Mr. Ng Lip Yong, Hon. Jerry P. Trefias, MP, Chairperson of the Committee on Good Government and Accountability and Vice Chairperson of the Committee on Trade and Industry in the Philippine House of Representatives, Mr. Pascal Kerneis, Senior Adviser on Trade Policy of Business Europe and Senior Managing Director of the European Services Forum, and Hon. Eynar de los Cobos Carmona, MP, of the Partido Nueva Alianza of Mexico.

Mr. Ng Lip Yong

Chairman of Central Unit on International Relations and Affairs,
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia
Former Malaysian Deputy Minister of Trade



Ng discussed the nature of negotiating multilaterally and why countries resort to bilateral negotiations. He started by explaining the purpose of trade agreements, which is to lower barriers so countries can easily trade with other nations. Bringing down tariff and non-tariff barriers unilaterally is suicide, Ng said. It is not beneficial for a country to lower all barriers without getting anything in return so nations engage into the WTO for multilateral negotiations where one country trades off with another on different barriers.

Countries, however, face challenges in multilateral approach. WTO takes time and does not seem to work. Ng explained that the Tokyo Round took about five years, the Uruguay Round about eight years, and currently, the Doha Round more than ten years already and it has not been concluded yet. This is when countries proceed to their regions under the Regional Trade Agreements (RTA) such as EU and ASEAN to go on the bilateral approach.

Ng presented the experience of Malaysia in trade negotiations. In terms of trade, Ng said that Malaysia's annual trade volume is double the GDP so they are very dependent on trade. Europe is their third trading partner next to US and China. They also have a long history of trade with German companies for more than 150 years already. Before, he noted that his country was determined to go through the ASEAN path – they did not negotiate except as part of ASEAN. But Malaysia eventually realized that even the ten members of ASEAN had struggles in getting a consensus. Hence, Malaysia initiated a number of FTAs with other countries. The challenge, currently, is the increased number of bilateral negotiations. Malaysia, being a smaller and less developed country, has the disadvantage of not having enough experts unlike the EU, which is composed of 27 nations with many teams of negotiators. Ng said this is when smaller countries struggle to find a level playing field. Nevertheless, Ng said “bilateral agreements are better than no agreement at all” because it provides the means to improve trade relationships.

Ng also shared Malaysia's participation in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which is an FTA initiative involving nine countries, Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, United States and Viet Nam. According to the official website of Malaysia's Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Malaysia's involvement in TPP are as follows:

- *Although Malaysia has FTA agreements with most of the TPP members, the Trans-Pacific Partnership is a positive step towards deeper integration within the Asia Pacific region and would allow Malaysia to engage the US, which remains an important trading partner and source of investment.*

• *The TPP accounts for a third of Malaysia's global trade. Together with Malaysia's other FTAs, this would increase Malaysia's share of global trade covered under preferential treatment to above 70 per cent.*

• *The TPP could be perceived as the primary vehicle for advancing economic cooperation and investment liberalization in the Asia Pacific region.*

Hon. Jerry P. Treñas, MP

Chairperson of the Committee on Good Government and Accountability
And Vice Chairperson of the Committee on Trade and Industry,
Philippine House of Representatives
Member of the Liberal Party of the Philippines

Trenas provided a background of why General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its successor, the WTO were established. He presented the difference between bilateral and multilateral agreements and how each approach benefits countries in trading engagements. He also provided an overview of the Doha Round of negotiations and briefly analyzed the conflicting views of countries and the promising results it could provide in the future.

Treñas explained that with the increasing number of independent states, it is no longer easy to handle bilateral agreements with trading partners. Bilateralism, while it can forge negotiations in a fast manner, he said it can only “complicate the commercial relationships of the state since it has to forge agreements with so many other independent nations.” It can eventually cause discrepancies and conflicts in international trade, he added. With the rise of independent states, the international community decided to forge an agreement to form GATT and later on WTO, which is a framework that can harmonize and manage international trade. The Doha Round, the current round of negotiations in the WTO, is an “ambitious but achievable goal of reforming international trade through the reduction of trade barriers and amendments of trade rules.” This is significant particularly to the Philippines, Treñas noted, because it comprises the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) that aims to improve the trading prospects of developing nations. There are challenges faced by members in the Doha Round and these are interpreted as negative arguments against the multilateral approach. Treñas said conflicting interests are naturally present between developed and developing countries, but these “roadblocks” experienced by WTO members are “healthy signs that multilateralism actually works.



Treñas enumerated the advantages of multilateralism: 1) Multilateral negotiations assure that all sides are heard and no parties will be

shortchanged; 2) Multilateralism gives a wider perspective on the impact of policy decisions; 3) It allows all countries, representing different economic, social and political backgrounds, to communicate their advocacies and defend their interests; and 4) Multilateralism is the wiser approach when it comes to policy and trade regulatory decisions which will directly or indirectly affect a good number of countries.

In conclusion, while multilateralism shows a big advantage in trading, Treñas still believes that bilateralism and multilateralism are not conflicting approaches. He noted, “Bilateral agreements allow agreements in the meantime before the final conclusion of the multilateral agreements.”

Mr. Pascal Kerneis

Senior Adviser on Trade Policy of the Business Europe

Senior Managing Director of the European Services Forum

Kerneis is working for Business Europe, which is a gathering of confederation of industries from 27 countries. He is also a part of the European Services Forum, an organization created to deal with services in WTO. In his presentation, Kerneis described the EU trade policy by presenting its geographic coverage and discussing the bilateral and multilateral approaches on the services industry. He also explained EU's TPP engagements and shared his insights on trade liberalization.

Kerneis went through the various bilateral and multilateral involvements of EU and studied their market access levels in relation to the Doha Development Agenda (DDA). On the multilateral side, only 30 out of 153 countries participated in the negotiation on services, during the WTO Uruguay Round in 1995 and the conclusion of financial services in 1997 up until the Doha Round in 2008. Nevertheless, Kerneis said that to the EU, it was very positive throughout the WTO accessions. Since 2001, China, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Vietnam, Ukraine, Cambodia, and Russia joined to add value to the negotiations. Soon, he said, Kazakhstan might join as well.

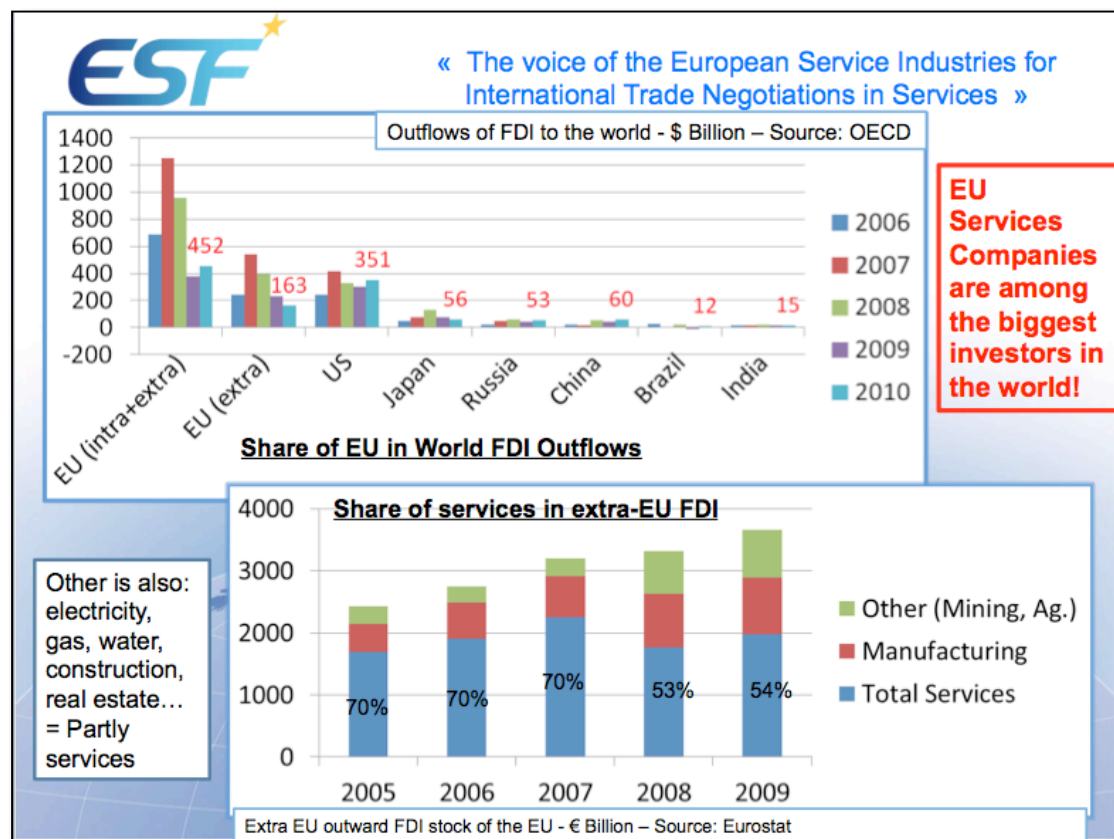


On the bilateral side, they have Mexico and Chile as part of the old FTA although there is not much commitment into the substance for service sector. There is also the US FTA Plus, which includes Forum of the Caribbean Group of African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) States (CARIFORUM), recently signed Korea, Columbia, Peru, and Central America, which are now in the EP for eventual ratification, and Mercosur, South America's leading trading bloc. For US FTA Plus, EU wants to have not only market access plus, but also public procurement and Mode 4 of the four modes of supply, which pertains to the presence of a supplier as a natural person ones service is delivered within the territory of the member. Involved in the bilateral approach are new FTAs, which is what the new policy is trying to deliver. Concluded bilateral FTAs include Columbia, Peru, and Central America. Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, Georgia, Moldova are willing to start the negotiation while currently

under negotiations are Canada, India, Singapore, and Malaysia. Kerneis said they are now scoping in ASEAN countries as well as Japan, Taiwan and even the US. There are also Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the Africa, Caribbean, Pacific (ACP) regions. In bilateral talks, Kerneis noted that these agreements are more interesting because of: 1) Agreements that focuses on market access and also public procurement; 2) Intellectual property rights; and 3) Coverage of investment protection. Kerneis explained that with regard to state-owned enterprises, they would like to have some of the rules secure to guarantee a level-playing field.

With regard to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), these nine countries are covered by TPP namely: Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, US, and Vietnam. While three countries, Canada, Japan, and Mexico, are currently candidates or potential new comers.

Kerneis also briefly touched upon the issue of the political and economic case for a plurilateral agreement on services. He said that a plurilateral agreement on services without the EU “does not make much sense.” He explained that with a combined Intra-EU and Extra-EU, the EU exports of services represent 42% of global export of services. He added that EU is by far the biggest exporter of services with 24% of the world export services. The European Commission describes Extra-EU as “transactions with all countries outside of the EU: the rest of the world except for the European Union (EU) as it is now, consisting of 27 Member State.” While Intra-EU, refers “to all transactions occurring within the EU.”



Kerneis presented the different approaches to liberalization: autonomous liberalization and binding liberalization. Autonomous liberalization, he said, is not wise but is what a country should first do in order to open up to attract investments and trade commitments. However, trade partners and investors are concerned about legal security because countries tend to change the rules when governments change. Kerneis said that this is the primary reason why we have trade policies. Trade policies provide legal security to investor and traders. In binding liberalization, there are three ways involved in this approach: *multilateral* where DDA is totally blocked, *bilateral* where you can go deeper in the negotiation, but it's relatively narrow because it's one country and there is too much effort involved, and lastly, *plurilateral* meaning negotiations only to a group of countries. Kerneis said that the Hong Kong declaration in WTO in 2005, it has been decided that it is possible for services to negotiate on a plurilateral basis meaning "you open up between yourself but actually when you conclude, you also offer everything you have opened up with yourself to the rest of the membership." If it reaches critical mass thus creating free riders in the scenario, another approach would be "only among the countries that are signing this agreement which means the others are not going to benefit from that." The point, according to Kerneis, is to "do a plurilateral among the countries of the willing provided that we do not close the door."

Hon. Eynar de los Cobos Carmona MP,
 President of the Legislative Commission on Civil Protection
 Partido Nueva Alianza of Mexico



Carmona focused his discussion on the TPP agreement and what it means to Mexico and its trade cooperation in Asia. TPP, he defined, is a multilateral free trade agreement that seeks to strengthen the liberalization process, which takes place between APEC member's economies. He added that the main interest of TPP is focused on the commercial, economic, financial, scientific, and technological fields, which will ensure that the cooperation between members is limited to goods. Carmona noted that TPP provides a good opportunity to understand the characteristics and the needs of the participating economies.

Carmona explained that while trade relationships are reinforced in TPP, the relationship that Latin America and Asia have, started long ago in the 1980s. An example of this is their bilateral agreement with Japan wherein \$308 million is the worth of expected export by different enterprises. Carmona noted that, "The percentage of products traded from Mexico to Japan consists of 12% on meat, 12% on agricultural products and salt, 9% on car and 6% on electronic equipment for communications." Asia-Pacific, he said, is "the region with the highest economic dynamism therefore the TPP represents a consolidating step towards integration" while Latin America represents a very broad market wherein the demand of goods and services increase everyday.

It was in 2008 when the US expressed their intention to join the TPP and later on, Australia, Peru, Vietnam, and Malaysia followed suit. More recently, Mexico, Japan, and Canada also expressed their interest in joining. With all of these countries joining, “TPP will count with 40% of the world GDP - with 28% of the world imports and with the 24% of world exports.” Under the TPP agreement, Carmona foresees that the economy of Mexico and Latin America, in general, will boost because it brings together economies and establishes commercial relations in a cohesive and coordinated way.

Carmona shared the new elements that TPP provides as a free trade agreement. First, he said there is regulatory clearance that will procure a more fluent and efficient trade within countries. Second, there is competitiveness and business facilitation, which will promote further economic integration and job creation. Third, there will be more accessibility for small and medium enterprises to participate in international trade. And fourth, the element of development will ensure improvements in trade and investments. In conclusion, Carmona believes that TPP is an important agreement that represents a significant part of the world gross domestic product. It will contribute heavily on the international liberalization of trade.

Open Forum

Multilateral Agreements vis-à-vis Regional Alliances



Koch-Mehrin, the session chair, asked Treñas how Doha is affected by all the bilateral trade agreements currently being negotiated around the globe and how multilateral agreements will continue to work out. She also asked about what approaches should be adopted to further multilateral agreements. Treñas said that the more negotiated bilateral agreements there is, the further complications there will be in the Doha agreement because “there will be rights and interests that will be specified and negotiated in these bilateral agreements which should also find conclusion in the Doha agreement.” He added that with the EU being a “developed conglomerate of countries” that can negotiate as one, in Asia, ASEAN is crucial in pushing for a stronger and more mature regional alliance to be at par with EU. It is at this stage, Treñas explained, when multilateral agreements can be achieved earlier. When asked about the intra-FTA’s and increasing bilateral negotiations in Asia, Treñas explained that some Asian countries cannot wait anymore and really need to trade and come up with agreements at the earliest possible time. With this, countries would progress with trade partners. But again, Treñas is optimistic with trades through regional blocs that continue to strengthen and ASEAN, which started as a very loose organization, continues to mature and grow as one single force.

Given that the traditional approaches to negotiations are not working and with the breakdown of existing regional agreements (ASEAN negotiations with EU, internal problems between Mercosur and EU, etc.), Koch-Mehrin asked Ng how the regional approach is coming up as a new and vast region and

what it conveys with regard to negotiations. Ng said that he agrees with Trefias about dealing on a regional basis for stronger gains and faster progress, however unlike EU, ASEAN members are at different stages of development making it difficult to have a common stand on issues. Also, Ng said that a lot of bilateral agreements are getting complicated because there are smaller countries that are weaker and would prefer simplified rules. Nevertheless, Ng believes that in any trade negotiation, “the developed countries must ensure that the developing countries get a fair share...[and] take recognition that we are not as well developed in terms of human resources.” It is difficult to ask for a level playing field, he added. “We talk about free trade, but we want fair trade, not just free trade,” Ng emphasized.

Prospects of TPP for Europe

With Kerneis statement that agreement on services without the EU actually does not make sense because you leave out the biggest services-providing bloc, Koch-Mehrin asked him about TPP and its prospects for Europe once it is concluded. Kerneis said, currently, TPP is not big and US is actually 80% of it. However, TPP with Mexico, Japan, and Canada will change everything and Kerneis believes Europe will look good in this equation than solely being in a EU-US set up. He clarified that TPP is not a multilateral agreement. A multilateral agreement is an agreement that is for the benefit of everybody on a Most Favored Nation (MFN) basis. TPP on the other hand is an FTA or a plurilateral agreement. Kerneis also shared that there is going to be a new step in the form of WTO 2.0 or TPP enlarged to the EU. He said, “We will not have any choice but to join this club otherwise we’re going to be put aside again and we’re going to ride the WTO 2.0 outside Geneva and outside the developing countries and outside the emerging countries.”



Kerneis also said that with the current WTO now being only a dispute settlement system and without signs of new liberalization indications, the more that it will become irrelevant. The bilateral or multilateral agreements might probably end up overruling the WTO rules.

Mexico and TPP

Koch-Mehrin asked Carmona about his perspective on competing intentions in terms of Mexico’s trade negotiations especially that Canada and EU and US ad EU trade agreements are on the way. Carmona said that Mexico is “at historic point” because it was the obvious bridge between Asia Pacific countries and the US through the North American free trade. He added that Mexico could trade easier with Asia Pacific countries.

TPP’s Trajectory and the China factor

Ng asked Kerneis about the future of TPP and whether or not it would be over after the US election since TPP is very active due mainly of the US

elections. He also asked China's eventual role in this development. Kerneis believes that TPP is going to happen and developed countries such as Japan and Korea would pay a very high price just to join TPP. Kerneis explained that in Europe, nobody knows what is happening with TPP, but the international community can already see the "the heaven in international trade." Regarding China, Kerneis said that TPP is presented by the US as an anti-China tool. The plurilateral negotiation is also an anti-China tool. However, he believes that China will not be affected because of other new and emerging negotiations such as the trilateral group of Japan, Korea, and Canada as well as the closer trade relationship of Russia with China.

When asked about the success of the China-ASEAN FTA compared to the failure of the EU-ASEAN FTA, Ng explained that through the ASEAN Plus One (plus China), wherein the FTA has been doing well since 2010, Malaysia's trade with China has increased by more than 20% a year. Malaysia, he said, has been given a lot of market access to China that resulted in remarkable benefits. Ng added that the ASEAN Plus Three (plus China, Japan, and Korea) at the same time provided export benefits. Moreover, Ng said Indonesia should not be counted out when engaging in the Pacific because it is the fourth largest in terms of population and its economy currently growing at a fast rate.

The reason why the EU-ASEAN did not work is because the paper that EU and ASEAN put together did not reflect the "deep meaning of words" and that the two groupings did not speak the same language. Kerneis explained that the EU wanted to have a "deep and comprehensive agreement" covering everything while ASEAN FTA's covered mostly goods and not services in the rules.

Discussion Session on the Topics of the Three Previous Sessions

**With the Perspective of Representatives of the ALDEPAC and ALDELAT
Liberal Parliamentary Network**



This session presented the perspectives and opinion of guest participants from ALDEPAC and ALDELAT and what they perceive is the significance of greater trade integration and cooperation. Maaten served as the session chair, while Cire, Carmona, and Buchard Enrique Rodriguez, MP, from the Liberal Party of Honduras, were present to provide their personal comments and reaction to the previous discussions in the conference.

Maaten, a former MEP at the EP, explained the setup of the room where the ALDE-CALD sessions were being held. He said that the room is where the Council of Ministers (governments represented usually by their EU Ambassadors) agree or disagree with the parliament on all amendments in legislations because they are co-legislators. "This is where intricate and delicate negotiations happen," Maaten further noted.

Hon. Sall Amadou Ciré, MP
Senegalese National Assembly



Ciré thanked ALDE for the opportunity to participate in the dialogue between Asian and European liberal parties as well as for the cooperation they have been part of through ALDE-PAC (Pacific, African, and Caribbean). He said that with the common problems they are facing, it gives them the desire to engage more and cooperate more on the international scale.

Regarding trade, Ciré noted that development of African countries depends, on a great extent, with relations with the EU, their historical partner. The discussions on trade partnerships, be it multilateralism or bilateralism, are very important. He said he would like to have similar discussions between ALDE and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) so they may find common responses to the concerns of the region.

Ciré added that his country, Senegal, showed the world that democracy is well advanced in their society especially after the March 2012 election. Liberalism in Senegal is a continuing journey and not a one-time journey, Ciré explained. Currently, there are a lot of liberal parties in Africa and it strengthens the liberal network in the region. He believes that the international association of liberal parties could further develop the liberal responses to the global challenges as liberal principles are strengthened and exemplified.

Hon. Buchard Enrique Rodriguez, MP
Liberal Party of Honduras

The second speaker shared his thoughts about the conference's previous discussions. Rodriguez shared interesting notes on the Central America and how FTA with Europe is helping the integration process in their continent. Central America, he explained, initiated an integration process about the same time that Europe did. It was, unfortunately, unsuccessful but the negotiation process helped bolster the future of integration process in their region and this time with the participation of Panama.



Rodriguez shared the following observations:

- Despite living in different regions, we face similar problems and challenges.
- Independence and freedom promote economic growth. Without liberalism, FTA's would be difficult to achieve.
- Trade is not a goal in itself, but a way to reach individual betterment.
- There is a need to make negotiations a more inclusive process and colleagues from Europe need to understand that this is a sensitive matter to most countries. People maybe reluctant to support FTA's if they only see politicians and businessmen in negotiations because it reflects personal interests rather than national principles.
- Conditional clauses or special interests clauses pertaining to human rights, minority rights, democracy, and the like, must be included in FTA's.
- The theme "From Patronage to Partnership" requires new efforts and change of views for both Europe and Asia in order to achieve it.

Hon. Eynar de los Cobos Carmona MP,
President of the Legislative Commission on Civil Protection
Partido Nueva Alianza of Mexico



Carmona was very thankful for the opportunity to participate in the meeting between ALDE and CALD. He said he was inspired to be better after hearing stories about the struggles in Burma and Cambodia.

In the discussions about trade, Carmona said that, “Mexico’s liberal calling in this issue proves that we are the country in Latin America with more commercial agreements with the rest of the world.” Their participation in North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), though faced with a lot of obstacles and tariff barriers, proved to be an opportunity to strengthen commercial relations and modernize their industry. Carmona also noted that in developing economies, it is important to develop democracy. Mexico, he added, would continue to cooperate hand-in-hand with the European and Asian communities.

Comment

Treñas shared that in the Philippines, though freedom is present, people take it for granted. And upon hearing first hand the experiences of speakers who struggle to fight for democracy and freedom in Burma and Cambodia, Treñas appreciated the fact that there is this opportunity to sit down, learn, and discuss about their problems. He said, “While we cannot find solutions immediately as a group, it further gives us inspiration to continue working together so that eventually, these countries will...[have] the same freedom and democracy that we now enjoy.”

Closing Session



Hon. Nutt Bantadtan, MP, from the Democrat Party of Thailand, served as the session chair for the closing session. Watson, who serves as the chair of the India and China delegation as well as a sub-member of the Asian delegation at the EP, delivered the closing keynote address focusing on the topic *“Chinese and Indian Dominance in Asia?”* Rinaldi, Sam, and Kleine-Brockhoff gave the closing remarks on behalf of ALDE, CALD, and FNF, respectively.

Sir Graham Watson, MEP

President, European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party (ELDR)

Member, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)



Watson brought the participants back through time as he narrated and described the rise of China and India in terms of their philosophies and influences vis-à-vis the global trade relations. He also presented the strategic economic efforts of the two rising nations in South Asia, East and Southeast Asia, and Central Asia. Although not a Liberal nation, Watson said China was an “important centre of study, learning, and debate.” While India, he added, “...though more heterogeneous, was a testing ground for Liberal ideas.”

China and India both have their “distinct spheres of influence” and trades were done mostly in Asia. Watson noted that that in 1820, China and India accounted for 33% and 25% of the world’s manufactured goods, respectively. Today, “China has had an annual growth rate close to 10% in the last two decades and has become an engine for growth for Asia and the world. Deng Xiao-ping’s open door policy from 1979 has been a great success in

economic terms. In the second quarter of 2010 China became the second largest world economy and may become the first by 2030. China's per capita GDP remains far behind those of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and many western economies, but it is catching up. China's share of total world GDP was less than 5% in 1950 but is estimated today to be around 15%. In political terms, however, the country is little freer than before."

Meanwhile, India's trade opening came after 1990. Watson said, "it enjoyed growth rates of around 6 % in the first decade of the this century and incomes per capita more than doubled in the 25 years between 1990 and 2005. But politically the country has atrophied; freedom and justice which exists in principle is often far from realised in practice."

Watson explained that China and India both "seek international status that is commensurate with their size, strength, and potential." This triggers fear in the region because the two countries "often appear unaware of the threats they pose." The heightened tensions involving Spratly Islands, for example, reflects China's "expansionist power." In today's global trade, Watson said that, "There are overlapping spheres of influence, resource scarcity and rival alliance relationships - competition rather than cooperation - particularly in Asia but also in Africa and Latin America." China's 2006 FTA with Pakistan shows its trade and investment improvements in South Asia. China has also supported Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, and Sri Lanka – countries that can act as counterweights to India. However, India had its own share of counterweight approach with its "Look East" policy that expands India's role in South East and East Asia and prevents an exclusive influential area for China. With regard to trade involvements with ASEAN, both countries showed significant economic gains. In 2010, the India-ASEAN trade was \$55.3 billion while the China-ASEAN trade was significantly higher with \$292.78 billion. In engagements with Central Asia, Watson said that China and India recognize "the common threats of terrorism, separatism and religious extremisms" and both countries need energy resources for development.



It is not surprising to wonder whether China and India are rivals or partners. "Both see the current world order as outdated and designed to perpetuate the domination of western powers," Watson explained. In theory, he said, "the partnership of China's manufactures and India's technology and service sector could make 'Chindia' the 'factory and back office' of the world. But China wants to beat India in the services sector as well." Watson shared what politician and reformist leader, Deng Xiaoping, said about China and India:

"Only when China and India develop well, can one claim that the century of Asia has come. If China and India strengthen cooperation, Asian unity, stability and prosperity will be very hopeful, the world will be in peace and make more progress."
- Deng Xiaoping

With China and India's role in international trade, thinking about the balance of power and counterweights are becoming more prominent especially in South Asia. While less dependency on China is the focus of South East Asia.

As Liberals, upon the recognition that China and India will remain as "important powers in Asia," Watson said we must continue to seek to "influence domestic debate in each and to prepare strategies to deal with the consequences of illiberal policies which either must pursue...We must promote the idea that democracy consists in more than regular elections; it involves freedom of conscience, of belief, of expression, of propagation of ideas; freedom of speech and assembly; a free press; good governance, including government being honest with its citizens; and responsible stewardship of the planet we inhabit."

Lastly, Watson congratulated CALD for the "admirable swaying network of the Liberal intelligence" evident in its efforts throughout the years.

Hon. Niccolo Rinaldi, MEP

Vice President, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)



Rinaldi was happy with the outcome of the conference. He said that the continuity of the cooperation and discussions between ALDE and CALD reinforces the growth of organizations both politically and intellectually. In this conference, "we reaffirm that my concern is your concern," Rinaldi said and this showed how interconnected people are. Another lesson he emphasized was the value of networking – where liberals are able to "organize to have a common working method and regular contacts" among colleagues. This is a very important factor in a globalized world and in achieving goals, he added.

The goal of liberals is freedom and democracy, Rinaldi reminded the participants. And freedom of trade is "one of the best possibility for achieving development" – both wealth and intellectual development. Rinaldi stressed that in facing new challenges and new factors that contribute to development, modernity, and civilization, liberals need to rely on their values. By relying on these values, Rinaldi said that we discover a unique kind of humility, we discover intellectual strength and self-discipline, - "we rediscover ourselves and the liberal values."

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD)

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition

Sam reiterated important points discussed about trade in the last two days. More than wars, he said, “trade has shaped the world, has shaped history, has shaped the evolution of humanity, and has shaped our countries, our societies, our way of living, our mindsets.”

Since trade is based on exchanged, Sam said that the free flow of capital, labor, technologies and ideas make the progress of humanity more possible. An example of which is embodied in the “principle of communicating recipients” that results in things or situations being put to the same level. Sam said that this projects that countries at different levels of development will tend to move to the same level as the others. In Europe, countries such as Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Ireland that are less developed before are closing in to the same level as Germany, France, and Italy. There are problems and obstacles, however, in the quest for development and progress. One is the existence of fear --- “fear of losing entrenched interests, fear of sharing.” But Sam believes it is wrong to put a limit to the limitless. Wealth, just like knowledge, can be created without limit. “Through trade, we can push the limit of wealth creation for the betterment of mankind,” he added. Another challenge to development is a country’s regime or system that is not fit to accommodate free trade. Sam reiterated that trade is not a goal in itself, but a means to achieve “something bigger and universal that mankind will always pursue” and that is the development of the human being. Sam said human beings have complex and diverse needs, but the needs should not be reduced to only material needs. Freedom, human dignity, human rights, and democracy are part of the ultimate objective of human being’s continued pursuit to development.



Sam was thankful for the opportunity to meet again and discuss trade. In two years, he said, ALDE and CALD will meet again and discuss another essential matter. But more importantly, he said, “behind the words are these necessities for us all to engage, to strengthen this battle for the development of human beings...to defend the value, especially the liberal, democratic values that we all share.”

Mr. Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff

Head of Asia Desk

Friedrich Nauman Foundation for Freedom (FNF)



On behalf of FNF, Kleine-Brockhoff thanked ALDE and CALD for organizing a productive meeting. He shared his insights and the lessons he learned from the session particularly on the importance of regionalism. As mentioned by Sam, the EU was a success story and that it is a privilege because EU is able to negotiate as a bloc. On the other side of the globe, Kleine-Brockhoff also mentioned Maaten's point that ASEAN is not integrated enough and having bilateral negotiations by six of the ten ASEAN members is a reflection of the limitations that ASEAN must overcome.

Kleine-Brockhoff said that ASEAN should work together and address the different political systems and values that contribute to unstable democracies. Rinaldi's point that trade can help promote democracy and freedom and Watson's assertion that trade is the most powerful tool to fight poverty, are reminders that as liberals, Kleine-Brockhoff stressed, it is extremely important "to continue to work for democracy and civil liberties in our respective countries, in Asia, to be able to one day see a democratic ASEAN."



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