

# Penundaan Ratifikasi Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) dengan Tiongkok oleh Uni Eropa = The Postponement of the Ratification of the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) with China by the European Union

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## Abstrak

Pada tahun 2021 silam, Uni Eropa memutuskan untuk menunda ratifikasi perjanjian investasi bilateral dengan Tiongkok yang dikenal sebagai Comprehensive Agreement On Investment (CAI). Skripsi ini berusaha mengungkapkan alasan dibalik tindakan Uni Eropa tersebut menggunakan teori two-level games oleh Robert Putnam. Berdasarkan analisis, ditemukan bahwa proses negosiasi dan ratifikasi CAI dilakukan pada konteks memburuknya sistem internasional yang mencapai puncaknya pada peristiwa countersanction antara Uni Eropa dan Tiongkok. Selain itu, terdapat penolakan dari domestik Uni Eropa, seperti lembaga swadaya masyarakat, serikat pekerja, dan Parlemen Eropa karena perjanjian dinilai tidak sesuai dengan prinsip fundamental Uni Eropa. Berdasarkan

teori two-level games, temuan dari kondisi internasional dan domestik Uni Eropa tersebut tidak saling mendukung proses ratifikasi CAI. Kondisi ini terjadi karena win-set dari level I internasional dan level II domestik Uni Eropa tidak saling tumpang tindih dan akhirnya menyebabkan CAI berada pada posisi deadlocked. Hasil analisis skripsi ini diharapkan

berguna untuk mengembangkan kajian Ilmu Hubungan Internasional mengenai pengaruh faktor internasional dan domestik terhadap proses pembuatan kebijakan Uni Eropa, terutama ketika berhadapan dengan Tiongkok sebagai mitra kerja samanya

.....In 2021, the European Union decided to postpone the ratification of the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI), a bilateral investment agreement with China. This thesis aims to uncover the reasons behind the European Union's action using Robert Putnam's two-level games theory. Based on the analysis, it was found that the negotiation and ratification process of the CAI was conducted in the context of the deteriorating international system, which culminated in the countersanctions between the European Union and China. In addition, there was opposition from domestic actors in the European Union, such as civil society organizations, labor unions, and the European Parliament, because the agreement was considered not in line with the fundamental principles of the European Union. Based on the two-level games theory, the findings from the international and domestic conditions of the European Union did not support the ratification process of the CAI. This situation occurred because the win-sets from the international level (level I) and the domestic level (level II) of the European Union did not overlap and eventually caused the CAI to be deadlocked. The results of this thesis analysis are expected to be valuable in developing the study of International Relations regarding the influence of international and domestic factors on the European Union's policy-making process, especially when dealing with China as its partner.