# PSM Climate Action and Its Challenge Born by New Geopolitics

An integrated theories of global communication critique

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#### Abstract

The research article is inspired by a practitioner report and observation. The ABU (Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union) Media Summit on Climate Change and Disaster Prevention is regularly convened and restored a united effort to expand the remit of PSB during the change of media industry. A year after War in Ukraine, the world order is starkly divided by a new geopolitics. This is alarming evidence for the past global media coalition to fulfill the mission of humanitarian rescue and assistance being intervened. The conflict and confrontation within this realm is significantly contextualizing into the contending theories of global communication for a study. Referring to the themes developed by Howard H. Frederick, a three-level theory of it will readdress the current consolidation for this issue between ABU, AIB (Association for International Broadcasting) and PMA (Public Media Alliance). The contradiction and ambivalence of their exchanges on climate change and Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) should be demonstrated for a meaningful probe on the future collaboration between public service broadcasters around the globe and its discontent acted upon by state governments served new geopolitics.

Keywords: ABU, AIB, Disaster Risk Reduction, Geopolitics, International Relation, PMA, SDGs

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#### Introduction

It has been a year-long for War in Ukraine. The democratic regime led by U.S. and European Union is consolidated for defending their allies and the value they shared. The threat of authoritarian regime (Russia, China, and Iran) has been increasingly demonstrated as present and clear danger. An unprecedented challenge to global PSM (Public Service Media) for dedicating into peace, mutual understanding, diversity, unity, progress, accountability and humanitarian led by NHK and its chaired ABU is caused by the strategic block of major realist players for security and political concerns.

The wake-up call for a democratic coalition organized by Association for International Broadcasting (AIB) held on 15 July 2022 is a landmark deal. The summit endorsed news media as the important stakeholders of achieving SDGs (Sustainability Development Goals) by ECOSOC (U.N. Economic and Social Council). It was the first time inviting the delegate of UA: PBC (Public Broadcasting Company, Ukraine) join into the major group of global public news media (with BBC, VOA, DW etc.) by multilateral organization stood for a side-event of U.N. High Level Political Forum (HLPF). One questioned this very special occasion of supporting SDGs included the climate action (SDG 13) has been reshaped by new geopolitics already or not.

On the other hand, Asia-Pacific, a continent comprising of the most nations having been affected by weather-related events such as storms, flooding and heat waves in the past, already well-prepared into group action tackling climate change and disaster reporting. It went even further for combating COVID-19 pandemic formed a Union (Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union) consolidation between Japan (NHK), Korea (PBS), China (CCTV), India (Prasar Bharati), Turkey (TRT), and Australia (ABC) together in first ever CEO Forum in August 2020. However, an ambivalent position was also created by Public Media Alliance (former Commonwealth Broadcasting Association) called Global Task Force for Public Media. In mostly welcome for a new member, KBS, once achieved, the existing coalition is tenable to be recognized as "Global" with ABC, CBC (Canada), BBC (UK), SVT (Sweden), ZDF (Germany), France TV (France), and RNZ (New Zealand) altogether. The Task Force is firmly reinstated their mission including hold the establishment and vested interest accountable.

This paper proposed it is desperately needed a review of the organized activities above. It is critically questioning the existed disaster risk reduction and climate action organized by ABU would be compromise by new international regime. Based on a literature review, the theorizes of global communication (Frederick, 1993) played a key methodological inquiry into the core of this problematics. The micro-level of global theoretical view is centralized on the motive and situation of one actor (ex. CEO) or group interacting within which an international media governance PSM involved. The mid-range side of it locked on the message who convene, the ritual how performs, and the symbolic meaning where to interpret. This precise study should be paid to the event held by AIB conjunctively with ECOSOC as a "ground-breaking" talk on media contribution to SDGs.

Finally, the macro-level one helps tune the focus into the making of global public service media by PMA. A new geopolitics is channeling PSM into a new state-media bloc through their common exchanges, culture, national consciousness, and boundaries. The European nations, with the margin of Western culture expanded into Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, is the best exemplar for a classic liberal democratic one. However, to levelling a "Global" coalition, recommended Korea PSM join the new camp in 2020 is a crucial step. This final step brought the issues of disaster risk reduction, peace and unification, disaster reporting, and regional integration back to central concerns through a multilateralism clashing with unilateral strategic confrontation. Those levels from individual to system analysis should assess the recent days of PSM globally mobilization for either their original humanitarian missions intact or a divided world view barely serving the exclusive power of new order respectively.

### An Integrated Theories of Global Communication Critics

Global society is fully understood its critical junction to face the climate issue and the risk of disasters it produced currently. The role of media played for this global alarm is also raised for the awareness of audience already since 2004. This landmark date is imprinted by the Indian Ocean tsunami of December (Seneviratne, 2006). Gone through this evolution in the past twenty-year, public service media in Asia-Pacific region reached their consensus on the mission to mitigate the risk of disaster caused by climate change and the damage came along by earthquake with its related effect. At the demise of public service broadcasting originated from Europe, an affirmative action requested for public service broadcasting in here is a counterclockwise resistance to the privatization trend promoted by commercial TV capital.

Based on the trending above, this article reviewed the literature of international relations which traditionally interpreted the international communication and its impact on different parts of the world (Frederick, 1993). From micro-level to the macro-one, the striking pictures of current geopolitics is continuously evolved by the historical regime theory which identified evenly the three coalitions engaged with the themes discussed here.

Frederick theorized the analytic approaches to international exchange by going through a micro, mid-range, and to macro-level one. The current three coalitions focus on the climate change and environmental action (or naming Disaster Risk Reduction) is putting into this way on the spot of critical review.

After the first ABU Media Summit on Climate Change, ICTs and Disaster Risk Reduction was held in Jakarta in 2014, now this annual gathering is marching into the 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting in Maldives 2023 (May 9-10). By Composing of the most enduring major developed PSB enterprises in Asia, ABU is the powerhouse for governing public broadcasting cooperation and exchange in the region including the mission of DRR. It was clearly delivered a message of ABU's endeavor started from the impact of 26 December 2004 in Southeast and South Asia. Later, the 311 East Japan Earthquake was happened in the last day of ABU Digital Broadcasting Symposium. Under the leadership of STRL (Science and Technology Research Laboratories) NHK, ABU agreed with a pan-Asia implementation of Emergency Warning Broadcasting System. Frederick interpreted the micro-level approach into a "Learning Theory" overview. By quoted the UNESCO Constitution preamble, he inferred the united and utilitarian actions are internationally promoted by "if only the right things are communicated to the right people at the right time, a change can be made in the attitudes of nations toward each other that will make peace possible."

ABU, a volunteer binding and professional focus, is regionally represented PSB contribution to society at large in Asia-Pacific. When the alarming clock was ticking in the aftermath of Tsunami during the eve of Christmas in Southern Asia 2004, ABU acted as forefront to unite the different forces of national broadcast service in tackling the unseen challenge. The landmark deal was done by the unanimously consented to NHK in leading role for introducing emergency warning broadcasting systems (EWBS). Endorsed this EWBS by a regional solution, the General Assembly of ABU held in Beijing 2006 finalized this endeavor. What is the significance of developing a technical advanced technology with the hands of ABU? It is the problematic of this article aiming to explore and discuss.

ABU is established by the proposal of NHK after the end of World War. Japan, went through the Occupation Period of allied troop, is equipping a capabilities of English speaking for her elite including the media sector (Gill and Law, 1988:352). So called "cultural bilateralism", worked with language in contribution into new born Asia state, Japan recalled its mission to assist Southeast Asia by a completely different purpose after war. With the general help of American, the philanthropic foundation, Ford and CBS, the Asia Broadcasting Union is substantially operated by a principal secretariat office (Leonard, 2005). A Sydney office is found and brought the talent of European organizing and with the support of Australia Broadcasting Commission (Cunningham and Flew, 2000:238).

This effort brought the Asia-Pacific PSB entities together with Ministry of Information at host country, and U.N. multilateral organization, should enhance the value of public service broadcasting in digital transformation period by two means. One is secured the terrestrial broadcasting bandwidth for emergency information delivery. The other is confirmed the journalistic and informative functions of public broadcasting accountable to democratic risk governance. The mid-range theories is adopted a messages focus and demonstrated discourse effect. Here, the focus is not just words barely spoken by an actor. The discourse constructed by words is picturized a world view should be noted. Frederick quoted as "The transformation in international summit meeting is a good case in point......Summits still create policy, but the summit meeting of today has become a public , symbolic activity, a political ritual and media event." (1993: 197)

This analysis is firmly confirmed by AIB's (Association for International Broadcasting) effort to create one and foremost event in July 2022. Consisted of major liberal-democracy regime's international broadcasting services, AIB based on London with ex-BBC news Arch-person or Director-General as leadership. This regime of media governance is critically positioning by a new geopolitics. With the support of western international news coverage (including, France, U.S., Canada, Australia, Japan, and New Zealand), AIB signed an ground-breaking deal with ECOSOC Council of United Nations to launch a Global Media Event on SDGs on July 5.

Named by SDGs and the Media Forum, came along with High-Level Political Forum for organizing a special session without exclusively on the issues of climate change and disaster reduction, the host of AIB invited Angelina Kariakina, Head of News, Ukraine Public Broadcasting first ever for this topic. The delegate of UA: PBC presented a war of defending with everything except the SDGs. Preceded with the major theme of environment protection and climate action, BBC and VOA both did a state-of-the-art report for the very topics pursued by the U.N.. (AIB, 2022)

The conference is highly proclaimed by its justice for requesting the media play a role in overseeing global leaders for fulfilling their commitment to realize 17 goals of SDGs before 2030. Secondly, media should raise awareness of citizen in each nation for acknowledge this better future plan. Public media industry is portrayed a reality-check function rather than a collaboration one co-worked with state in disaster risk reduction.

Later, AIB highly declared its 18th annual international awards for journalism and factual productions by an in-person gala evening meeting of Nov.11. During this event, coordinated with member of hers RTI (Radio Taiwan International)-an international radio broadcasting, AIB inaugurated the evening by a special London Taiwan Forum. It brought President of Taiwan, Ing-Wen Tsai to be virtually there by a pre-recorded message. With Audrey Tang, Minister for Digital Affairs, the meeting formally presented the talks of insight into Taiwan's digital strategy for counter mis-information. It is clearly demonstrated the intention of AIB to gain the global attention by making Taiwan equivalent to Ukraine in the face of new geopolitics challenge. This is a ritual of respecting SDGs in exchange of regrouping the liberal democratic world together in defensing against the threat posed by authoritarian regime (Waksman, 2022).

The third approach to this encounter issue by adopting a macro-level of global communication. The heat debate for a new geopolitics now is recalled a New Cold War Era. Originally, Rudolf Kjellen, Swedish geographer developed the theory of geopolitics (Frederick, 1993: 198). The theme of thesis is continually supported by thinking the nations located geographically their differences and comparative advantage. These are generated by their five things in common: boundaries, a capital, national consciousness, a culture and lines of communication. Although the distance of one nation to the other is varied but communication make it disappear. Usually, communication can keep separated parts integrated. Mis-communication also keeps neighbouring countries separated afar. The critical decisive force for any two-country or countries bloc is the political distance functioning the similarity in governing system. Moreover, the technological distance could alleviate the exist political distance by regular connect, transportation and trade.

After COVID-19 pandemic spread over the globe, May 2020, a PSM group action is launching. If the contagious disease is treated as natural disaster, this coalition is the third-force to tackle the climate change or disaster risk reduction issues. Formerly, the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA) now extended her membership into the broadcasters worldwide by renamed as Public Media Alliance (PMA). Due to the pandemic shock globally, PMA decided to establish a Global Task Force for public media (GTF). Inside the declaration, GTF informs its mission to combat the disaster across the globe as follows,

- 1. Representing a global community as never before
- 2. Role of PSM been of great importance than it is now
- 3. Sharing common duty to inform, educate and entertain although members differ at language and culture

- 4. Supporting the education of children who are learning at home
- 5. entertain helps keep spirits up, especially among our older audiences

The members of GTF included former CBA's core, ABC (Australia), CBC (Canada), BBC (UK), and RNZ (New Zealand) ; then recruited the allied force in Europe, SVT (Sweden), ZDF (Germany), France TV (France) ; finally, invited the most important allied in the East, KBS (Korea). According to the theory of geopolitics, CBA is the network hub to integrate the past members located at different parts of world. Thanks to political governing and technologies regular link, GTF recruited the new members from Europe counterparts with political will to extend their reaches in the other parts of world. The most critical member is KBS joining GTF to complete the coalition as never before (GTF, 2020). It signified the pandemic issue challenging PSB in the journalistic work in the first place. Korea PSB has a long-term experience in struggling its journalistic independence from the government (Park, Kim and Sohn, 2000).

If the article reviews the members of GTF by Kjellen proposed five point in common, the interaction with geopolitics will be clearly spoken for itself.

GTF	Boundaries	Capital	National	Culture	Lines of
Member			Consciousness		Communication
BBC	North	London	Great Britain	Liberal	Anglo-Saxon
	Atlantic		Monarchy	Democracy	Commonwealth
CBC	North	Ottawa	Multiculturalism	Liberal	Trans Atlantic
	America		Mosaic	Democracy	Commonwealth
ABC	Oceania or	Canberra	Postcolonial	Liberal	Asia-Pacific
	European		multicultural	Democracy	Transit to Europe
	orientation				Commonwealth
Radio	Oceania or	Wellington	Pacific and Oz	Liberal	Remote Asia
NZ	European			Democracy	Pacific Island
					Commonwealth
SVT	Nordic	Stockholm	Scandinavia	Social	Europe Nordic
				Democracy	
ZDF	EU	Berlin	EU Germany	Federal	EU, Media
				Lander	Intervention

Table 1. The GTF Members Networking Analysis by Geopolitics

France	EU	Paris	EU French	Republican	EU
TV	Francophonie				French Culture
KBS	Korea	Seoul	A Unification of	Developed	East Asia
	Peninsula		Korea	Socialism	Asia-Pacific
				Clientelism	US-Korea

(Source: Author compiled)

In the meantime, for demonstrating PSM's commitment to combat COVID 19 by their public services, ABU recalled once ever the Media CEO Talks Forum in August 2020. This coalition is reached beyond the limit of existing Western World centralized model. By inviting the current President of ABU to chair the forum meeting, the CEO of NHK stands with the one of ABC (Australia) naturally reflected the advantage of long-term leadership in organization (Leonard, 2005).

The secretariat office of ABU made a special arrangement by inviting other CEO of PSM in Turkiye (TRT), India (Prasar Bharati), China (CCTV), and Korea (KBS) all joined this Talks. This very occasion of six-countries rally is striking into the emerging new geopolitics. By the trend of multilateral talks, and tear down the wall of Quad Summit or Indo-Pacific framework, the ABU movement for combating COVID 19 independently worked out a different combination. This contrast could tell the matter of way to choose coalition influenced by geopolitics for the current pandemic situation and the future of climate action.

This article argued, by a long-term watch, the climate change and journalistic profession in enhancing the info service to tackle the uncertainty caused by natural and man-made disasters, now is interfered by new emerging geopolitics. Based on the necessary international collaboration on the tasks of climate action and disaster prevention, a theorizing international relation discourse should do a mid-term incisive probe on the change of current coalition.

#### The Review and Problematic of the Future Coalition on DRR

For the first call to unite Asia-Pacific public service broadcasting in mitigating disaster risk, the 2014 Summit was promoted by a pre-conference delivery of video documenting 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami named " The Wave That Shook the World". There is a clear link between public memory of the tsunami and the importance of the early warning broadcasting. Again, the 311 East Japan Earthquake brought the tsunami thirty-minute later on, directly tested the validity of emergency warning broadcasting system.

From 2014 to 2023, ABU Media Summit now is marching its 7<sup>th</sup> regional gathering (Mottaghi, 2022). The event is organized by each hots country's PSM. This the only climate change conference hosted by media organization. In exchange of metrological expertise and United Nations endorsement, Asian public service broadcasting enlarged its remit defined by the European counterpart since100-year ago. There is lacking of mandate on disaster reporting and broadcasting governing checked against "vulnerable values of West European broadcasting" (Blumler, 1992).

However, the Asia-Pacific Approach to PSB developed from 2005 to 2007, created a space "to providing a forum to debate the changing mandate and objectives of PSB in light of the emerging global environment. " (AIBD,2003) After the revised edition of Bangkok Declaration 2003+10 (AIBD, 2012) published again, the following guideline is clearly reflected the regional concern,

Acknowledging that environmental and climate change issues continue to be global concerns confronting the international community, and that media play a critical role in dealing with the impact of climate change and environmental degradation and in helping those who are most vulnerable to their impacts – notably the rural poor – and fully understanding the effects on the lives of such people and their futures;

The message represented the renewal of value of PSB promoted by affiliated to the professional PSB practitioners and enterprises in Asia-Pacific region. AIBD, the IGO for training broadcasters, historically cooperated with ABU. This working relationship is even perfectly merged when the Director of former, Dr. Javad Mottaghi transferred to SG of latter in 2011. From 2012 to 2014, ABU is leading the project to extend NHK pivotal experience into the regional awareness of new mission of PSB by follows (ABU, 2014a; 2014b),

- 1. Integrated broadcast media into national disaster management system
- 2. Help the participating broadcasting organizations to develop Broadcast Plans for Emergency situations and identify capacity building need
- 3. Linking ABU members to the global process of DRR

It is strategically positioning the PSM as the uniqueness of saving people lives during disaster. The following table registered the PSM united together through the Summits annually convened.

ABU Media Summit on	Host Country	PSB as Organizer	Other Principal
Climate Action and			Sponsors
Disaster Prevention			
(CADP)			
2014	Indonesia	RRI and TVRI	NHK
2015	Japan	NHK	U.N.
2016	Thailand	ThaiPBS	NHK
2017	Bangladesh	Bangladesh Betar	Bangladesh NGOs Network
		Bangladesh TV	for Radio and
			Communication (BNNRC)
2018	Fiji	Fiji Broadcasting	Pacific Islands
		Corporation	Broadcasting
		Fiji TV (Commercial)	Association
2019	Nepal	Nepal TV	UNESCO
		Nepal Radio	Association of Community
			Radio Broadcasters Nepal
			(ACORAB)
2023	Maldives	Public Service	UNDRR WMO
		Media	UNESCO
			ASBU AUB CBU

Table 2. The Organizers List of ABU Media Summit (2014-2023)

(Source: Author compiled)

The major organized force is stationed at Technical Department of ABU.

Originally, the action to climate change is developed by NHK in promoting Emergency Warning Broadcasting System (EWBS). This leading plan is a response to Indian Ocean Tsunami 2004. Under its recommendation, ABU adopted a Declaration, "Implementation of Emergency Warning Broadcasting Systems in the Asia-Pacific Region" on General Assembly in November 2006 at Beijing. Later, the Handbook on EWBS implementation is also published in June 2009. This based project is working with the protection of broadcasting spectrum for PSB came with the ITU-R6 Study Group Report published in 2013. (ITU, 2014) With the heading "Broadcasting for public warning, disaster mitigation and relief" by ITU, ABU's long-term effort in Disaster Risk Reduction enormously echoed the claim of U.N. organization and safeguards the members' state broadcasting in terrestrial delivery and their entitlement to the legal status of incumbent operator in first place.

More than the technical level of mitigating disaster risk, the Summit invited the stakeholders' group attend to explore this issue into multilayers of consideration and preparation through following topics, including:

- 1. Climate Change in Focus
- 2. Disaster Reporting
- 3. Green Technology
- 4. Journalist held politician in accountability
- 5. Action Plan to Disaster Risk Reduction
- 6. Inclusiveness of DRR implementation (Women, Elder, and children)
- 7. Communicating Climate Change (media literacy)
- 8. ICTs for DRR
- 9. Community Radio Contribution
- 10. Last Miles of Communication for Early Warning
- 11. Sustainable Development
- 12. Award to best program and documentary of DRR

The talks and discussions of almost a decade long produced the extension and made alliance with the global governance institution (see following table). Delivered conclusive statement by each summit, those contributions are strategically enhanced the sustainability of continuously developing Asia-Pacific PSB locally and regionally.

Year of Summit	Make Contribution	Contribution to	
2014 Indonesia	JAKARTA STATEMENT OF	the 6th Asia Ministerial	
	COMMITMENT	Conference on Disaster	
		Risk Reduction from	
		22–26 June 2014 in	
		Bangkok.	
2015 Sendai, Japan	VOLUNTARY COMMITMENTS of	Third UN World	
	Media Stakeholders' Groups	Conference on Disaster	
	Common Declaration of	Risk Reduction (March 17	
	ABU-AUB/UAR-ASBU-EBU	2015)	
2016 Krabi, Thailand	Declaration by The Civil	N/A	
	Society, Media Action		
	Plan		
2017 Bangladesh	Dhaka Declaration of	Media Stakeholders	
	Commitment	Commitment in the	
		final declaration of the UN's	
		Global Platform for Disaster	
		Risk Reduction of Cancun,	
		Mexico (24th-26th May, 2017)	
2018 Nadi, Fiji	FIJI ACTION PLAN	Fiji currently holds	
		the presidency of	
		COP23	
2019 Kathmandu, Nepal	Kathmandu Action Plan	#GP2019Geneva #ResilienceForAll	
		Annex to the Chairman Report on	
		Media	
		MEDIA STAKEHOLDER'S	
		GROUP VOLUNTARY	
		COMMITMENT supported	
		<b>by</b> World Broadcasting Unions –	
		ABU, AUB, EBU, ASBU, NABA,	
		AIB/AIR,	
		World Association of Newspapers	
		(WAN IFRA)	
		World Association of Community	
		Radio Broadcasters	

# Table 3. The Contributions of Each Summit toUnited Nations Agency (2014 to 2023)

		Disaster Risk Reduction Network
		of Africa Journalists
2023 Malé, Maldives	a Call for	Presented to World
	Action Document	Radio Conference of the
		ITU in Dubai (20 Nov. to
		15 Dec. <mark>2023</mark> )

(Source: Author compiled)

This joint-action of ABU and the PSB in the rest of world created a strong exchange and collaboration with United Nations Agencies. Beyond the original funding purpose of UNESCO, ABU established new linkages with UNDRR (Office for Disaster Risk Reduction), WMO (World Meteorological Organization), ITU (International Telecommunication Union) and FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization). This new movement of transforming PSB in digital age caused by climate change opens one alternative to secure its bandwidth resource and extend its remit. The critical moment of global challenge meeting the transformation of broadcasting industry is resulted in a meaningful connection being shed light from the aspect of "learning theories" of international relationship research (Frederick, 1993: 189).

According to Russell Isaac (2021), a practitioner of ABU climate change project, the Union approach to Summit is working toward a professionalizing Asia PSB in tackling the future of climate action and disaster mitigation. The result should improve the PSB's capacity of DRR and the accuracy and efficiency of weather information and warning to win the trust of general people in each nation.

Rather than providing the pure training course level, the DRR request also facilitated the digital transition of broadcasting system in here. NHK started the technical assistance to Maldives from 2013 to 2018 to implement ISDB-T (Integrated Service Digital Broadcasting-Terrestrial) standard contained the emergency warning device. Reinventing the journalistic profession is another task through the Summit convening for attention of Ministry and management level of each PSB. Fiji Broadcasting Corporation is the first one to build the Environment Unit in News Department after Summit proposal. Bangladesh TV is conducted environmental and disaster risk awareness course by ABU guide. KBS launched its disaster broadcasting centre in 2019 by ABU visit in-person. The output of project is aiming at bring the

climate-base agenda into the journalistic daily operation and raise the awareness of responsibility and accountability on managerial level of PSB to establish the taskforce collaborated with stakeholders group for DRR. (Isaac, 2021:22)

To enlarge the stakeholders group within broadcasting industry, ABU successfully moved beyond the scope of Asia-Pacific concern into an intercontinental one (including, Europe, Arab State, Africa, and Caribbean). Based on the humanitarian approach, the mission of DRR should enroll universal membership at large. This Summit naturally opens to all nations and group to register. Although ABU is not totally free to open membership to every nation. There is a clear concession to realist concern by strong nation will to curtail the membership at large. In 1972, based on the Statue of ABU for "one Full member in each country in the ABU region, Union is fall short of its exclusive recognition to tackle the One-China Resolution processed by U.N.

CCTV is automatically replaced the official broadcasting of ROC as the full member of China. However, what left for the current ROC members, Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC), is went without documentation. The true is BCC was expelled from ABU and then no any Taiwan broadcasting could apply membership from ABU as there is only one member for the whole China, RTPRC (Radio Television People's Republic of China) till now (Leonard, 2005: 34-36). If any Taiwan broadcasting entity apply for a sovereign state status in any ABU event, there should be no room for that.

The above openness of ABU Broadcast Media Initiative for DRR (2012-2014) is partially confirmed by Taiwan delegate regularly attends Summit without complying with One-China Resolution except 2018.

Table 4. Taiwan Delegate entitlement to Abo Media Summit			
Year of Summit	Taiwan Participant	Documenting Nationality	
		as the Registered Delegate	
Jakarta, Indonesia 2014	Taiwan Public Television	Taiwan	
	Service (PTS)		
Sendai, Japan 2015	PTS	Taiwan	
Krabi, Thailand 2016	PTS	N/A	
Dhaka, Bangladesh 2017	PTS	Republic of China	
Fiji 2018	PTS	No acceptance	

Table 4. Taiwan Delegate entitlement to ABU Media Summit

Kathmandu Nepal 2019	PTS	Accept as individual
Maldives, 2023	PTS	Taiwan-China

(Source: Author compiled)

However, this exceptionalism to Taiwan PSB registration is gradually restraint. During the year of post-COVID19, ABU relaunched this in-person Summit of Climate Action but with more political compromise from strong state. Concerned the attendance of Vice-President of ABU, Dr. Yan Chengsheng, Director General of International Cooperation Department of NRTA (National Radio TV Administration) China, Taiwan delegate registration should be checked within the purview of One-China Resolution. This created the uncertainty of the island state continuously participating into this global humanitarian action politically and internally.

The restriction applied to Taiwan appearance is alarming to a backlash of new geopolitics circled around West Pacific Rim historically (Cumings, 1992). The ritual of Summit practiced by Taiwan state earlier is another source of backfire. Mobilized by AIB for a ground breaking forum, the PSB of liberal democracy regimes consolidated its internal forces around the HLPF on SDGs. In the same period, Taiwan state broadcasting RTI actively organized the 2022 AIB in person forum along with Gala Dinner event. The special forum is inaugurated by the speech of President Ing-Wen Tsai for a congratulation to the story shortlist of award and the acclaim of free press holding authoritarian regime accountable. The following presentation picturized the living and working in " a country at the very centre of today's geopolitics" quoted by AIB. (AIB, 2022)

Long before these day, RTI have contributed into the outreach of AIB to Asia by hosting 2018 International Conference on Achieving Sustainability in Asia-Pacific (ASAP) in Taipei. The theme of Summit is strategically aimed at promotion of sustainability development and adaptation to climate change. Inside the speakers list, the leader of Albert Project is invited and presented "sustainability in broadcasting" to local participants (RTI, 2018). This is the showcase of greening technology and being included into the global action to environment crisis (Sørensen and Noonan, 2022). However, the follow-up is scanty of attention by local stakeholders after conference ended four-year ago. The major local action of this Summit is left to the politician's speeches by the President, Minister of Environmental Protection Administration, and the Mayor of Taoyuan City. They are the leading figures of Democratic Progressive Party and also frontier runners for Taiwan independence against the political will of China.

There is scanty attention paid to DRR for media action by Taiwan state government. However, DRR for public media by lacking of mandate currently is corrected by a revised draft of Public TV Act during Executive Review. The mandate should be worked out a complimentary effort enhancing its broadcast functions in synchronizing information and early warning when the mobile operators is failed by electricity breakout. That is not the urgent issue recognized by current ruling party and government instead of entitling Critical Information Provision to broadcast media.

In Taiwan, CIP regulation is revamping the PSB into a reliable information channel for government when the emergency or war impact is approaching. It strengthened the security check and emergent response of the staff work in mast and network of broadcasting. However, there is no improve upon the broadcasting capacities toward general people who need the information as quick as possible when there is an impending disaster. According to CADP 2023, other than the recognition of the media's role in the communication chain of Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), the Summit also demands the inclusion of media transmission infrastructures in the list of resilient infrastructures to be achieved by 2030 (ABU, 2023). There is an ambivalent position on this proposal by either serving for war mobilization or disaster preparation.

On March 9, 2023, ITU-R SG6 with EBU convened a continuous workshop "Broadcasting in the times of Crisis". The organizer reinterpreted the original challenge by climate change with recent new threats by global level of COVID 19 and regional level of military conflict (ITU, 2023). The great concern for the changing purpose is the openness to universal members in profession world. The nature disaster is easy to be blamed but not for the war who should be responsible for (Sivaraman, 2006:224). The ideology and ritual played the critical role when the conflict should be analysis and interpret from one camp to the other. The exclusive nature of this kind of forum or summit is automatically demonstrated and the humanitarian approach is intrinsically denied. ITU is developed by 100-year more ago with the ideal endorsement on consensus and conciliation principles of international communication regulation. It is a paradigm of liberal communication regime. The organism of regime is also applied to a group of right person do the right decision in the right time. However, the current geopolitics incited the strong states struggled against their potential competitors to turn the multilaterals negotiated dynamics into a unilateralism power play. ITU is a gradually evolutionary target and follows ABU into a different counterpart.

A new quasi-regime of liberal state broadcasting is created by COVID 19 pandemic through PMA mediation. The Global Task Force of Public Media is launching for the long-term endorsing independent journalistic profession and keeping international membership on the run. The traditional mission of liberal democracy in press freedom is out of question to pursue continuously. The critical to its claim as "Global" is the final recruitment from its member in Asia.

KBS is gone through its decade of journalistic strike from 2008 (Kwak, 2012; Carpenter, 2021). The independence journalism is thrived during the process of media democratization after 1990. The Korean President Office still hold the power to nominate the CEO of state broadcasters. For national pride, KBS is proud to be partner with the Western Allied as the most appropriate candidate in Asia. The contradictory nature of journalistic profession with managerial concern of public broadcasting went hand-in-hand internationally to connect the civil society of Western democracy. This background of ticking its Asia member of GTF by PMA is an alternative choice to the traditional Japan colleague.

KBS developed its disaster broadcasting centre since 2019. By renamed as Public Safety News Center, it introduced this realization as the speaker of innovative implementation session in ABU Digital Broadcasting Symposium 2023 Kuala Lumpur (Kim, 2023). By declined to do presentation with NHK in the Workshop for Saving Lives Campaign in Symposium, KBS intended to build its identity beyond the group image of East Asia. This political move is echoed with similar affiliation to GTF.

However, PMA is a diverse of PSB functioning coalition. Based on its membership distributed within Caribbean and Pacific Islands region, the

emergency radio service is the survival solution promoted by organization. It is clearly cited the geographically attention paid to the current natural disaster by a PSM Unpacked-Global Online Meeting (August 25, 2022) announced as follows (PMA, 2022),

- 1. Tonga during and after the 2022 Hunga Tonga–Hunga Ha'apai eruption and tsunami;
- 2. the deadly floods in Europe in 2021;
- 3. Australia's catastrophic bushfire season in 2019/2020
- 4. Hurricane Dorian in the Bahamas in 2019.

PMA networking is practical to tackle the technical issue rather than only ink the ideological neighbourhood. Except to endorse the safety of journalists and verification on information, more survival kit issues will be addressed in the forum, including broadcast SOP, blackouts response, and building resilient community.

GTF networking is gradually integrated this strategical issue of mitigating natural disaster came from the European flood devastation tragedy (Ahr Valley) in 2021 (PMA, 2021). Two years later, ABU is putting this issue follow-up by a special report from WordDAB in Digital Broadcasting Symposium. This report defined a certification scheme for using new standard of Emergency Warning on the Digital Audio Broadcasting which planned to replace FM radio. The Europe is fermenting to have their own media DRR action started from the flooding early warning emergency broadcasting (Stockhammer, 2023; Olischläger, 2023). A nationwide warning day was taken place on Dec. 8 2022 in Germany. Bayern Digital Radio GmbH, funded by the Bavarian State Center for NewMedia (BLM), used the public radio spectrum for DAB+ to test disaster warning service. Then the Ministry of the Interior, with the support of the BKK (Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance), has requested the establishment of a national alarm infrastructure via DAB+. This project replicated the efforts have done in Asia-Pacific region 16-year ago (Fekete and Sandholz, 2021).

The climate change raging globally is a strategic distance driven to bring the Europe and Asia states together in the coming years. PMA announced the next-half of 2023 to organize Radiodays Asia collaboration with Radiodays Europe, ABU in Kuala Lumpur exclusively discount benefits to its member. A

new regime is found at theorizing the trend of exchanging the DRR experiences between PMA, GTF, ITU and ABU. It is a tentative look at how realists world viewpoint collided with those of liberal convention belief or recessed into one new timely consolidation.

#### **Conclusion: Under the Global Political Economy Review**

This research article found the new remit of PSB is enlarging during the digital transformation challenge. By Built back better, the DRR Media Action is driven by the basic and resilient technology in broadcasting. This strategically allocated terrestrial broadcasting spectrum to public service broadcasters intact when facing the demand of wireless broadband consumption in ITU WRC. ITU-R WG6 started this campaign in 2014 with more supports for 2023 one when the "the times of crisis" being interpreted into one of climate change scenario.

The Western European model of public service broadcasting is on the decline due to the invasion of transnational media capitals from other side of Atlantic regime. The Asia-Pacific approach to PSB is gained the leading role to prioritized public broadcasting as the official delivery for climate change and mitigating risk information. Those messages are conveyed through the First Super Panel and Second WBU (World Broadcasting Union) Conference co-organized with ABU General Assembly 2016 in Bali, Indonesia (ABU, 2016). The legitimacy of PSB in digital age is achieved gradually through the environment crisis loomed up slowly over decades.

In global political economy, Stephen Gill and David Law (1988) earlier forecasted the worldview adopted by national-mercantilist should be considered. In the long run, the transactional capital or corporations casted to be the target criticized by the nationalist or socialist. However, at significant juncture of strong state emerged, the advantage of transnational capital should be constrained by its non-loyal and profit-oriented instinct. No matter for the national security, or the cultural and political concerns, mercantilists generally plan to secure the strategic industries in the hands of national-owned entities. Also, for the vast scale of systematical cooperation or operation, strong state also willing to share the responsibility with international allies. Continually, Gill and Law exemplified the two global confrontation issues respectively as militarization and catastrophe, and ecological crisis. The power of strong states defined the condition of current worldwide political challenges. Under the realist perspective, those two confrontations are moved beyond the purview of traditional political economist research by downplaying the critical force of transnational corporation made an expansive invasion into Third World. The research brought the state back into the consideration unnecessarily sourcing everything decided by the last instance of capital.

According to Gill and Law reminding, the very global threat now we still faced with is one thing for fast military buildup created by a new geopolitics. The other is the global difficulties in tackling with climate change and environmental issues by a universalism claim. These new tidal waves of sea change are followed by re-coalition of global public service media movement in two reasons. The first is an essential journalistic value at holding the vested interest accountable. The PSM is keeping one arm's length distance from political party. Moreover, the public interest of news value is enhancing the social justice by questioning the will of state in serving the people and democracy.

The second is a humanitarian approach now adopted by the public service broadcasting since it was created by liberal democracy of West Europe 100-year ago. When the liberal governance of world communication is developed by International Telegram Union in late-19 century, the global allocation of electromagnetic spectrum rule is applied to the broadcasting of nation-states, especially after the end of Second World War. Under this global requirement to follow the allocation of broadcasting radio wave for each nation, ITU and its umbrella organization of United Nations, reached a united effort define the technical aspect of national broadcasting service globally. A profession of broadcasting engineering is paid respect by its dedication to an open discussion and consultation.

Conclusively, there are two professions which consisted of the major PSM workforces in contribution to public diplomacy or world citizenship. One is the journalistic aspect to inquiry with power structure; the other is the technocrat aspect to endorse a universal membership opening to the world citizenship who endowed with the humanitarian mission.

After the 1980, the rise of European satellite television industry started the erosion of state broadcasting domination. Even the duopoly of domestic TV policy is challenged by transnational audiovisual industry especially from American media capital. The transition of remaking global economy of culture is gradually put the future of PSM in danger. However, the PSM concept is continually refined and extended by same circle of Trans-Atlantic alliance.

On this long-term route evolved, one special disaster is gained the momentum to change. On the eve of Christmas in 2004, a Southern Asia Tsunami hit the Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, India, and Sri Lanka. The local people perished with a huge number of European tourists who annually visited there for year-end holiday compared with the general natural hazard happened in there.

The accident brought the international news coverage much bigger amount ever than before (Seneviratne, 2006). It was paid the attention on Asia unprecedentedly high from Trans-Atlantic region. The role of media played in this event is highly discussed by global political economy research. Asia media research and profession made a groundbreaking talks with European and North American scholars and broadcasters. Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union is on the rise of taking over this new mission by unanimously adopted the resolution to implement early warning broadcasting system one year late.

This trend has kept growing along ten-year a round from 2013 under the auspice of UNESCAP funding for "ABU Disaster Risk Reduction Broadcast Media Initiative". The project went successful in raising awareness of PSB profession and opens to universal membership of joint action including, Taiwan broadcasters (an early expulsion of membership in 1972). Internally, Taiwan PSB is re-strengthened by this Asia-Pacific initiative and NHK demonstration for a new clause of DRR regulation in revised Public Television Act.

The militarization effect is also happened and worked as rebuttal to the theme of humanitarian mission in saving lives. Gone through the year of 2022, the power play of new geopolitics is enhancing the existing liberal democracy regime of global communication at AIB's inaugural SDGs and Media Forum. Taiwan President congratulated to AIB for uniting freedom world of press media hold the authoritarian regime accountable in the annual gala dinner event. This is the only showcase of Taiwan in contribution to SDGs without any word dedicated to DRR action plan.

RTI has invited the representative of Albert Project to attend ASAP90 in Taipei. During the conferencing, Taiwan PTS is also encouraged to join AIB as the member. However, none of climate action and greening technology transfer was follow-ups exchanged between RTI, PTS and AIB. Until recently, the advance of related project is communicated by Media, Entertainment & Arts Sector of UNI Global Union for a project called "Environmental Sustainability for Film and TV Productions" (Vaccaro, 2022). Taiwan PTS Employees Union, affiliated into UNI MEI, acquired this progress and keeping abreast of new global media movement of SDGs. UNI Global Union is also a long-term partner with ABU in climate change and gender equality. In 25 April 2023, both sides signed the new MOU for another two-year to ink the commitment to promote climate action. And the "Green Production" is a flagship project for UNI Euro MEI to develop during the term of 2022-2023. (Tepper, 2023; UNI Global Union, 2023)

Again, under the global political economy perspective, the strong state is mercantilist's realization and its counterpart as transnational corporation. Both players are seeking the hegemony of the world. Gill and Law proposed the counter-hegemonic network is also went beyond the national context. The worker's organization is historically gained the international appearance. In the moment of new geopolitics intervening with existing climate action coalition, the UNI Global Union is the timely subject of counter-hegemony alternative. With the support of FES (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung), the organized labour and international news exchange, both missions are historically interacted with international donors in this Asia-Pacific Region (Leonard, 2005: 73-74). The MOU signed between ABU and UNI MEI is one of global social dialogue movements in media industry. But it is a unique opportunity for Taiwan PTS receiving special recognition internationally without support of state government and friendship of Mainland China.

The idealism of liberal global communication regime is ITU belongs to U.N. agency. As the long-term partners with it serving global spectrum regulation, ABU and EBU are two entities with highly coordinative capabilities. In March 2023, a joint-workshop organized with EBU brought ITU a little closed to standing for liberal democracy regime consolidation. The war in Ukraine is

addressed first time in defining crisis times of broadcasting request. This workshop is still inclusively discussed with professional groups and individual with Russian and China delegates. However, in front of new geopolitics, the significance of topic within which "Broadcasting in Times of Crisis" discussed international society is an ambivalent move for both sides. According to the report, the future need of broadcasting is decided by the cases of floods in Germany and conflict zones. This European perspective on the needs is one way reaching consensus with the DRR efforts demonstrated by Asia-Pacific region, or trying to combat with authoritarian regime in a new cold-war otherwise.

PMA is the existing Western allies of public broadcasting marching into a new regime after 2014. As the former name of Commonwealth Broadcasting Association, PMA associated long-term members through its past route of making visit, travel expediency, and document exchange. Based on the English-speaking PSB, BBC, ABC, and CBC connected into a West to East liberal economy regime of broadcasters. Then the GTF is developed by the major PSBs and rated by top-up scale of industry and acclaimed for its universality in 2020. This critical achievement is expansion of its eastward to recruit Korea PSB at first time. On the surface, the journalistic profession at holding politicians and leaders accountable is shared in common for those core members funded by traditional liberal democracy regime. KBS is accredited by their journalists and union's resistance to the President nominated by regime from 2008-2013 (Carpenter, 2021).

However, the management of KBS invested at Disaster Broadcasting Centre from 2019. For COVID 19 pandemic spread in 2020, the disaster risk reduction is the core competency of KBS projected to the world. After the 2021, the flooding in Germany's Ahr Valley is treated as a watershed moment. This interpretation is made by Kai Gniffke, Director General of Southwest German SWR and head of Germany's largest public broadcaster ARD and follows what he said (Eurovision News, 2023: 14),

It had been clear for a long time that climate was a big topic, that we had to do more about it. But the flooding brought home that it is not just Bangladesh any longer." ......"We need to tackle the topic differently. It will change the world, the way we work, our mobility. We need to raise the question: How does politics prioritize this? Will we manage this huge collaborative effort?"" The full-fledge of Safety News Center is launched by KBS for 2023 digital broadcasting innovation showcase. The deep inquiry of climate journalism is published by EBU Team in the same period. This work is a counterpart of Asia's Handbook launched in 2019 (UNESCO, 2018). PMA is supporting the Recommendation of ITU-R BS.2107 "Use of International Radio for Disaster Relief (IRDR) frequencies for emergency broadcasts in the High Frequency (HF) bands" by the lesson of RNZ in Tonga's submarine volcano exploration (Sutherland, 2022). Referring to these facts, the GTF should consider to join climate action together in one of their statements. However, there only left for the one talking emergency is condemning Russia in attacking TV tower and broadcasting facilities of Kyiv, Ukraine last year. This coalition currently is heavily watched out the political effect of new geopolitics although understanding their basic mission should not forget the humanitarian one in saving livelihoods and lives at their constituencies.

The short future of this interaction and conflict is interested by reading the view of changing political economy studies in the 1990s. The action approach for the observed event is questioned by the surrounding effect done through global militarisation, trans-nationalisation, and environmentalism. The past research on this global issue has been focused on the strong managerial and elite force. More requests now turned attention into the lower or grass-root levels (Gill and Law, 1988:278). Facilitated by the growth of global communication and internet connection in the last two decades, the civil and public interest groups are consolidated internationally. The new geopolitics is reshuffling the current establishment of mitigating climate change and preventing disaster. However, "the counter hegemony based upon ethical, democratic and ecological values" withholds the current consolidation universally from being divided by new geopolitics channelling the political distance. ABU signed the MOU with Media, Entertainment & Arts sector of UNI Global Union in promoting the climate action together is a wakeup call for sustaining the membership at large.

The multi-year efforts of Climate Action and Disaster Prevention is confirmed by 2023 Summit in Maldives. The touchstone case of Taiwan PTS registration for this event is put into doubt. Behind the scene, China is ritually alarmed to U.S. backed Taiwan as the new geopolitics point along Western Pacific Rim. State government of Taiwan is continuously joined into the rallies of AIB for showing her willing to confront new authoritarian regime with Western traditional groups of international news broadcasting. The politics of global media coalition for climate change issue is manipulating enormously within SDGs being checked before 2030. And what institutional support can alleviate the realists and mercantilists constrained the universalism effort of humanitarian and environmentalism is a critical inquiry for the survival of public service broadcasting in general and the encompassment of Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union over new geopolitics in particular.

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