Abbreviated Key Title: Sch J Arts Humanit Soc Sci ISSN 2347-9493 (Print) | ISSN 2347-5374 (Online) Journal homepage: https://saspublishers.com/sjahss/

# One ASEAN, One Response as Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy through ASEAN Way

Zsahwa Maula\*, Yoedhi Swastanto, Surryanto D. W, Helda Risman

Defense Diplomacy, Indonesia Defense University, Jl. Sentul - Citeureup, Sentul, Kec. Citeureup, Bogor, Jawa Barat 16810, Indonesia

**DOI**: 10.36347/sjahss.2020.v08i07.005 | **Received**: 11.07.2020 | **Accepted**: 20.07.2020 | **Published**: 21.07.2020

\*Corresponding author: Zsahwa Maula

Abstract Original Research Article

Regarding the geographical conditions among Southeast Asia countries which are potential for natural disasters, Indonesia took an initiative to create collective concept of disaster management. The purpose of this paper is how this concept can be achieved using ASEAN Way under the agreement signed for ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) in 2009 and institutionalized as the ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA Center) in 2011. However, ASEAN Way has not been stated as an effective method. This writing uses the concept of Defense Diplomacy and Regional Governance and is examined using qualitative methods of literature review. With AADMER's presence, the establishment of AHA Center and its roles, Indonesia, through its defense diplomacy, proved that ASEAN Way can work effectively.

Keywords: One ASEAN, One Response; ASEAN Way; Defense Diplomacy; Regional Governance.

Copyright @ 2020: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution license which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial use (NonCommercial, or CC-BY-NC) provided the original author and source are credited.

# **INTRODUCTION**

Southeast Asia is a region that is vulnerable to natural disasters. According to the Encyclopedia of International Social Sciences, natural disasters are "destructive thinking from hazard activities that come naturally". This matter is further referred to "bad natural phenomena that oppose human life, activities as well as property related to life". Some of the most dangerous activities are floods, earthquakes and tornadoes.

In predicting disaster management around Southeast Asia region, Udai Bhanu Sigh, Senior Researcher and Coordinator of the Center for Southeast Asia and Oceania at the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyzes, estimates that there are around 140,000 people killed each year due to natural disasters. This prediction can be estimated since 2004 which killed more than 280,000 people, then around 5,000 people were also victims of Indonesia's earthquake in May 2006. The victims also fell in 2008 due to the Nargis Cyclone of 138,000 and 2 million other people who experienced the other effects. In 2011, it was counted about 800 people who were victims of flash floods in Thailand and 13 million other people affected. Furthermore, the Bopha Cyclone that struck the Philippines in 2012 has also resulted in victims of nearly 2,000 people.

From many natural disasters that have struck ASEAN member countries, it provides lessons that the importance of taking actions aimed at reducing disaster risk and risk management are prioritized. The nature of natural disasters that can never be predicted, either how intense or rare, makes countries where located on the coast (countries that are vulnerable to natural disasters) have a greater risk than the other countries [1].

It can be seen that disaster management is a new thing to the ASEAN agenda. Although it was not the main agenda at the time of the formation of ASEAN, now, ASEAN member countries are paying attention to this issue which is gradually becoming a threat and challenge facing ASEAN member countries. Since the earthquake and tsunami that occurred in the Indian Ocean in 2004, there have been three things that came to the attention of ASEAN in establishing a regional disaster response framework, namely the centrality of ASEAN, the sectoral approach and broadening the scope of stakeholders.

The challenge faced by ASEAN is how each party engages each other to produce more effective actions in overcoming the problems. It also encourages the parties to apply new rules or norms that specifically regulate natural disasters that might occur and to

highlight the importance of more systematic disaster management.

In 2003, regional cooperation related to disaster management was summarized in the ASEAN Concord II Declaration made in Indonesia. This Declaration is a form of ASEAN's commitment to strengthen cooperation in terms of disaster management through the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, one of the pillars of the ASEAN Community. Then, since 2004, regional cooperation in this field has been getting closer and closer to directing ASEAN to create a Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) in 2005 which initiated to the establishment of the ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance in 2011 located in Indonesia [2].

The AADMER signed in 2005 turned out to be the outcome of the ASEAN Way method in solving a regional problem. However, not always the ASEAN Way can be a solution in terms of solving problems. The ASEAN Way is a separate challenge for ASEAN to be implemented effectively and efficiently. This writing will explain that the implementation of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in ASEAN turned out to have positive results on the effectiveness of the ASEAN Way in solving regional problems. This shows that it is important to be aware of the collective needs of the member countries which are the background of the approval of this new concept with the theme of disaster management.

### **Defense Diplomacy**

Long before the emergence of the concept of defense diplomacy, Morgenthau (1997) had explained what diplomacy was. Diplomacy is considered an important element of national power by taking account into its role, namely diplomacy must determine its objectives in view of the strengths owned by a country and the possibility to be able to achieve these goals. Diplomacy must determine the extent to which the goals are different from each state and become suit to one another. The use of appropriate methods to achieve these objectives is also an important role of diplomacy [3].

To show the national power of a country, not only through military force which has been a characteristic of "power" for a long time. Defense diplomacy presents as an activity whose application shows national strength in the form of defense cooperation or defense assistance. Over time, defense diplomacy is not only used as a form of assistance to a country's military forces and security alliance, but also as a way to achieve foreign policy or state security policy. Defense diplomacy can also be interpreted as "the use of military forces and associated infrastructure (ministries) in peacetime as a foreign and security

policy tool", more specifically is "military cooperation and assistance" [4].

The 1998 Strategic Defense Review has implied the meaning of defense diplomacy as the "defense diplomacy mission". The description of this "mission" can be interpreted in a narrow and broad meanings. The narrow meaning is defense diplomacy is defined as "the use of military personnel, including defense attaché, in efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts. These undertaken activities are providing assistance in the development of military forces". While the broad meaning is "the use of military forces in operations other than war, conducting training for troops and desiring to achieve national interests" [5].

Defense diplomacy can also be stated as a method of interaction that is more advantageous than military forces or other interactions that are hard power in achieving political objectives, where the political objectives can be stability, security, the status quo, and others.

With the establishment of defense diplomacy, countries will feel a number of things as a manifestation of the implementation of diplomacy, which is the low tension between countries; development and realization of good relations with partner countries; building confidence in the field of national defense; and there is transparency in terms of the capacity and capability of the state military sectors [6].

### **Regional Governance**

Governance as explained by Kacowicz (2018) is an act of governing which involves the enforcement of law and customary law and practice as well as ethical standards and norms characterized by imperfect political authority. Governance includes various institutional forms in the social field that aim to create and implement rules and regulations that bind collectively, to provide collective needs in the realm of certain issues [7]. (Kacowicz, 2018) Governance does not only apply within a country, but also encompasses regional and international scope. The concept of governance in this paper refers to regional governance.

Söderbaum, quoted in Rosenau's (1997) book entitled "Along the Domestic-Foreign Fonrier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World", defined regional governance as "the scope of authority at the regional level for human activity in the form of a rule-formal system and informal, public or private—where the objectives can be obtained by controlling". Then, according to Riggirozzi (2012), global governance can be interpreted as a model of governance that produces a different logic about the ideal arrangement of an area related to the institutionalization of norms and their implementation in supporting regional communities.

Speaking of instruments included in regional governance, Jayasuriya (2009) mentioned four main instruments which are said to be complement the "global governance plan", they are: (1) a stable international economic strategy; (2) typical governance structures that create regional economic governance; (3) normative or idealized construction which not only discusses regional governance structures, but also discusses regional definitions; (4) the concentration of domestic coalitions and political economy structures that provide coherent regional development projects. He further explained that regional governance includes institutions, instruments and mechanisms that distribute power, influence material and shape ideological representations of the region [8].

In addition to the instruments, there are also three focus areas outlined by Kacowicz (2018), which are security, economics and politics. In this paper, the focus of relevant regional governance areas is in terms of security. The concept of security governance basically comes from broadening the definition of security ideas. "Peace and security" is one of the most important issues in regional and global governance. The strength of regional and global organizations has increasingly played an important role in maintaining peace and security, namely on the issue of disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, maintaining counterterrorism. Regional security governance should contribute to the multileral (global) system and be controlled by the UN Security Council [7].

Even if talking about regional governance tends to lead to economic motives and interests, this type of regional governance is likely relevant because it has the right scope with the focus of research, humanitarian assistance, which ultimately relates to human security. This theory will direct this research to how each ASEAN member country can obey the rules that have been established as an international regime governing disaster management, more precisely responding or overcoming natural disasters that occur in the Southeast Asian region.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This research uses a qualitative research methodology by relying on the case study method. Case studies are investigative strategies in which researchers deeply explore about a program, event, activity, process or collection of individuals. The cases studied are limited by time and activity. Regarding data collection, researchers use various procedures through data in a continuous period of time [9].

In addition, Robert K. Yin also discussed the case study method used to evaluate the complexity of a case, including on temporary changes and explore the contextual conditions of a case. Yin explains that there are three main uses of case studies; (1) as part of an evaluation with the case study part seen as

complementary and provide explanatory information; (2) as the main evaluation method in which an initiative is evaluated to be the main case; (3) as part of a two-level evaluation arrangement in which the sole evaluation consists of one or more sub-evaluations with case study positions that are being sources of all evaluation program information [10].

# AHA Center in "One ASEAN, One Response" Framework

The **ASEAN** Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance (AHA Center) intergovernmental organization established by ASEAN member countries aimed at accommodating disaster management cooperation and coordination among the member countries. The agreement to establish the AHA Center was signed by all ASEAN Foreign Ministers and witnessed by the Heads of Countries of each country on November 17, 2011 during the 19th ASEAN Summit in Bali, Indonesia. In carrying out its mandate, the AHA Center works closely with national disaster management organizations in each country. In addition, the AHA Center also collaborates with international organizations, the private sector, civil society organizations such as the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement, the United Nations and other partnerships.

Multilateral cooperation has also been **ASEAN** established through the Dialogue/Development/ASEAN Partners including Australia, China, European Union, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland and the United States. In the event of a large-scale natural disaster, the AHA Center works closely with the ASEAN Secretary General who acts as the ASEAN Humanitarian Aid Coordinator to mobilize resources as reinforcements and coordinate with ASEAN Leaders and partners throughout the world.

The mandate of the AHA Center is contained in the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) which has been ratified by 10 ASEAN member countries and has been implemented since December 24, 2009. Under the AADMER, the AHA Center is tasked with facilitating the cooperation of ASEAN member countries, which liaise with the United Nations and other international organizations, in showing collaboration in disaster management. ASEAN also campaigns for ASEAN 2025 on Disaster Management which Vision strengthens the role of the AHA Center as the center of regional coordinator network in management and emergency response. The three focus areas in this vision are institutionalization and communication, partnerships and innovation, financial mobilization and resources [11].

In implementing AADMER, the AHA Center has three functions, namely: (1) facilitating regional

cooperation on disaster management; (2) facilitating joint preparation and response; (3) implementinh a regional coordination mechanism for joint emergency preparation and response. The role of the AHA Center has been summarized in the AADMER Work Program 2010-2015 which covers all aspects of disaster management and four strategic components, which are: (1) Risk analysis, early warning and monitoring; (2) prevention and mitigation; (3) preparation and response; (3) improvement.

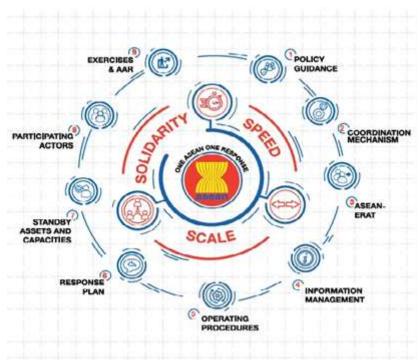
When talking about the AHA Center, it does not escape the concept which this organization always echoes, namely "One ASEAN, One Response". The concept was adopted from the ASEAN Declaration on One ASEAN One Response which is an initiative from Indonesia. Although at first this concept was not officially published, however, this condition shows the need for a collective response from ASEAN, which does not only involve the mobilization of resources from the AHA Center or AADMER. However, the response must also involve relevant sectors and stakeholders that are outside the ASEAN institutions.

The term "ASEAN responding as one" was first issued by the AHA Center at the 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the ACDM Working Group on Preparedness and Response which was held on October 1<sup>st</sup> in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. At this meeting, the term has changed into "One ASEAN, One Response". This meeting explained the vision of "ASEAN responding as one" that supports the principles of inclusive, integrated, innovative and

proactive. In addition, this vision also calls for a response in the regional realm led by ASEAN and the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management (ACDM) by holding on to commitments based on three levels: political, operational and financial.

While the term "One ASEAN, One Response" was first introduced by the AHA Center at the 25<sup>th</sup> ACDM Meeting on October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014 at Seri Bengawan Airport, Brunei Darussalam. This meeting produced recommendations for the Foreign Ministers regarding the development of the "One ASEAN, One Response" strategy through the ASEAN Declaration on One ASEAN One Response. In addition, ACDM also said that the concept of "One ASEAN, One Response" includes bilateral assistance from member countries and is managed by ASEAN and the AHA Center.

The draft of ASEAN Declaration on One ASEAN One Response was first presented at the 26<sup>th</sup> ACDM Meeting on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. However, the draft was only approved at the 27<sup>th</sup> meeting on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015 and was supported by the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Disaster Management and the 4<sup>th</sup> AADMER Conference of the Parties. After being approved by all Ministers, the next draft is submitted to the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Council and the ASEAN Coordinating Council for further submission to the ASEAN Leaders to be signed by the Leaders of each member country [12].



Gambar-1: Konsep "One ASEAN, One Response" Sources: AHA Center, 2018

The picture above explained nine elements needed to effectively apply "One ASEAN, One Response" concept. These elements show the synergy generated by comprehensive policies, mechanisms and good coordination, operational procedures in accordance with the rules, resources that have been prepared for emergency response conditions, the involvement of relevant parties until the operational concept is implemented based on speed, scope and solidarity.

Besides being under the auspices of the AHA Center, the concept of countermeasures in the form of natural disaster relief is also one of the seven focuses of the ASEAN Defense Ministers 'Meeting-Plus Experts' Working Groups (EWGs), namely Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief. This shows that humanitarian issues and natural disaster relief have become the focus of attention in the defense field of each ASEAN member country and 10 other member countries included in the ADMM Plus forum, namely the United States, Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, Zealand New, Indian and Russian [13].

#### ASEAN Way As a Method to Solve Regional Problems

ASEAN Way is a decision making process that emphasizes discussion and consensus. This process emphasizes the equality of all member countries and the importance of cooperation even though time will be required to reach a decision in the form of an agreement [14]. Before ASEAN Way principle used by ASEAN as a benchmark in solving problems, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) was created in 1976. This agreement was signed by all Heads of ASEAN member countries at the 1st ASEAN Summit in Bali, Indonesia, on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1976. The principles of the TAC are included in Article 2:

- a. Mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all countries;
- b. The right of every country to foster its national existence to be free from external party intervention, subversion and coercion;
- c. Non-interference in internal problems of each member country;
- d. Settlement of differences and disputes is carried out in a peaceful manner;
- e. Refusal of threats or use of force;
- f. Effective cooperation from each member country.

In addition to being listed in the TAC, this principle is also contained in the 2007 ASEAN Charter (Article 2, § 2) and is proven in the phenomenon of international relations. The implementation of national sovereignty principles and non-interference in the domestic problems of other countries have become an important factor in controlling oneself's potential for becoming a hegemony in the Southeast Asian region

and providing incentives for other countries if they want to cooperate [15].

The beginning of the implementation of the ASEAN Way in resolving regional problems was during the Kampuchean Crisis in 1978. This crisis was preceded by Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia regarding the border region between the two countries in Kampuchea. This tragedy is the biggest threat in terms of security ever experienced by ASEAN. Vietnam's actions to invade Cambodia have violated the principle of non-intervention as well as non-use of military force. This also posed a security threat to Thailand, which had geographical proximity.

In responding to the conflict, the ASEAN member countries for the first time adopted the ASEAN Way as a way to resolve regional problems, specifically in Southeast Asia. The response issued by ASEAN at that time was to address a statement made by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers who gathered on the wishes of the Thai Foreign Minister in January 1979. The Foreign Ministers condemned the aggression that took place in Kampuchea and the presence of "foreign military" in the Kampuchean region even though the The Foreign Minister has not declared Vietnam a villain of this war. On the other hand, this effort was also carried out to reduce Chinese efforts not to interfere with the problem by using military force to help Vietnam.

Then, ASEAN's efforts became increasingly apparent as China failed to invade Vietnam. At the Annual Ministerial Meeting (AMM) in July 1979, ASEAN Foreign Ministers agreed to approve a joint communiqué that 'regrets military intervention in the Kampuchea region' and expressed 'support for the Kampuchea community to freely direct their national existence from Vietnamese and other foreign military interventions'. At this time, ASEAN stated that Vietnam was a war criminal. In November, ASEAN succeeded in bringing this issue to the UN General Assembly to defend the sovereignty of the Kampuchea region. In the end, the UN issued resolution 34/22 which contained "withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Kampuchea and called on all countries to refrain from all forms of actions and threats of aggression as a form of interference in the internal problems of countries in the Southeast Asia region" [16].

The ASEAN Way has characteristics in community development and regional cooperation based on four codes of ethics: (1) adherence to the principle of non-interference, non-use of violence and peaceful resolution through peace; (2) promotion of regional autonomy and collective independence; (3) the refusal of a multilateral military pact, however, defense cooperation will continue to be carried out bilaterally and independently by each member country; and (4)

Alternative to socio-cultural norms based on deliberation and consensus compared to legal norms in decision making.

The ASEAN Way principle is the basis of the "security community" in Southeast Asia, in contrast to other defense cooperation concepts, such as the "joint defense" community owned by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations. Unlike NATO and the United Nations, ASEAN is not forced to undertake mutual obligations for military assistance and does not require its members to carry out joint sanctions against other members or non-member countries. ASEAN member countries are directed by "strict and supervised" norms that focus on non-use of force; not conducting arm races and commitments by all member states to "institutions and processes (formal or informal) for the peaceful resolution of problems" and "long-term prospects for avoiding war" [17].

In fact, ASEAN is not a political community like that of European political communities. Michael Leifer (1999) explained that ASEAN security and peace were emphasized "through the development of cultural dialogue and consultation based on the close relationship between ministers and officials and adherence to general norms; not through a legal mechanism to resolve a dispute" [18].

In the field of defense, ASEAN points out that the ASEAN Way method can be used in the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus) forum. ADMM-Plus is an expansion forum of the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), the highest forum in the field of defense that is consultative and cooperative. ADMM was formed in Kuala Lumpur, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2006 with the creation of the Concept Paper for the Establishment of an ADMM. Members of the ADMM itself are the 10 ASEAN countries. The aim of the ADMM is to promote mutual trust and confidence through understanding defense and security challenges and also increasing transparency and openness [19].

It is known that ADMM-Plus is one of many forums under ASEAN. Therefore, the problem solving method applied in ADMM-Plus also uses the ASEAN Way. There have been many problems discussed in this forum regarding issues of defense and security in the Southeast Asian region. One example is how ADMM-Plus can embrace China to discuss the implementation of the Code of Conduct in South China Sea.

This case was discussed again in the 6<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting-Plus in Bangkok, November, 18<sup>th</sup> 2019. This meeting brought the theme "Sustainable Security - building sustainable security cooperation". It did not end without results, this meeting produced a Joint Statement By The ADMM-Plus Defense Ministers' Meeting on Advancing

Partnership for Sustainable Security which specifically emphasized two major countries in the maritime field.

In the joint statement, it was noted that the ASEAN-China and ASEAN-United States Maritime Exercise was assessed as the realization of cooperation relied on the centrality of ASEAN in the region and increased mutual trust between ADMM-Plus member countries. In addition, ADMM-Plus also stressed that any problem resolution must be carried out peacefully and in accordance with internationally accepted principles of law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and respect for freedom of navigation and overflight [20].

However, this concept became paradoxical. The concept of the ASEAN Way in the ASEAN Charter can prove the problems that exist in regional organizations and their member countries. It has the possibility to weaken the organization by relying on flexible consensus while each member country agrees and feels benefited from the results. This process makes no difference as the way the ARF is trapped in the formalization process which can indirectly impede efforts towards a more advanced stage in security cooperation. ASEAN can also experience difficulties as a consequence of the provision of pre-existing norms that sometimes cause conflicts when the ASEAN Way is implemented [21].

This happened during the settlement of the South China Sea case between ASEAN and China. ASEAN created the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea before China began to occupy a mischief reef in 1995. As a form of ASEAN's defense of its member countries, ASEAN forced China to stop cooperating with ASEAN. Then, China made a re-approach effort by offering joint development between China and ASEAN. ASEAN did not accept the offer because what China meant was that cooperation established only bilaterally between ASEAN member countries.

Furthermore, ASEAN agreed to defuse and prevent increased tensions between China and ASEAN in the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Jakarta, 21<sup>st</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> July 1996. China agreed to formulate a solution to South China Sea problem by holding a joint ASEAN meeting in December 1997. Although at the meeting China did not show its seriousness towards achieving the resolution, however, both parties agreed to adopt the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties (DOC).

Talks that were accommodated through the meeting are still often done in formulating drafts and implementing DOCs that have been changed to Code of Conduct (COC) until the last meeting at this time, the 21<sup>st</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in Singapore, November 14<sup>th</sup> 2018. The negotiation process in the case this shows the weakness of the ASEAN Way that can only rely on the agreement of each members without

coercion or sanctions. While there are parties who disagree, then consensus will not be reached and no decision can be formulated [22].

# One ASEAN, One Response As Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy Through ASEAN Way

According to the Regulation of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Number 09/2011 concerning The Main Implementation of Assistance Tasks of the Indonesian National Army in Dealing with Natural Disasters, Displacement and Humanitarian Assistance Article 1, natural disasters are disasters caused by events or a series of natural events including earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods, droughts, hurricanes and lands. Then, humanitarian assistance is assistance given to guarantee the essence and dignity of people who are disturbed or reduced due to natural disasters and others.

Then, in Article 2 Verse (1) explained that, the purpose of the enactment of this Regulation is to realize a united mindset and action for the organizers of the assistance of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) in tackling natural disasters, refugees and humanitarian assistance [23]. Based on this Regulation, the handling of natural disasters is one of the agendas that is directly responsible by the Ministry of Defense through humanitarian assistance conducted by the TNI.

In addition, natural disaster management is also regulated in Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21/2008 concerning Implementation of Disaster Management. In this Regulation, in Article 6 Verse (4) described the parties who can also contribute to tackle natural disasters other than the Ministry of Defense, namely the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) and the Regional, Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) at the district, city and the province [24]. This is an institution that has a role to be responsive and alert regarding natural disaster management in Indonesia.

Natural disaster management as the duty of the TNI is mentioned in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34/2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army Article 7 Verse (2). This paragraph explains the main tasks of the TNI in the form of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP), which have 14 main tasks. Natural disaster management is contained in point 12 which reads "helping to cope with the effects of natural disasters, displacement, and the provision of humanitarian assistance". OMSP is also called the TNI's secondary task, which aims to provide internal security and stability. Some of these tasks include Search and Rescue (SAR) and development mandates (projects, infrastructure and engineering, etc.).

The TNI has certain abilities that can be utilized during emergencies and disaster response. There was a

time when the armed forces carried out non-armed tasks, especially in transportation, logistics and the ability to provide reinforcements quickly. The primary role of TNI in dealing with disaster response is supported by a clear organizational structure, command and practice so as to create rapid and swift coordination and capability in dealing with a disaster [25].

Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the field of humanitarian assistance has been carried out several times in several countries, including Myanmar and Fiji. Indonesia mobilized its defense diplomacy to Myanmar on September 21, 2017. Assistance was provided via Hercules A 1319 and Hercules A 1316 aircraft arriving at Yangon International Airport, Myanmar with departure through the Sultan Iskandar Muda Air Force Base, Aceh. Humanitarian assistance sent by the Indonesian government amounted to approximately 20 tons, consisting of supplementary food for toddlers and pregnant women, ready-to-eat food packages, tents, water tanks, sarong and medicines [26].

Meanwhile, Indonesia's defense diplomacy aimed at Fiji in the form of funding assistance of \$ 5 million United States dollars. The funds are divided into two parts, as much as \$ 2 million or Rp. 27 billion was handed over in cash at the meeting on March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2016. Then, the remaining \$ 3 million or Rp 40 billion was allocated for the needed facilities and infrastructure [27]. The surrendered TNI personnels were assigned to rebuild the Queen Victoria School building. The Government of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of Fiji, JV Bainimarama also signed a memorandum of understanding on disaster management as a follow up to the delivery of humanitarian assistance [28].

The potency for natural disasters occurring in various countries has made Indonesia take the initiative to create a regulation that regulates natural disaster management. Since the tsunami in Aceh in 2004, the issue of natural disasters has been raised by Indonesia at the ASEAN regional forum. Carrying this issue does not necessarily immediately create an agreement, institution or concept. Indonesia invites all countries to make natural disaster relief one of ASEAN's concerns. Therefore, Indonesia succeeded in leading ASEAN member countries to create a disaster management agreement entitled ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER).

The purpose of this agreement is to "provide an effective mechanism to minimize losses due to natural disasters in the realm of life as well as social, economic and environmental (each member country) and jointly respond to disaster emergencies through national efforts and enhance regional and international cooperation". AADMER is a proactive regional cooperation to oversee cooperation, coordination, technical assistance, and resource mobilization in all aspects of disaster management [29].

As a manifestation of the meeting of Foreign Ministers of ASEAN member countries in Vientiane, Lao PDR, AADMER showed that ASEAN had succeeded in making an agreement based on what had been negotiated with regard to the commitments of each country that wanted to reduce losses from natural disasters [30]. The creation of an agreement is a final result of the ASEAN Way principles which uphold common interests which are the result of a collective agreement. This agreement was also preceded by regional conditions in Southeast Asia which are prone to natural disasters, plus several countries that have been struck by natural disasters, as well as Indonesia's desire to create the concept of "One ASEAN, One Response".

"One ASEAN, The concept of Response"was finally agreed at the 19th ASEAN Summit on November 17, 2011 with the establishment of the AHA Center. As discussed in the previous subchapter, the AHA Center has the task of coordinating humanitarian assistance as a form of disaster management. Indonesia also applied the ASEAN Way concept in agreeing to create the agency. After all member countries agreed to form a special institution to handle disaster management, there is also the concept of "One ASEAN, One Response" known as the concept contained in the ASEAN Declaration on One ASEAN One Response at the  $28^{th}$  ASEAN Summit in Lao PDR on September 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016 [31].

Not only present as a concept, "One ASEAN, One Response" was realized when providing humanitarian assistance to residents displaced in Marawi City as a result of the Battle of Marawi. The AHA Center provided assistance through Malaysia, which channelled it through Davao Airport on Wednesday, July 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017 and departed from Laguindingan Airport using Malaysian fighter planes. Aids provided by the AHA Center were in the form of cleaning equipment, tents for families, home equipment, kitchen equipment and water filtration units.

The efforts made by the AHA Center came from the support of the Malaysian Government, specifically the National Disaster Management Agency (NADMA) of Malaysia, the Royal Malaysian National Army and the SMART Team. In addition, assistance was also provided by the Japanese Government through the ASEAN Disaster Emergency Logistics System for ASEAN (DELSA) project, the UN through the UN Humanitarian Response Depot of the World Food Program, and the Semi-Autonomous Institution of the Corporate Citizen Foundation of Singapore. From the AHA Center's contribution to the Philippines, it can be said that "One ASEAN, One Response" is not just an imagination, but already has a form of realization [32].

From what has been described in this subchapter, it can be seen that the concept of "One ASEAN, One Response" is a form of Indonesia's defense diplomacy that focuses on humanitarian assistance. The humanitarian issue which is the main concern of this concept is the main reason for each ASEAN member country to agree to create a new regime that applies regionally, a regime that regulates disaster management and management. Indonesia has successfully launched its defense diplomacy at the regional level with the aim of creating a collective response to mutual assistance and can indirectly increase partnerships with one another in the field of disaster management.

With the creation of AADMER as a regime or regulation that complies at the regional level—the Southeast Asian region—it creates a new regional governance in terms of disaster management. Regimes governing disaster management can be classified into types of regional security governance because the rules contained in the agreement are concerned with how member countries can protect and provide assistance to residents of other countries if the country is affected by natural disasters. Attention is very directed to the population that is in line with the human security agenda (human security) in the form of humanitarian assistance as the main objective of the formation of this regime. Indonesia's defense diplomacy has led ASEAN to take its steps on the issue of disaster management by creating a regionally applicable regime.

The concept that starts from the interests of a country until it can create an institution and its agreement and binding declaration states the effectiveness of the application of the ASEAN Way that produces results in the form of an agreement. Moreover, this institution has also contributed to ASEAN member countries in terms of providing humanitarian assistance and proves that ASEAN basically does need an institution that regulates disaster management and makes natural disasters a concern that can turn into a threat.

### **CONCLUSION**

The initiation of "One ASEAN, One Response" concept as a form of Indonesia's foreign policy to ASEAN resulted in AADMER that has been agreed in 2008. Follow up from the realization of this agreement was the establishment of the AHA Center in 2011 in Jakarta, Indonesia with the adoption of the concept of "One ASEAN, One Response" as the main concept of the institution that focuses on providing humanitarian assistance due to the natural disasters.

The creation of agreement and the establishment of these institutions are inseparable from the form of Indonesian defense diplomacy that implemented the ASEAN Way concept. Indonesia, which proposed an initiative of shared interest, was determined through a negotiation process, then reached a consensus and produced an agreement as a valid manifestation of the

method of solving problems in ASEAN, the ASEAN Way. Indonesia, through its defense diplomacy, succeeded in creating regime that is applicable at the regional level that makes each member country comply with these rules. AADMER, which was institutionalized to become the AHA Center, succeeded in providing an impact and realization for ASEAN member countries themselves.

#### REFERENCES

- 1. Disaster Thuzar, M, Management and Humanitarian Action in Southeast Asia: Opportunities for an ASEAN-Japan Coordinated Approach. In J. C. Exchange; Beyond 2015: ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership Democracy, Peace, and Prosperity in Southeast Asia, Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo, 2015; 299.
- Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies. Disaster Response Regional Architectures - Assessing Future Possibilities. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies; 2017.
- 3. Morgenthau, H. J. Politics Among Nations The Struggle for Power and Peace (6 ed.). Singapore: McGraw Hill; 1997.
- 4. Cottey, A. d. Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance. London: Routledge; 2004.
- Plessis, A. d. Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions With Specific Reference to South Africa. South Afrika: Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria; 2008.
- Rolfe, J. Regional Defence Diplomacy: What Is It and What Are Its Limits? Centre for Strategic Studies New Zealand Strategic Background Paper 21; 2015. p. 3-4.
- 7. Kacowicz, A. M. Regional Governance and Global Governance: Links and Explanations. Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations. 2018; 24(1); 62.
- Nolte, D. Regional Governance from a Comparative Perspective. In V. M. González-Sánchez; Economy, Politics and Governance Challenges. Nova Science Publishers, New York, 2016; 5-6.
- Creswell, J. W. Research Design, Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches. California: SAGE Publications; 2009.
- Hollweck, T. Review of Robert K. Yin (2014).
   Case study research design and methods (5th ed.).
   Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation. 2016; 30(1): 2-4.
- 11. About The AHA Center: One ASEAN, One Response. Available from https://ahacentre.org/:

- https://ahacentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/DIGITAL-Version-FACTSHEETS-ABOUT-THE-AHA-CENTRE.pdf
- AHA Center. Operationalising One ASEAN One Response: Speed, Scale, Solidarity. Jakarta: AHA Center; 2018.
- 13. ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM). Available from http://setnas-asean.id/asean-defence-ministers-meeting-admm
- Tekunan, S. The ASEAN Way: The Way To Regional Peace? Jurnal Hubungan Internasional. 2014; 3(2): 144.
- 15. Cuyvers, L. The 'ASEAN Way' and ASEAN's development gap with Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam: a critical view. Asia Pacific Business Review. 2019; 25(5): 3.
- 16. Sharpe, S. An ASEAN way to security cooperation in Southeast Asia? The Pacific Review. 2003; 16(2): 235-236.
- 17. Heng, P. K. The "ASEAN Way" and Regional Security Cooperation in the South China Sea. European University Institute Working Paper. San Domenico di Fiesole: European University Institute; 2014. p. 2-3.
- 18. Leifer, M. The ASEAN peace process: A category mistake. The Pacific Review. 1999; 12(1): 28.
- ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM). Available from https://asean.org/asean-political-security-community/asean-defence-ministers-meeting-admm/
- Joint Statement By The ADMM-Plus Defence Ministers on Advancing Partnership For Sustainable Security. Available from https://asean.org/storage/2019/11/JS-of-the-6th-ADMM-Plus.pdf
- 21. Tan, S. S. Not Quite Beyond the 'ASEAN Way'?
  Southeast Asia's Evolution to Rule-based
  Management of Intra-ASEAN Differences. In A. d.
  Baviera; ASEAN@50 Vol. 4: Building ASEAN
  Community: Political-Security and Socio-Cultural
  Reflections, Economic Research Institute for
  ASEAN and East Asia, Jakarta, 2017; 81.
- 22. ASEAN-China Code of Conduct to conclude in three years? Available from https://www.foreignbrief.com/asia-pacific/southeast-asia/asean-china-code-of-conduct-to-concludein-three-years/
- Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Nomor 09 Tahun 2011. Available from http://ditjenpp.kemenkumham.go.id/arsip/bn/2011/ bn215-2011.pdf.

- Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor
   Tahun 2008. Available from https://bnpb.go.id/ppid/file/PP\_No.\_21\_Th\_2008.p
   df.
- Agung, D. S. Bencana Alam, Militer dan Pertahanan Negara. WIRA: Media Informasi Kementerian Pertahanan. 2019; 3(3): 7.
- Bantuan Kemanusiaan Indonesia Tiba di Yangon Myanmar. Available from http://ksp.go.id/bantuankemanusiaan-indonesia-tiba-di-yangon-myanmar/
- Bantu Fiji, Indonesia ingin redam gerakan pembebasan Papua. Available from https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\_indonesia/2 016/03/160329\_indonesia\_fiji\_papua\_bantuan
- Indonesia Bantu Pemulihan Pascabencana Topan Winston di Fiji. Available from Media Indonesia: https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/49070indonesia-bantu-pemulihan-pascabencana-topanwinston-di-fiji

- 29. Petz, D. Strengthening Regional and National Capacity for Disaster Risk Management: The Case of ASEAN. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution; 2014.
- 30. COP to AADMER (Conference of the Parties to the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response). Available from https://asean.org/asean-socio-cultural/asean-agreement-on-disaster-management-and-emergency-response-cop-to-aadmer/
- ASEAN to improve synergies for One ASEAN
   One Response. Available https://asean.org/aseanto-improve-synergies-for-one-asean-one-response/
- 32. One ASEAN One Response, ASEAN solidarity in action for internally displaced people from Marawi. Available from https://ahacentre.org/news/one-asean-one-response-asean-solidarity-in-action-for-internally-displaced-people-from-marawi/