

報告番号	※	第	号
------	---	---	---

主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

The Politics of Disaster in ASEAN: Development of International Cooperation in ASEAN in Disaster Management
(ASEANにおける災害の政治学：災害対策に関するASEANにおける国際協力の展開)

氏 名

Muhammad Rum

論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

Please write a summary corresponding to the structure of your dissertation.

This dissertation aims to enrich the discourse of regionalism studies, mainly focusing on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). With the ASEAN Charter put into force in 2008, ASEAN is moving toward deeper regional cooperation. ASEAN cooperation area expands beyond politics. Ten member countries have started cooperation on regional disaster management under the framework of the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) signed in 2005 and came into force since 2009. The cooperation under AADMER is an institutionalised form of member states' joint efforts as a result of regional experiences in dealing with major natural disasters, notably the Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami of 2004 and Myanmar Cyclone Nargis of 2008. In executing the mandated works such as dispatching emergency response and survey team, coordinating aids from different member states, and delivering those aids to the field, ten member states established the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre) in 2011.

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter I is the introduction part consisting of the background of the study, the significance of the study, research questions, literature review, and

theoretical framework. The research questions of this dissertation are: 1) Why has ASEAN successfully formulated regional disaster management and emergency response mechanism? 2). How have the political exercises of competing actors, ranging from the domestic level to elite leaders and regional-level bureaucrats, negotiated regional disaster management cooperation? 3) How does ASEAN regional disaster management cooperation relate to the concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)? These three questions will be answered in Chapters III, IV, and V, respectively. Chapter II describes the development of ASEAN regional disaster management cooperation and its context. Lastly, Chapter VI will be the conclusion of the dissertation.

Methods and Theoretical Framework

This dissertation utilises two frameworks; international norms dynamic and the two-level games. International norms dynamic utilised to demonstrate how constructivism is applicable to explain a growing trend in international relations. Constructivism suggests that national interest is not the sole motive for member states to support this agenda; some norms dictate how states recognise the appropriateness of behaviour. In an attempt to discuss how the norms for disaster management were adopted in Southeast Asia, this study underlines the importance of norms life cycle in the formation of the ASEAN regional disaster management. Ideas travel from one mind to another, and this also happens in international politics. The idea of disaster management norms emerged and was promoted by norm entrepreneurs on the international stage, and from there, international organisations introduced the idea to the Southeast Asian region.

The two-level game's framework is used to explain the interconnectedness of domestic politics with regional politics. For decades, decision making in ASEAN has always been characterised as informal, loosely binding, and highly based on consensus. This condition has hindered progress in ASEAN because it enables several member states to veto a negotiation if the subjects of the talk are related to sensitive issues. The progress in disaster management cooperation

was not achieved through a traditional ASEAN Way mechanism of achieving consensus based on informal discussion among leaders. The decision made by series of sophisticated negotiation both in regional level when the ASEAN leaders offer their terms of negotiation, and in domestic level when the leaders then have to communicate with their constituents. Moreover, there are various non-state actors and the international community giving pressure to ASEAN member states. Moreover, there is an international norm such as Responsibility to Protect (R2P) that incrementally decision-making process in global politics.

As a regional organisation, ASEAN upholds its core principles of non-interference, consultation and consensus. Meanwhile, Responsibility to Protect (R2P) encourages the need of the international community's intervention to a country that failed to protect its citizens. Hence, it creates tension between ASEAN principles and R2P. The tension is reflected when the limited capacity of a member state's government might invite humanitarian intervention from the international community. Southeast Asian regionalism adapts to this situation and is undergoing dynamic reformulation to reconcile ASEAN Way and humanitarian principles.

Results

Chapter II, Chapter III, Chapter IV, and Chapter V of the dissertation has highlighted the following factors contributing to ASEAN's successful formulation of a regional disaster management and emergency response mechanism: 1) ASEAN's transformation into a full-fledged regional organisation, driving the development of a proven regional mechanism as a result of deepening ASEAN regional cooperation, 2) the internalisation of the regional disaster management cooperation, including responsibility to protect (R2P) norms, 3) continuous support from international dialogue partners and donors, 4) determined leaderships in ASEAN, and 5) political change/democratisation of individual member states, which has enabled ASEAN to have more open and frank discussions.

1. ASEAN Transformation is Being Undertaken at Moderate Speed

ASEAN is in the process of transforming into a full-fledged regional organisation and developed a proven regional mechanism as a result of deepening regional cooperation. Chapter II highlights the importance of the status of ASEAN as a fully-fledged regional organisation following the ratification of the ASEAN Charter in 2008. Through ASEAN's involvement in mediating peace in Aceh and delivering aid to Myanmar, member states have learned that the regional organisation is reliable and justified. Discussed in Chapter III, momentums provided by major natural disasters such as the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami in 2004 and Cyclone Nargis in 2008 would have failed if ASEAN had not responded in the first place. ASEAN's experience assisting the Government of Indonesia and the European Union in building peace in Aceh gave it proof of its organisational capacity to conduct field operations and engage in aid delivery and reconstruction. Similar pre-condition was also demonstrated in the case of Cyclone Nargis in 2008. The Myanmar government reached the point where it was able to negotiate with the international community, under the condition that ASEAN plays a supporting and supervisory role. These successes boosted ASEAN member states' confidence in engaging in deeper disaster management cooperation.

2. The Internalisation of Norms in Regional Disaster Management Cooperation

Chapter III and Chapter V highlight the importance of the internalisation of international norms in regional disaster management efforts. Using the norm life cycle method suggested by Sikkink and Finnemore, this dissertation has proven that regional disaster management cooperation norm has reached its tipping point globally and become internalised in ASEAN. Chapter III underscores the importance of ASEAN's international dialogue partners and donors in promoting the norm. Continuous support from developed countries has helped ASEAN build the foundation for cooperation since the 1990s. Chapter V highlights limited inception of R2P in ASEAN. R2P

principles have triggered discourse on member states' foreign policy. Indonesia, for example, is now pursuing a firmer foreign policy towards Myanmar in order to help introduce R2P in ASEAN. The pre-condition for this phenomenon is ASEAN's willingness to interact as a regional organisation with continuous and secure global advocacy. From their acceptance of the ASEAN Charter, it is evident that member states are aware of the importance of ASEAN's position as part of a global society. As a regional organisation, ASEAN should also be able to adopt universal values.

3. Continuous Support from International Dialogue Partners and Donors

International dialogue partners and donors supported the significant funds and initiatives for introducing disaster management cooperation in ASEAN. Since the 1990s international organisations and dialogue partners have been continuously engaged in assisting Southeast Asian states in establishing both domestic national disaster management offices and regional disaster management cooperation. Donors have engaged and worked together at two layers of cooperation. The first layer involves individual countries, such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines, while the second layer involves the ASEAN Expert Group on Disaster Management. This multi-layered assistance has created a stronger foundation for regional disaster management in ASEAN. Until today, international donors such as JAIF and the European Union have continued to work with the AHA Centre.

4. Determined Leaderships in ASEAN

Strong leadership, both from ASEAN bureaucrats and state leaders, is important to pave the way for successful regional arrangement. As demonstrated in this study, the roles of former ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan and DMHA Division Director Adelina Kamal were decisive in the success of ASEAN operations following Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar in 2008. Meanwhile, state leaders such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Lee Hsien Loong, Jusuf Kalla,

George Yeo and Agung Laksono were also crucial in offering political support for the cause and persuasively convincing other ASEAN member states to support regional disaster management cooperation.

5. Effect of Domestic Political Changes on ASEAN

Political change and democratisation in key individual member states have enabled ASEAN to have a more open and frank discussion. Chapter IV highlights the changing of ASEAN member states' domestic politics, which has enabled negotiations over regional disaster management cooperation. Using Robert Putnam's two-level game theory, this dissertation suggests that open and frank discussions in ASEAN have become possible because of democratisation and political openness in key individual member states. Democratic discourse and debate in parliament has become possible and helped redefine the so-called ASEAN Way. Open and frank discussions can now occur domestically in several countries, such as Indonesia and the Philippines. This is evident not only in the case of debate over the ratification of the ASEAN Charter; fierce debate also took place regarding the ratification of AADMER. This can also indicate that ASEAN has moved from being a mere "club" that relies on leaders' personalities into a more modernised regional organisation that relies not only on negotiations among member states but also within domestic constituencies.