

Indonesia's Global Health Diplomacy in the Time of COVID-19 Pandemic

Asep Setiawan, Debbie Affianty, Nurul Fitralaila Tanjung
Political Science Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science
University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta
asepsetia@gmail.com, debbielubis@gmail.com, nurultanjung222@gmail.com

Abstract

COVID-19, which has been sweeping the world since 2020 and has caused a high human toll, profoundly impacts almost all countries to focus on public health. Indonesia also felt the impact of COVID-19; therefore needs to participate in various activities in maintaining global health and seeking vaccines from the international world. This study aims to examine how Indonesia's global health diplomacy during the COVID-19 pandemic. The research used a qualitative method with data collection techniques through secondary data and interviews. The study found that Indonesia conducted global health diplomacy through multilateral channels to maintain global health governance and promote international efforts in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. Indonesia also uses global health diplomacy through multilateral and bilateral channels to gain access to vaccine provision. Indonesia's global health diplomacy was also conducted to obtain assistance in dealing with non-health problems, namely economic and social issues.

Keywords: health, diplomacy, global, pandemic, COVID-19

Introduction

International relations during the COVID-19 pandemic have changed dramatically.¹ The interaction pattern between countries is strongly influenced by health issues that previously limited attention to only one or two regions. Since January 2020, when it was first called coronavirus in Wuhan, China which has taken its toll and then spread globally, it has since become a global threat. It is called a global threat

¹ Siphamandla Zondi & Kenneth Ombongi (2021) COVID-19, Politics and International Relations: hopes and impediments, *Politikon*, 48:2, 157-158, DOI:10.1080/02589346.2021.1913800.

because it drops human casualties and other areas receiving adverse impacts ranging from economic to educational and socio-cultural.

With this dire situation, the COVID-19 pandemic has become a global health issue and it affects almost all countries in the world by 2020 and continues until 2021. The effect of this pandemic is mainly on the health of the population in a country. Many people from various countries died or became ill due to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, each Government focuses on providing health facilities and medicines, including its health workers.

Indonesia and other countries conduct health diplomacy to manage global health affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. From the data released by WHO until July 2021, there are almost 190 million positive cases of COVID-19, and about four million people died². The WHO also shows that about 3.4 billion people from 7.9 billion in the world have undergone vaccination.

Several studies have discussed Indonesia's global health diplomacy, especially at the beginning of the pandemic. According to Wicaksana (2020), the public health agenda recognizes by Indonesia as an essential matter in international relations; however, the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy on health issues is mainly related to pandemic COVID-19 is relatively no significant.³ Domestic factors, especially the marginalization of the diplomatic position in the management of the national crisis, are an obstacle to the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition to the less manageable situation internally are the functional and institutional weaknesses of the Indonesian diplomatic bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, Albert Triwibowo (2020) mapping the role of diplomacy during the COVID-19 pandemic.⁴ As a country with a large population, Indonesia is perceived to have no ability to carry out rapid tests. Therefore, Indonesia is collaborating with

² COVID—19 Dashboard. <https://covid19.who.int>. Accessed July 5, 2021.

³ Wicaksana, I Gede Wahyu. (2020). Masalah Diplomasi Kesehatan Indonesia di Era Pandemi. *Global Strategis*, Th. 14, No. 2.

⁴ Triwibowo, Albert. (2020). Diplomacy and COVID-19: A Reflection. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* Edisi Khusus. Universitas Parahyangan.

China and South Korea regarding health protection. Indonesia was also active in encouraging resolutions in dealing with the coronavirus at the UN General Assembly. However, in the ASEAN, Indonesian leadership in coping with COVID-19 is not as active as the United Nations dan the WHO. ASEAN announced a declaration at the 2020 ASEAN Coronavirus Disease Summit but did not significantly raise funds to address COVID-19.

Another assessment comes from Jessica Martha (2020) which mentions that Indonesia needs to use public diplomacy's instruments such as those carried out by Taiwan and Georgia.⁵ With public diplomacy, the benefits obtained include promoting values that can increase the country's stability, creating mutual understanding and correcting misunderstandings, and building a reputation. Public diplomacy could be used to support some efforts in overcoming the crisis caused by COVID-19 through making sense of events, networking, and craft messages and events.

Natalie Shambi (2020) asserts that as an aspirant on developing the Indo-Pacific forum, Indonesia should encourage its role to build cooperation in the health and scientific field amidst COVID-19 raged.⁶ For example, the collaboration is how the Coordinating Ministry in Indonesia and The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) focus on vaccine research and the availability of medical equipment and health protection. In her study, Shambi noted that Indonesia's policy towards the Indo-Pacific would continue even though Indonesia had budgetary difficulties economically due to COVID-19.

As part of health diplomacy, Wangke (2021) and Setiawan (2020) reviewed health diplomacy through international cooperation. Wangke explained that Indonesia, in its diplomacy, emphasizes the importance of international collaboration and access of all countries to obtain vaccines. Indonesia emphasizes principles in global health

⁵ Martha, Jessica.(2020). Pemanfaatan Diplomasi Publik oleh Indonesia dalam Krisis COVID-19. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*. Edisi Khusus. Universitas Parahyangan

⁶ Natalie Shambi. (2020). Indonesia's Indo-Pacific Vision: Staying the Course in a COVID-19 World. *Asia Policy*. Volume 15. Number 4. Oktober 2020.37-50.

governance during pandemics through unanimous resolutions. The proposed principles include strengthening affordable national health services, preventing discrimination in pandemic management, and cooperating with non-government parties. Indonesia is also actively cooperating to obtain medical devices and vaccines.

Indonesia's role in global health diplomacy was active in various world institutions during the period of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.⁷ Indonesia became Chair of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria as proof that Indonesia was an active actor in global health diplomacy. Hiebert (2013) also noted Indonesia's role in global health diplomacy was paramount when President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became co-chair of a panel of 27 people to compile a global development agenda after 2015. Likewise, Indonesia's global health diplomacy was seen when 2013 hosted the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), which also discussed the principles of health financing in the Asia Pacific.

The research would fill the gap on how Indonesian global health diplomacy was conducted. The research puzzle is how Indonesia addresses global health in the various forums and how Indonesia attempted to get access to medical protection support and vaccines from multiple countries. Before explaining Indonesia's effort on global health diplomacy amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, the paper explores the conceptual framework on global health diplomacy. The article is later assessing Indonesian global health diplomacy during pandemics both in multilateral and bilateral tracks.

Conceptual Framework

There are various meanings on the meaning and substance of global health diplomacy. Kickbusch et al. (2021) state that global health diplomacy refers to the multi-level and multi-actor negotiation processes that shape and manage the global policy environment for health in health and non-health fora. Diplomacy is both a

⁷ Murray Hiebert. (2013). *Indonesia Steps up Global Health Diplomacy: Bolster Role in Addressing International Medical Challenges*. Jakarta:CSIS. Abby Seiff.(2013).*Indonesia's Year for Global Health Diplomacy*. thelancet.com. Vol 382.

system of organization and a method of work. It is always political and is carried out through many different channels.⁸ Global health diplomacy is diplomacy both organizationally and methodically. This diplomacy has always been political and conducted through various channels. In addition, it is explained that these diplomats who conduct health diplomacy seek the objectives of their foreign politics and more generally protect their national interests abroad. These definitions refer to health issues as instruments in collaboration between countries in the world. This health issue uses hardware in medicines and medical equipment, and software in expert assistance.

Novotny and Adams, meanwhile, say that global health diplomacy is a political change activity that meets the dual goals of improving global health while maintaining and strengthening international relations abroad, particularly in conflict areas and resource-poor environments.⁹

Another meaning of global health diplomacy is conveyed by Kelley Lee and Richard Smith (2011) which said that global health diplomacy is policy-shaping process through which state, non-state, and other institutional actors negotiate responses to health challenges, or utilize health concepts or mechanisms in policy-shaping and negotiation strategies, to achieve other political, economic or social objectives.

Kelley Lee and Richard Smith (2011) stated that global health diplomacy is winning the hearts and minds of people in developing countries by exporting medical care, expertise, and personnel to help those who need it most.¹⁰ Another meaning of global health diplomacy is the cultivation of trust and negotiation of mutual benefit in

⁸ Ilona Kickbusch, Haik Nikogosian, Michael Kazatchkine and Mihay Kokeny. (2020). *A Guide to Global Health Diplomacy*. Geneva: Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. P. 39.

⁹ Novotny, T. E., & Adams, V. (2007). Global health diplomacy: A global health sciences working paper. University of California San Francisco Global Health Sciences. Retrieved from http://igcc.ucsd.edu/pdf/GH_Diplomacy.pdf.

¹⁰ Kelley Lee and Richard Smith. (2011). What is 'Global Health Diplomacy'? A Conceptual Review. *Global Health Governance*. Volume V. No.1.

global health goals.¹¹ In addition, meaning is global health diplomacy is at the coal-face of global health governance it is where the compromises are found and the agreements are reached, in multilateral venues, new alliances and in bilateral agreements.¹²

Kickbusch explains that in this global health diplomacy, there are seven dimensions. Firstly, negotiations to advance health and well-being when dealing with other interests. Secondly, establish governance mechanisms to support health and well-being. Thirdly, create alliances to support health and well-being. Fourthly, build and manage donor and stakeholder relationships. Fifthly, respond to the public health crisis. Sixthly, improving relations between countries through health and well-being. Seventhly, contribute to peace and security.

Kelley Lee and Richard Smith (2011) concluded that global health diplomacy is a problem that focuses on a global health population. The character of global health diplomacy is a variety of actors ranging from countries and non-countries, public and private, health and non-health sectors, and local to global levels of governance. In addition global health diplomacy is shaped by different processes of interaction.

From the various definitions of global health diplomacy, it appears that diplomacy aims to maintain global health through various forms of cooperation. A study in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic shows the components of global health diplomacy ranging from access to health security to global mobilization and humanitarian assistance. Vijay Kumar Chattu and Georgina Chami (2020) propose a conceptual framework for the operating of global health diplomacy.¹³

¹¹ Bond K. (2008). Health security or health diplomacy? Moving beyond semantic analysis to strengthen health systems and global cooperation. *Health Policy and Planning*; 8-10.

¹² Ilona Kickbusch, Gaudenz Silberschmidt & Paulo Buss . (2007). Global health diplomacy: the need for new perspectives, strategic approaches and skills in global health. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*.

¹³ Vijay Kumar Chattu and Georgina Chami. (2020). Global Health Diplomacy Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Strategic Opportunity for Improving Health, Peace, and Well-Being in the CARICOM Region—A Systematic Review. *Social Sciences*. 9(5), 88.

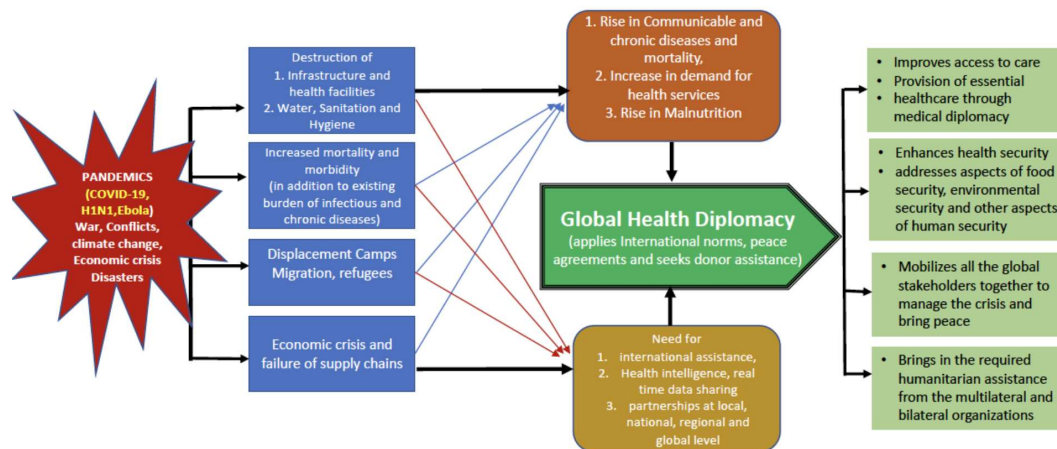


Figure 1: Global Health Diplomacy

Source: Chattu and Chami.(2020)

In addition, I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana (2020) explains that global health diplomacy consists of three goals.¹⁴ Firstly, participate in the formulation of global policies taking place in world institutions, especially WHO. Secondly, to get the broadest possible access to the supply of raw materials for drugs and vaccines, medical devices, technology, and technical assistance needed in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis, Finally, to resolve non-technical problems that harm efforts to deal with the transnational coronavirus disease outbreak.

Methodology

The research on Indonesian global health diplomacy employs a qualitative approach. Secondary resources on Indonesian global health diplomacy such as books, articles, and media reports were primarily collected from electronic sources. Official statements from the ministry of foreign affairs were also collected from electronic sources. Data was also collected from an in-depth interview with diplomats, officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and an academician. The interviews were carried out through semi-structured form via virtual communication.

¹⁴ Wicaksana, I Gede Wahyu. (2020). Masalah Diplomasi Kesehatan Indonesia di Era Pandemi. *Global Strategis*, Th. 14, No. 2.

Result and Discussion

Since it was officially announced that Indonesia was exposed to the coronavirus, the Government has also formed a COVID-19 task force at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The objective of the task force is to take advantage of the international environment in addressing domestic health. At the beginning of its formation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the task force attempted to obtain the necessary medical protective equipment in Indonesia.¹⁵

When the pandemic raged in Indonesia initially, it was known that it did not have protective equipment for health workers and the public, including masks and sanitizers.¹⁶ The lack of medical equipment in Indonesia shows that there was no anticipation of a global scale pandemic. In contrast to South Korea and Hong Kong, which had experience and attention to the SARS case in 2003, Indonesia was entirely new for the use of masks in the face of a pandemic.

Therefore, Indonesia's initial response is to seek and get as much as possible of this protective health equipment. This protective equipment is especially needed by health workers who deal with COVID-19 patients, whose numbers in the first three months, March to April 2020, increased rapidly. The need for health-protective equipment is pursued by carrying out bilateral and multilateral cooperation. At the bilateral level, Indonesia opens international doors in assisting in dealing with this pandemic.

Indonesian efforts to gain benefit from global health diplomacy are based on three pillars. Firstly, mobilization of global efforts to mitigating health issues in multilateral diplomacy. Secondly, Indonesia engaged in bilateral diplomacy in seeking vaccines and non-health security issues such as social and economic needs.

¹⁵ Diplomasi Masa Pandemi, Menlu Lakukan 3 Refocusing Prioritas Kerja. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5226797/diplomasi-masa-pandemi-menlu-lakukan-3-refocusing-prioritas-kerja>. Diakses 27 Desember 2020.

¹⁶ Interview with Darmansyah Djumala March 15, 2021 and Daniel Tumpal Simanjuntak March 19, 2021.

Global mobilization

World Health Organization (WHO) declared that COVID-19 become a pandemic in the world on March 11, 2021. Indonesia itself announced the COVID-19 pandemic officially occurred on March 2, 2021. However, the pandemic that started in Wuhan, China, has spread to various countries since January and February 2020. Therefore, Indonesia was perceived late in recognizing the pandemic COVID-19 even though several international experts said that Indonesia had experienced COVID-19 before March 2, 2021.¹⁷

Indonesia has begun to actively voice its Government's affirmation towards COVID-19 by inviting solidarity action at the United Nations on the international level. Indonesia has a role in supporting the adoption of the UN General Assembly Resolution "Global Solidarity to Fight COVID-19" on April 2, 2021. This resolution was reported to be the first issued by the United Nations related to the coronavirus (COVID-19) since the announcement of the global pandemic status by WHO on March 11, 2020. Indonesia worked with Ghana, Liechtenstein, Norway, Singapore, and Switzerland to pass a resolution at the United Nations.

The resolution emphasizes the importance of international cooperation in responding to the 2019 Coronavirus pandemic or COVID-19. In one of its parts, the resolution calls for increased international cooperation to stem, manage and eradicate pandemics by exchanging information, knowledge, and policies and implementing guidelines from WHO. The resolution also urges the United Nations to cooperate with its various members to mobilize a global response to the pandemic and its impacts on social, economic, and financial fields.

In general, in multilateral diplomacy, Indonesia worked together with three major institutions of global access facilities to COVID-19 or COVAX. The three

¹⁷ S.Y. Surendra Kumar.(2020). Battle Halfway: Indonesia Handling of COVID-19. In M. Mayilvaganan (ed). *COVID-19 Pandemic In The Indo Pacific*. Bengaluru: National Institute of Advances Studies.

institutions are WHO, the Coalition for Outbreak Preparedness Innovation (CEPI), and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization or GAVI¹⁸. Indonesian health diplomacy in these three institutions follows a primary purpose: to realize a fair and quality global health standard. Indonesian slogan for health diplomacy is health for all.¹⁹

With Indonesia being active in various international forums, Djumala (2021) noted some developments. For example, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs was successfully elected as the Co-Chair of the COVAX Advance Market Commitment (AMC) Engagement Group (EG) in an election virtually in Geneva, January 8, 2021. COVAX AMC EG is a consultation forum that brings together AMC countries and countries. - donor countries for the procurement and distribution of vaccines for AMC countries.²⁰

The COVAX Facility has a target of procuring vaccines for up to 20% of the population of each AMC country and supports the readiness of AMC countries to undertake a national vaccination plan. Indonesian role in COVAX AMC EG was seen as a stepping stone to benefit, particularly in managing vaccines for domestic needs. Indonesian Foreign Minister became Co-Chair of AMC-EG and the Ethiopian Health Minister, and the Canadian Minister for International Development. Indonesia received the most votes, namely 41% of the 92 votes of the economies that are members of the COVAX AMC.

According to Djumala (2021), the election of Indonesia with the most votes reflects two things: Firstly, it is a form of international trust, especially in developing countries in Indonesia; Secondly, it is Indonesia's big responsibility to achieve equal access to vaccines for all countries. With Indonesia being active in health diplomacy, Indonesia received several benefits in line with the national interests.

¹⁸ Interview Daniel Tumpal Simanjuntak.

¹⁹ Kementerian Luar Negeri. (2018). Kesehatan untuk Semua: Strategi Diplomasi Kesehatan Global Indonesia. Jakarta: Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia. P 53.

²⁰ Interview with Darmansyah Djumala March 15, 2021.

As Co-Chair of the COVAX Advance Market Commitment (AMC) Engagement Group (EG) AMC-EG, Indonesia was seen to contribute significantly to the discourse in the COVAX Facility regarding accelerating the development, production, and equitable access to the COVID-19 vaccine.

Djumala and Simanjuntak (2021) described that Indonesia's leadership at AMC-EG prioritizes national interests to all countries in the world, namely:

- 1) the provision of vaccines for all AMC countries;
- 2) ensure the selection of a suitable vaccine portfolio for distribution through the COVAX Facility mechanism;
- 3) ensuring the fulfillment of up to 20% free dose supply and distribution for AMC countries;
- 4) finalizing the concept of sharing the COVAX Facility, and
- 5) finalization of the concept and procedure for no-fault compensation from the COVAX Facility for Serious Adverse Events (SAE) that may occur from the impact of the COVAX Facility vaccine.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi chaired the first AMC-EG meeting on January 27, 2021, and firmly and consistently to national interests, including voicing the principle of equal access to vaccines for all countries. Indonesia claimed that equality could only be realized through cooperation and solidarity.²¹

Due to Jakarta's active policy at the international level, 1,113,600 vaccines originating from the British pharmaceutical company, Astra Zeneca, arrived in Indonesia on March 8, 2021. The arrival of the Astra Zeneca vaccine through the multilateral cooperation scheme of the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) COVAX Facility. The facility is a vaccine development collaboration between the World Health Organization (WHO) and GAVI.

²¹ Menlu Retno Pimpin Pertemuan COVAX-AMC EG, Bahas Distribusi Vaksin Multilateral. Tanggal 28 Januari. <http://setnas-asean.id/siaran-pers/read/menlu-retno-pimpin-pertemuan-covax-amc-eg-bahas-distribusi-vaksin-multilateral>. Accessed March 1, 2021.

With its activeness in international forums, Djumala explained that the Indonesian Embassy in Vienna through diplomatic efforts to fight for the national interests of the Republic of Indonesia through two significant achievements, Firstly, Technical Assistance and Cooperation, especially medical devices and COVID-19 disease detection devices in collaboration with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Secondly, establishing norm settings, particularly UNIDO resolutions related to the mitigation of the COVID-19 pandemic, in which Indonesia chaired the 48th meeting of the Industrial Development Board (IDB) of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).

Indonesia took the international organization to gain benefit such for a health product. From March until April 2020, the Indonesian Embassy in Vienna facilitated IAEA technical assistance through the coordination of the National Task Force for COVID-19 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which resulted in an agreement to submit two COVID-19 disease detection devices in the form of a Real-Time Polymerase Chain. Reaction (RT-PCR), diagnostic kits, and consumables to two locations in Indonesia, namely the Regional Health Laboratory (Labkesda) of West Kalimantan Province in Pontianak and the Laboratory of the Center for Veterinary Research (BB-LITVET) of the Ministry of Agriculture in Bogor.

The selection of the two destination locations for equipment assistance has been coordinated with the COVID-19 National Task Force and the Ministry of Health. Furthermore, during the period April - September 2020, the IAEA carried out a series of deliveries of equipment, detection materials, and PPE to both destination locations. The Indonesian Embassy in Vienna facilitated the communication of aid delivery with BATAN as the national facilitator and facilitated the arrangement and participation of the two laboratories to conduct virtual training on the use of COVID-19 detection equipment.

Indonesian diplomacy in Europe in the form of facilitating the follow-up of the Indonesian Government's participation in the long-term cooperation program for the detection of COVID-19 disease. This program called ZODIAC (Zoonotic Disease

Action Program) is an extension of the VETLAB collaboration where the Indonesian Government has previously actively participated and is expected to increase the Indonesian Government's capacity in Zoonotic disease detection. For the national focal point, the Indonesian Government appointed BB LITVET to the Ministry of Agriculture as the national ZODIAC coordinator. The Indonesian Embassy in Vienna has officially conveyed the determination of the national corridor to the IAEA in February 2021.

Indonesia, as Chair of the 48th Meeting of the Industrial Development Board (IDB) of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), encourages the 48/11 resolution, namely "UNIDO's Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic," which is UNIDO's resolution related to the response and mitigation of COVID-19.²² This resolution describes three integration approaches. Firstly, "Prepare and Contain," namely the first stage to maintain the production chain, industrial sector, and labor in efforts to mitigate the pandemic and its impact on the economy and economic development. Secondly, "Respond and Adapt," namely the second stage that encourages the adaptation process of the industrial sector by utilizing appropriate technology and digital economy, as well as encouraging solutions and support for Micro and Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), Finally "Recover and Transform," which is the third stage towards an inclusive, resilient and sustainable economic recovery. In addition, resolution 48/11 conveys a political message about the importance of international unity, solidarity, and cooperation in efforts to mitigate the global pandemic COVID-19.

Djumala described that Indonesia was elected by acclamation as President of the Industrial Development Board (IDB) of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in November 2020 and the Ambassador / Permanent

²² Indonesia Pimpin Pertemuan ke-48 Industrial Development Board United Nations Industrial Development Organization. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/1905/berita/indonesia-pimpin-pertemuan-ke-48-industrial-development-board-united-nations-industrial-development-organization>. Date November 23, 2020. Accessed March 1, 2021.

Representative of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations in Vienna chaired the 48th IDB session which took place on 23-25 November 2020 and chaired various IDB meetings outside the session during the period November 26, 2020, to July 2021. In the 48th IDB meeting, Indonesia highlighted several issues of national interest, including related to global industrial cooperation for the recovery of the impact of the pandemic and the achievement of sustainable development goals (SDG / Sustainable Development Goals).²³

The IDB is one of the critical UNIDO policy-making organs. It is tasked with formulating and reviewing the progress of the UN Agency's work program and budget and making recommendations to the UNIDO General Conference on various policies, including the appointment of the Director-General. The IDB has 53 members, and Indonesia is a member until 2023.

Diplomacy for Searching Vaccines

According to Djumala (2021), Indonesia's health diplomacy to get vaccines is carried out both bilaterally and multilaterally. Through the multilateral tracks, based on its primary objective, vaccine diplomacy could be divided into two purposes, namely: (i) vaccine diplomacy to ensure the availability of vaccine access/supply through participation in the COVAX Facility. (ii) Vaccine diplomacy to strengthen vaccine research and development through participation in the Coalition of Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI).²⁴

The COVAX Facility is a global collaboration managed jointly by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Coalition of Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI), and The Vaccine Alliance (GAVI), which focuses on access to vaccines. The COVAX form of participation is divided into two: 1) self-financing (for high-income

²³ Indonesia Terpilih sebagai Presiden Dewan Pembangunan Industri Badan PBB. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/indonesia-terpilih-sebagai-presiden-dewan-pembangunan-industri-badan-pbb-1ueACdChcaQ/full>. Date November 23, 2020. Accessed March, 1 2021.

²⁴ Interview Darmansyah Djumala, March 15, 2021.

countries) and 2) advance market commitment (AMC) (for developing / low- and low-middle-income countries).

As a part of 92 members AMC countries, Indonesia has access to fully subsidized vaccines (free of charge) for 20% of the population or 54 million people or around 108 million vaccine doses by the end of 2021. Djumala stated that some of the diplomatic efforts that have been made in the context of the COVAX collaboration are:

- a) Submission of an expression of interest for Indonesia's participation as AMC 92 and a bilateral consultation with the CEO of GAVI and the Director-General of WHO on October 16, 2020;
- b) Escorting and signing the MOU-UNICEF MoU regarding cooperation in the procurement and distribution of the COVAX vaccine on November 27, 2020;
- c) Escort and send complete COVAX Facility application documents: (i) Request for Technical Assistance, November 27, 2020; (ii) Vaccine Request Form Part A, December 7, 2020; (iii) Vaccine Request Form Part B, January 8, 2021; (iv) Expression of Interest for Pfizer BioNTech mRNA vaccine, January 15, 2021.

The COVAX vaccine delivery is carried out in stages, with the first delivery to 3% of the population of around 17 million doses estimated in the 1st semester of 2021. As an AMC country, Indonesia is not entitled to choose the type of vaccine; determined the type of vaccine will be carried out by the joint-allocation task force GAVI based on the results of the readiness review.

In the multilateral diplomacy track, Djumala explained a Multilateral Cooperation for Vaccine Research and Development through the CEPI or Coalition of Epidemic Preparedness Innovations. As a form of Indonesia's participation in multilateral cooperation to support access to equal, affordable, safe, and effective vaccines, the Government of Indonesia is actively participating in the CEPI (Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovation).

Indonesia's active participation in CEPI is reflected in the following activities:²⁵

a) The Foreign Minister's visit to London on October 13, 2020, the CEO of CEPI has conveyed the results of Bio Farma Due Diligence as Drug Product manufacturers for the COVID-19 vaccines, which are declared good. This strengthens national health security, particularly the capacity of the Indonesian health system and industry in responding to future pandemics.

b) On November 24, 2020, a Bilateral Contribution Agreement was signed by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the CEO of CEPI for a contribution of USD 1 million. With this, Indonesia will become part of the Investors Council in November 2020-December 2021. Indonesia's participation in CEPI will be beneficial to R&D in anticipation of Emerging Infectious diseases beyond COVID-19.

c) On November 30, 2020, the Deputy Indonesian Government at IC CEPI, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attended the Investors Council Meeting, which was attended by Investor Councils from the state, private sector, and other philanthropists who discussed the CEPI 2022-2026 strategy and engagement of Low Middle-Income Countries LMIC).

d) Indonesia is also in the process of exploring opportunities for cooperation between CEPI and Bio Farma.

In this context of bilateral cooperation, it is noted that several necessary actions have been taken in Indonesia's global health diplomacy. Throughout 2020, Indonesia is currently drafting a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the health sector, particularly regarding the exchange of data and information regarding regulations and best practices for the COVID-19 vaccine as follows:²⁶

²⁵ Interview with Darmansyah Djumala, March 15, 2021.

²⁶ Interview with Siti Nadia Tarmizi April 20, 2021 and Darmansyah Djumala March 15, 2021.

- a) Since September 2020, Indonesia is exploring collaborative research on developing the SARS-CoV-2 vaccine and capacity building between PT Bio Farma and the French Pasteur Institute.
- b) In October 2020, a Letter of Intent (LoI) was signed regarding the Initiation of Facilitation for Vaccine Procurement Discussions between the Ministry of Health and AstraZeneca (AZ) / Oxford.
- c) In December 2020, signed a contract to purchase 50 million doses of AstraZeneca / Oxford vaccine, with an option to add 50 million doses. AZ will start delivering 150,000 doses in April 2020, and gradually until December 2021, it will reach 11.9 million doses.
- d) At the bilateral meeting between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Indonesian Ministry of Health and Russia on June 5, 2020, it was agreed to cooperate in exchanging information and experiences in handling the COVID-19 pandemic, developing the COVID-19 vaccine, and an early detection system for infectious diseases. A small team was also formed to finalize the draft MoU on Health and the Joint Plan of Action and determine the target date for completing the draft MoU.
- e) On October 15, 2020, an MoU was signed between the Russian Direct Investment Fund (RDIF) with PT Pratapa Nirmala (Fahrenheit) and PT Magenta Citra Energy to promote the Sputnik V vaccine in Indonesia. RDIF is currently exploring cooperation with Sanbe Farma, Bunda Farma, and TempoScan Pacific.
- f) Indonesia, through the Ministry of Research and Technology / Indonesian National Agency for Research and Technology, also has cooperation in the development and production of the COVID-19 vaccine and other collaborations related to handling COVID-19 with the Turkish Ministry of Technology and Industry. As a follow-up to the two ministers' meeting, on October 19, a technical session on the development of the COVID 19 vaccine was held. Forms of cooperation that will be explored include co-creation, co-production, and exchange of visits by researchers from the two countries.

The vaccinations program in 2021 showed that Indonesia had gained access to acquire vaccines. This indicates that Indonesia is rather faster to obtain vaccines compared to several neighboring countries in Southeast Asia. Diplomacy to have access to vaccines through purchasing and cooperation in manufacturing and transfer of technology is one sign that Indonesia can procure this rare and expensive product in the era of COVID-19.

Indonesian Finance Minister Sri Mulyani, at the end of 2020, stated that Indonesia had spent a budget of IDR 637.3 billion on buying the initial stage of the coronavirus (COVID-19) vaccine. The budget will be used for vaccines produced by Sinovac and also Cansino.

Some of them entered Indonesia on December 6, 2020, from Sinovac, totaling 1.2 million vaccine doses. Sri Mulyani said that in 2020 the Ministry of Health had spent 637.3 billion rupiahs for the procurement of vaccines, namely for the 3 million dose vaccines from Sinovac and 100,000 from Cansino. A total of 1.8 million Sinovac vaccines arrived in January 2021. Vaccine procurement is said would continue until 2021 and 2022.

The Indonesian Government stated that in 2020 the vaccination budget was provided for 35.1 trillion rupiahs. Meanwhile, in 2021 the budget prepared for handling COVID-19 and vaccinations is 60.5 trillion rupiahs. The addition of 18 trillion rupiahs is in anticipation of the procurement of the COVID vaccine and 3.7 trillion rupiahs in anticipation of the immunization or vaccination program.

In addition, the budget will also be used to purchase facilities and infrastructure amounting to 1.3 trillion rupiahs. Of this figure, 1.2 trillion rupiahs were carried out by the Ministry of Health and 100 billion rupiahs by the Food and Drug Supervisory Agency (BPOM). Indonesia acquired COVID-19 vaccines from several countries, such as China, United Kingdom, Germany, India, and the USA.

Health Minister Budi Sadikin said that the supply of vaccines in Indonesia by June 2021 is estimated to have only reached 80 to 90 million doses. The amount is

about 24 percent of the total needs. A total of 363 million vaccinations are for 181.5 million people.

From the explanation above on Indonesian diplomacy to develop cooperation and obtaining necessary health support, it is understood that the program involves several domestic private and state institutions. Global health diplomacy required domestic health infrastructure, which is to some extent not fully available. For example, Indonesia needs health institutions to develop and distribute to the large population for the vaccination program. The domestic support to accelerate what is achieved from health diplomacy is not in a position soon to be applied.

Diplomacy on non-Health Issues

From the study above, it appears that Indonesia's global health diplomacy did not only focus on providing personal protective equipment, masks, and procurement of vaccines, also because of the character of the Indonesian Government of Joko Widodo's foreign policy which emphasizes the protection of Indonesian citizens. Hence, citizens are also the focus of attention.

Djumala (2021) explained that the protection of Indonesian citizens continues to be one of the foreign policy priorities and becomes increasingly important during the pandemic. Protection intensification was carried out during the pandemic, which began with the evacuation of Indonesian citizens from Wuhan, China. In addition to evacuation, protection is also carried out by providing repatriation facilitation, distribution of necessities for Indonesian citizens in several areas that are in need, and security for Indonesian citizens exposed to COVID-19 overseas.

Efforts to protect Indonesian citizens are carried out in the field and up to the establishment of norm settings at the global level. On the initiative of Indonesia and supported by 71 UN member countries, on December 1, 2020, the UN General Assembly (SMU), by consensus, passed a resolution regarding the protection of crew members or seafarers during the pandemic.

According to data released from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in October 2020, more than 150 thousand Indonesian citizens have been sent home. In detail, 306

people were repatriated from Wuhan and Diamond Princess in Yokohama, Japan. Indonesia sends home 157.758 people from 62 countries. In addition, Jakarta helps Indonesian citizens overseas with a 531,525 aid package.

Indonesia's budget in allocating for the COVID-19 pandemic is enormous.²⁷ The Government has issued a budget for the procurement of the COVID-19 vaccine amounting to 34.23 trillion rupiahs. In addition to vaccines and supporting equipment for health workers, the COVID-19 vaccine budget is included in the health cluster in the National Economic Recovery (PEN) program. The Government had previously reallocated the PEN budget so that the health budget increased to Rp. 97.26 trillion from Rp. 87.55 trillion. The health budget consists of Rp. 45.23 trillion for handling COVID-19, Rp.6.63 trillion for health workers, Rp. 60 billion for health workers' death benefits, Rp. 4.11 trillion for JKN contributions, and Rp.3 trillion for the COVID-19 task force budget Rp. 5 trillion.

In addition, there is still the provision of tax incentives in the health sector of Rp. 3.49 trillion, reserves for health care and COVID-19 vaccines of Rp. 5 trillion, and reserves for the vaccination program and Social Protection 2021 Rp. 29.23 trillion. The Government has allocated a budget for the procurement of the COVID-19 vaccine amounting to IDR 34.23 trillion.

Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani stated that the Government had prepared a budget of Rp. 60.5 trillion for the procurement and distribution of the corona or COVID-19 vaccine in Indonesia. This budget is a continuation of the procurement of 1.2 million doses of vaccines that have just entered Indonesia on December 6, 2020.²⁸

Sri Mulyani explained the plan to use the fund allocation. First, worth IDR 18 trillion for the procurement of the next phase of the corona vaccine. Second, the

²⁷ Sri Mulyani Siapkan Anggaran Vaksin COVID-19 Rp 34,23 Triliun.<https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/4406670/sri-mulyani-siapkan-anggaran-vaksin-COVID-19-rp-3423-triliun>. Date November 12, 2020. Accessed March 13, 2021.

²⁸ Melihat Kantong Negara untuk Suntik Vaksin Gratis ke Warga RI.<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20201215174025-532-582517/melihat-kantong-negara-untuk-suntik-vaksin-gratis-ke-warga-ri>. Date December 15, 2020. Accessed March 15, 2021.

anticipated immunization and vaccination program reached IDR 3.7 trillion. Third, the procurement of vaccine laboratory facilities and infrastructure reached IDR 1.3 trillion. Fourth, funds for research and development as well as PCR tests conducted by the Ministry of Health Rp1.2 trillion. Fifth, for the evaluation of the Food and Drug Supervisory Agency (BPOM) Rp. 100 billion.

Indonesian Central Bank explains that 2021 funds have been prepared from the remaining purchase of securities.²⁹ The Government again offers bonds in Retail Government Bonds (ORI) series ORI-019 to the public. The proceeds from the sale of these bonds will meet the 2021 State Budget (APBN) financing target.

In addition, cooperation for Indonesia's recovery due to the COVID-19 pandemic was taken in the form of bilateral cooperation. For instance, Indonesia was collaborating with Australia in dealing with the impact of COVID-19. The Australia-Indonesia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership has elevated bilateral relationships and sets an ambitious plan for deeper and broader cooperation across all facets of our partnership. Indonesia faces a major challenge from COVID-19, made more difficult by the size and density of its population and the archipelago itself. Health and economic impacts continue to unfold and threaten Indonesia's hard-won economic and human development gains. In this situation, Australia is supporting Indonesia to maximize its efforts to tackle COVID-19 through policy and technical advice on the health response, the expansion of social safety net programs, and economic stimulus and recovery strategies.

Indonesia also carried out diplomacy to get international assistance. Indonesia has received help in dealing with health security aspects from several countries. For example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, witnessed the symbolic handover of 100 ventilator units from the United States (US) Government to the Indonesian Government to handle COVID-19 in Indonesia, which took place at the

²⁹ BI: Sisa dana pembelian SBN Rp39 triliun untuk beli vaksin COVID 2021. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1900700/bi-sisa-dana-pembelian-sbn-rp39-triliun-untuk-beli-vaksin-COVID-2021>. Date December 17, 2020. Accessed March 13, 2021.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs on July 28, 2020. ³⁰ This assistance realizes President Donald Trump's commitment to President Joko Widodo during a telephone conversation on April 24, 2020. The ventilator produced by Vyair Medical is the first shipment of USD 1.5 million, which was channeled through USAID, out of a total of 1000 units.

In May, Indonesia announced a commitment to international aid totaling US \$ 100 million. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that Indonesia had received nearly US \$ 100 million in assistance as of May 26, 2020, from abroad to deal with COVID-19. Acting Spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Teuku Faizasyah said that from such a large amount of funds, 30% or around the US \$ 30 million had been realized. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that as of May 26, 2020, there were 113 international supports, consisting of 11 government assistance, 12 international organizations, and 90 non-international entities. With a total value of nearly US \$ 100 million, about US \$ 30 million was materialized.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi also expressed his appreciation for Canada's assistance which provided assistance of up to the US \$ 850,000 to deal with COVID-19. This assistance was channeled through the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) and UNICEF. Help from friendly countries also continues to arrive, such as South Korea, the United Arab Emirates, Singapore, Australia, the United States, and others. Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi said there was cooperation in joint products, especially ventilators, between PT INKA (Persero) and the Canadian side.

Meanwhile, on May 11, 2020, Indonesia also received an injection of US \$ 2 million from the UN COVID-19 response fund or the UN COVID-19 Response and Recovery Fund. This is as reported by the United Nations Development Group. This assistance was delivered within the framework of the Protecting People: Supporting

³⁰ Kerja Sama RI-Amerika Serikat Tangani Pandemi COVID-19 di Indonesia. <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/1521/berita/kerja-sama-ri-amerika-serikat-tangani-pandemi-COVID-19-di-indonesia>. Accessed March, 11 2021

the Government of Indonesia and Key Stakeholders to Scale-Up Inclusive Social Protection Programs in Response to COVID-19.³¹

Since April, Indonesia has reportedly received 58 state and non-state aid. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi said the support came from various international elements. He detailed, nine government assistance, 42 non-government assistance, and seven came from international organizations or other institutions. The governments assisting Indonesia are China, Japan, the United States, Singapore, Vietnam, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Arab Emirates. Meanwhile, international organizations consist of WHO, ABD, IAEA, UNDP, IOM, Global Fund, and UNICEF.³²

A total of 42 non-governmental assistance came from the private sector and non-governmental organizations from nine countries. They consist of China, Singapore, South Korea, Vietnam, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, and Sweden. The most widely received aid at this time is masks, rapid test kits, and PEA or PPE.

These international supports for Indonesia show that diplomacy during the COVID-19 pandemic gave benefits, including non-health issues. Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that Indonesia was also active in international forums in discussing the need to fight COVID-19. In April, Foreign Minister participated in the International Coordination Group (ICG) with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, South Africa, Singapore, Morocco, France, Canada, Australia, Germany, Brazil, Peru, and the UK.

In evaluating Indonesian global health diplomacy, I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana (2021) stated that Indonesia does not have An Indonesian foreign policy in the face of

³¹ Indonesia Terima Bantuan Internasional US\$100 Juta untuk Tangani COVID-19. <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20200528/15/1245636/indonesia-terima-bantuan-internasional-us100-juta-untuk-tangani-COVID-19>. Accessed March 12, 021.

³² Ada 58 Bantuan Internasional Masuk ke Indonesia buat Tangani Wabah Corona, Cukup Membantu?. <https://www.wartaekonomi.co.id/read280480/ada-58-bantuan-internasional-masuk-ke-indonesia-buat-tangani-wabah-corona-cukup-membantu>. Dated April9, 2020. Accessed March 13, 2021.

Covid-19. There should be three aspects in the discussion about a policy: ideas (what idea), resources (how to mobilize resources), and traditional policy concepts.³³

For example, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not throw a different idea from the aspect of ideas. Indonesia is said to have no general view. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi is bureaucratically skilled but underperforming in the context of producing spectacular ideas or instead of creating an exciting discourse to discuss except simply "confirming what the President wants, carrying out what the Palace wants, and so on."

Second, from the resource aspect. "We also look at what resources the Ministry of Foreign Affairs deployed during the pandemic. In fact, in February 2020, when the pandemic has spread, and the situation of Indonesia is beginning to be threatened, the pro-active attitude of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs continues to use conventional resources," said I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana. For example, through the second statement, flying Indonesian citizens (WNI) from Wuhan or doing things that were the traditional domain of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the mobilization of Indonesian resources is also still in the order of not yet called breakthrough. In short, the resource and mobilization of Indonesian resources are mediocre.

Finally, when the pandemic became a real and actual threat to various parts of Indonesia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs becomes a secondary actor. The primary actor is the task force handling the pandemic under Lt. Gen. Doni Monardo. Indonesia's foreign policy is only subordinate, and other ministries have a more vital role to play. Wicaksana said that Indonesia's foreign policy in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic is not satisfactory.

Conclusion

³³ Interview with I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana, March 8, 2021.

At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia was entirely unprepared for global health diplomacy because it was a new, altogether international affair. Therefore, criticism of Indonesia at the beginning of the pandemic did not have a comprehensive policy, including for foreign affairs. However, after a year of the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia began to understand what was needed from the international community. Based on research on how Indonesia's global health diplomacy in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic, several conclusions could be drawn as follows:

Firstly, Indonesia engaged in global mobilization to deal with the pandemic with the slogan "health for all." In the spirit of helping the world during the pandemic, particularly in low and middle-income countries, Indonesia was involved in the decision-making process in dealing with global health problems caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Indonesia retains a position in an international forum in Who-related forums such as COVAC Facilities; therefore, The Government could provide access to health protection for all countries.

Secondly, Indonesia has carried out global health diplomacy to find medical equipment and vaccine candidates for Indonesia. Indonesia engaged in multilateral and bilateral diplomacy for searching vaccines and health products. In addition, Indonesia evacuated more than 150 thousand people during the early COVID-19 pandemic

Thirdly, Indonesian global health diplomacy also tried to get foreign assistance to address non-health problems such as social and economic issues. Various aid has been received by Indonesia, both in health products and cooperation assistance in handling socio-economic issues.

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