

An Analysis of Indonesia's Free and Active COVID-19 Vaccine Diplomacy

Raden Mas Try Ananto Djoko Wicaksono

School of Government and Public Policy (SGPP), Bogor, Indonesia
tryananto.wicaksono@gmail.com

Fajar Bambang Hirawan

School of Government and Public Policy (SGPP), Bogor, Indonesia

Safendri Komara Ragamustari

School of Government and Public Policy (SGPP), Bogor, Indonesia

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Abstrak

Di tengah serbuan vaksin global, Indonesia harus bersaing dengan negara lain untuk mendapatkan vaksin guna melindungi masyarakatnya dari infeksi COVID-19. Demi keberlangsungannya, diplomasi vaksin Indonesia memandang perlu untuk tetap netral secara strategis agar Indonesia tidak menjadi salah satu sisi kekuatan global. Pertanyaan dalam penelitian ini adalah bagaimana upaya Indonesia dalam pengadaan vaksin COVID-19 dengan tetap menjaga politik luar negeri 'Bebas Aktif' di bilateral, regional dan multilateral dan mengapa politik luar negeri 'Bebas Aktif' menjadi penting bagi Indonesia dalam melakukan diplomasi vaksin. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji upaya Indonesia dalam pengadaan vaksin COVID-19 dengan tetap menjaga prinsip bebas aktif dan menganalisis pentingnya diplomasi vaksin bebas aktif untuk menjamin kemerdekaan negara. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dalam desain penelitian dengan teknik pengumpulan data dari primer (laporan resmi dan catatan pemerintah) dan data sekunder (buku, jurnal, dan media online). Riset menunjukkan upaya Indonesia untuk pengadaan vaksin COVID-19 melalui tiga cara, yaitu bilateral (Australia, China, Rusia, Inggris, dan AS), regional (ASEAN dan IORA), dan multilateral (PBB dan Covax-AMC). EG) dengan enam jenis vaksin yang sudah aman di Indonesia. China siap mendukung Indonesia untuk menjadi pusat manufaktur vaksin untuk Asia Tenggara. Dalam hal ini, pandemi mungkin akan memfasilitasi hubungan yang lebih dekat antara Jakarta dengan Beijing. Dengan demikian, politik luar negeri bebas aktif menjadi penting bagi Indonesia dalam diplomasi vaksin karena menyeimbangkan kepentingan nasional.

Kata kunci: Vaksin COVID-19, Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Prinsip Bebas Aktif, Hubungan Internasional, Diplomasi Vaksin.

Abstract

Amid a global rush for vaccines, Indonesia has had to compete with other countries to secure vaccines to protect its people from the infection of COVID-19. For its survival, Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy deemed it necessary to remain strategically neutral to prevent Indonesia from being one side of global power. The question in this research is how Indonesia's effort to procure COVID-19 vaccine while maintaining 'Free and Active' foreign policy in bilateral, regional and multilateral and why 'Free and Active' foreign policy became important for Indonesia in conducting vaccine diplomacy. The study's aims to examine Indonesia's effort to procure COVID-19 vaccine while maintaining free and active principles and analyze the importance of free and active vaccine diplomacy to ensure the country's independence. This study uses qualitative study methods in research design with data collection techniques from primary (official reports and government records) and secondary data (books, journals, and online media). The research shows Indonesia's effort to procure the COVID-19 vaccine in three ways, namely bilateral (Australia, China, Russia, UK, and the US), regional (ASEAN and IORA), and multilateral (UN and Covax-AMC EG) cooperation with six types of vaccines has secure in Indonesia. China readily supported Indonesia in turning into a vaccine manufacturing hub for Southeast Asia. In this regard, the pandemic would possibly, facilitate Jakarta's nearer ties with Beijing. Thus, free and active foreign policy becomes important for Indonesia in vaccine diplomacy because it balances the national interest.

Keywords: COVID-19 Vaccine, Foreign Policy, Free and Active Principle, International Relations, Vaccine Diplomacy.

INTRODUCTION

The mission of a country's foreign policy should be in line with its national interest to achieve its common goals. Indonesia's main foreign policy priorities in 2021 are determined to strengthen national health security, in line with the World Health Organization's suggestion to all federal governments to promote the production of the

vaccine COVID-19 (Kokoroko, 2020; Weerth, 2020). During the annual press statement, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi stated that the pandemic had forced several changes in Indonesia's diplomatic direction to strengthen national health security and support economic recovery (MoFA Indonesia, 2021a). Thus, Indonesian President Jokowi formed a national team for speeding up the development of the COVID-19 vaccine as a response to the immense spread of the virus as there have been 2,345,018 confirmed cases of COVID-19 with 61,868 deaths, reported to WHO as of 6 July 2021 (Anggoro, 2020; Oktavianti, 2020), making the country having the second-highest mortality rate across Southeast Asia (CSIS, 2021). This number continues to grow in this series of COVID-19 waves. Indonesia's strategy is to vaccinate two-thirds of its population of around 270 million people, or just over 180 million people, which means it needs approximately 427 million vaccines as an estimated 15% can be wasted (Tarigan & Milko, 2021a).

As of June 8, just 18.26 million Indonesians had received at least one dose of the COVID-19 vaccine, a number equivalent to just 6.68 percent of its population (Strangio, 2021). To secure the vaccine, Indonesia has had to compete with other countries to prevent the infection of COVID-19 amid a global rush for limited vaccines. But, Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy deemed it necessary to remain strategically neutral to prevent Indonesia from being one side of the global power. This begs the question of why 'Free and Active' foreign policy became important for Indonesia in conducting vaccine diplomacy. This analysis aims to examine the importance of Indonesia's free and active vaccine diplomacy at all levels of engagement, namely bilateral, regional, and multilateral.

LITERATURE REVIEW

VACCINE DIPLOMACY

Vaccine diplomacy is defined as global health relations that rely on vaccines' use or delivery. The first vaccines diplomacy was in 1801, when the White House physician, Edward Gantt, vaccinated Native American diplomats against smallpox on their visit to Washington, DC. (Hotez, 2014). The aims of vaccine diplomacy are to

reverse the negative perceptions, bolster the diplomatic engagement with the other countries in order to attract the friend in the region (Wee, 2020). David Sanger, the chief Washington correspondent for The New York Times, argues that coronavirus has re-ordered the competition for global power, and the country that wins the race for the vaccine and the treatment of COVID-19 will become a new kind of power able to spread that vaccine around the world (Olander, 2020). Apparently, China moves ahead than U.S. itself. China, along with Russia, have aggressively marketed their candidate vaccines to low-income and middle-income countries, resulting in the signing of advanced purchase agreements with several countries (Baumgaertner & McDonnell, 2020; Kantchev, 2020). In China, seemingly controlled pandemic situation (Chen et al., 2020; Liu et al., 2020) and allows Beijing to play vaccine diplomacy to repair or strengthen ties with its Asian neighbours (Tan & Maulia, 2020; Tanjangco et al., 2020) and other developing countries including Africa (Nyabiage, 2020) and South America (Sreeganga & Ramaprasad, 2020), offering vaccines as a global public good with a fair and reasonable price. In contrast, the U.S. owing to the "America First" policy (da Vinha, 2018; Murtala, 2018) and Washington's Operation Warp Speed (OWS) (Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (ASPA), 2020; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Washington, 2020) that primarily aims to meet local demands.

With the rate of COVID-19 infection increasing, some countries have no choices to use Chinese vaccines to create herd immunity and economic recovery soon. For instance, Seychelles, Mongolia, Chile, and Bahrain have depended on China's vaccine, with at least one dose of the vaccine raging around 58.7% for Mongolia to almost 72% for Seychelles (Hindustan Times, 2021). While Indonesia and China have signed an agreement where Indonesia's state-owned vaccine producer, PT Bio Farma, is provided approval to produce 50 million-plus doses of Chinese vaccine, known as Sinovac (The New York Times, 2020), Beijing might use approaches in its vaccine diplomacy within the long-term to accrue high-interest diplomatic debt fields (Business Insider, 2020). Beijing noticed its vaccine diplomacy as an

opportunity to emerge from the pandemic as a greater influential international power. China's leader, Xi Jinping, pledged to supply a Chinese shot that might be without difficulty saved and transported to hundreds of thousands of human beings across the world. He referred to it as a "global public good" (Wee, 2021). From that circumstances would additionally undermine Indonesia's diplomatic independence from Chinese influence (MoFA Indonesia, 2018).

INDONESIA'S FREE AND ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

Indonesia's Free and active principle has been introduced since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Muzakki, 2017). These principles are the basis of Indonesia's foreign policy, which is Free and active. Indonesia's Free principle because Indonesia is not on the side of the world powers. This would be fundamentally incompatible with the philosophy and national identity of the country as implied in Pancasila. An active foreign policy means does not take a passive or reactive position in international affairs, but seeks to actively participate in solving them. In other words, Indonesia's Free and active policy is not neutral, it does not bring Indonesia together with the superpowers and does not tie the country to a military pact, but is essentially a policy that serves the national interest while allowing Indonesia to work with other nations to abolish colonialism and imperialism in all its forms and demonstrations for world peace and social justice. It is explains why Indonesia was among the members of non-aligned movement (MoFA Indonesia, 2018).

The main objectives of Indonesia's free and active principle to reflects its national aspirations towards the rest of the world. It is part of the country's geopolitical strategy. The main objectives of Indonesia's foreign policy are: to support national development with priority over economic development, as set out in the five-year development plans; to maintain internal and regional stability conducive to national development; protect the territorial integrity of Indonesia and protect the place of residence of the people. To achieve the above objectives, Resolution No. II / MPR / 1993 of the People's

Consultative Assembly describes Indonesia's external relations as follows: External relations are conducted based on an active and national interest policy, in particular, to support national development in all areas of life and to create a world order based on Freedom, lasting peace and social justice, friendly relations and cooperation through various multilateral and regional organizations according to national interests and potential (MoFA Indonesia, 2018).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study applied a qualitative approach. The researchers interpret what they see, hear, and understand without sacrificing background, history, context, and previous understanding (J. W. Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The data collection technique is gathering data in the form of words and letters taken from documents and transcripts of the government report, official website, and research publications (Anderson, 2010; Bowen, 2009; Wong, 2008). This study uses data collection techniques primary and secondary data. The process of data processing and analysis involves reviewing and interpreting the data collected, organizing and categorizing these data, and examining their relationship with variables from predetermined theories (J. Creswell, 2009). It used an analytical technique consisting of the framework introduced by Miles and Huberman (1994) which described the stages of the qualitative data analysis process consist of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions and verification (Berkowitz, 1997).

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

INDONESIA EFFORTS TO PROCURE VACCINE

At the beginning of March 2020, Maa'ruf Amin, Indonesia's Vice-President, confirmed the Government's interest in vaccine development and getting engaged with several related ministries (The Jakarta Post, 2020).

These regulations are expected to give legal certainty about the existence of the COVID-19 vaccines and the COVID-19 vaccination program, which is a progressive step and requires special arrangements to make it into a reality based on the availability and needs to be required. President Jokowi has stated the focus of Indonesia's

Table 1. Indonesia's regulation related with the COVID-19 Vaccine

Date	Issuing Actor	Regulation
3 September 2020	President	Presidential Decree No.18/2020 regarding the National Team for the Acceleration of the Development of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Vaccine
5 October 2020	President	Presidential Decree No. 99/2020 on vaccine procurement and vaccination to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic
1 November 2020	Minister of Finance	Minister of Finance Regulation No. 188/PMK.04/2020 on customs and excise facilities for the import of vaccines for the purpose of mitigating COVID-19
3 December 2020	Minister of Health	Minister of Health Regulation No. HK. 01/07/MENKES/9860/2020 on the determination of the type of vaccine for the implementation of the corona virus disease (COVID-19) vaccination

Note. Data Adapted from MoH, NITAG, UNICEF and WHO (2020); Setkab (2020); WTO (2020); AKSET (2020).

pandemic policy to the COVID-19 vaccination. Scarcity in supply coupled with the large volumes of pre-orders made by welfare countries creates challenges to achieving timely, universal access. Billions of individuals worldwide might not have access to COVID-19 vaccines in 2021 due to limited access to vaccines, which could prolong the pandemic and raise the risk of further mutations of the virus emerging, possibly undermining the efficacy of existing vaccines (Wouters et al., 2021). Thus, there are several efforts from Indonesia's government to procure, and supply does of the COVID-19 vaccines in Indonesia.

Indonesia's Approach in Bilateral Level

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi has visited many countries such as China, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland to ensure the availability of vaccines for the Indonesian people (Chinese Embassy, 2021; Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, 2020; Jakarta Post, 2020). The pandemic has left the globe with no selection, however, to figure together, and this includes making sure that each country enjoys equitable vaccine access. By empowering the Indonesian Embassies,

Indonesia has joined the Advanced Market Commitment group, which means that Indonesia will receive 20 percent of the population provided by WHO to vaccines (Global Affairs Canada, 2021).

Indonesia also has successfully obtained vaccines for Sinovac (China), AstraZeneca (UK), and Pfizer (US), with shipments of between 7.5 million to 12 million doses per month starting from August 2021 (Reuters, 2021; Widiyanto, 2021, 2021b). As the first Southeast Asian country who join the WHO Solidarity Trial for developing COVID-19 vaccines, with twenty-two hospitals participating (WHO, 2020), Indonesia maintained its independence on contested issues between China and the U.S. It seems that whoever could launch COVID-19 vaccines on a mass scale could reinvigorate the economy and become the world's dominant power (Lo, 2020). Thus, Indonesia has been careful not to depend on one country during the pandemic.

Indonesia – People’s Republic of China Vaccine Cooperation

Indonesia and China have agreed to strengthen bilateral ties, with the COVID-19 response identified as the first and foremost issue to address together. On April 20, 2021, President Xi Jinping had a phone conversation with Indonesian President Joko Widodo. As China-Indonesia diplomatic relationship embarking a journey of another 70 years, China welcomes Indonesia to seize China's opportunity to foster a new development paradigm and advance the pragmatic cooperation between the two countries in various fields. During the phone conversation, Xi Jinping stressed that both China and Indonesia attach great importance to the people's life safety and health. Thus, China commitment to continue vaccine cooperation with Indonesia to help Indonesia build a regional vaccine production center (MoFA China, 2021).

Sinopharm and CanSino Biologics (Dongora, 2021). Based on the timing and the vaccine’s purchase volume (see Table 4.5 below), Indonesia’s vaccination program has been dominated by the Sinovac Biotech Ltd. vaccine (Tarigan & Milko, 2021b).

This portrays the country as being heavily reliant on China in coping with the pandemic, making Indonesia interdependent with China (Ruehl, 2021). However, from the perspective of the Indonesian government, procuring vaccines from China is merely a short-term strategy to curb the pandemic. In the long run, as the Minister of Research and Technology, Bambang Brodjonegoro, said, Indonesia still has to have the capability of developing a vaccine domestically (Tempo, 2021). In addition, it should also be noted that the government has ensured the availability and securing the vaccines in Indonesia. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi met with China's Foreign Minister Wangyi and saw the

Table 2. The Arrival of Sinovac COVID-19 Vaccines in Indonesia (as of March 2021)

Stages	Date	Number of Doses (in Million)
I	6 December 2020	1.2
II	31 December 2020	1.8
III	12 January 2021	15.0
IV	2 February 2021	10.0
V	2 March 2021	10.0

Note. Data Adapted from Pinandhita (2021)

Since the pandemic outbreak, the two countries have helped each other overcome difficulties and actively carried out vaccine procurement cooperation. Chinese vaccine developers were the first to give favorable responses for establishing vaccine procurement and joint production with Indonesia. Collaboration between a Chinese firm, Sinovac Biotech Ltd., and an Indonesian state-owned company, PT Bio Farma, has made substantial progress. The only deal between the Indonesian government and foreign vaccine manufacturers has gone beyond vaccine procurement. The Indonesian government had been considering two potential Chinese developers for COVID-19 vaccines:

company pharmacies, namely Sinovac, Sinopharm, and CanSino. The two parties also agreed on an essential business travel corridor arrangement for business people and business trips safely. During the meeting, there was the signing of 2 cooperation agreements between Bio Farma and Sinovac to supply 40 million doses of vaccine for Indonesia from November 2020 to March 2021, and the priority of providing vaccines by Sinovac for Bio Farma for the period April - December 2021.

Indonesia – Russian Federation Vaccine Cooperation

In 2021, Indonesia and Russia commemorated the 71st anniversary of diplomatic relations. On April 30,

2020, President Joko Widodo and President Vladimir Putin agreed on COVID-19 prevention in a telephone line. The Government of the Russian Federation offered the Government of Indonesia cooperation on the Sputnik V coronavirus vaccine. The Sputnik V vaccine is a vaccine developed by the Gamaleya Research Institute (MoFA Russia, 2020). Russian President Vladimir Putin claims that the vaccine found has a 95% effectiveness rate and is safe in its use (MoFA Russia, 2020). On March 24, 2021, Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Georgievna Vorobiev, visited Indonesia's House of Representatives to re-establish communication hampered by the pandemic. During the visit, the Chair of the Indonesia-Russia Parliamentary Friendship Group (GKSB), Adies Kadir, stated that strengthening bilateral relations with Russia is crucial in the framework of pandemic mitigation and the COVID-19 vaccine cooperation. At the time, the Ambassador said that the vaccine was in the process of obtaining permission from the Indonesian Food and Drug Administration (BPOM) (Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2021).

Following the previous agenda, Indonesia and Russia further discussion for the process of finalizing a memorandum of understanding (MoU) for the joint production of the COVID-19 vaccine on July 6, 2021 (Antara News, 2021). Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov expressed his country's readiness to strengthen cooperation with Indonesia in supplying vaccines and relocating a Russian plant to produce vaccines in Indonesia (MoFA Russia, 2021). Both Russia and Indonesia were basically in the same stance that vaccines must be accessible for the entire international community. According to Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, Russian officials confirmed to closely cooperate with Indonesia on a bilateral basis, including the possibility of supplying vaccines and producing them on Indonesian soil (Tass, 2021).

Indonesia – United Kingdom Vaccine Cooperation

The 70th year of Indonesia and the UK's diplomatic relationship on June 18, 2019. At that time, British Foreign Minister Jeremy Hunt commitment to improving its relationship with Indonesia, including that

in the economic sector after the Brexit (MoFA Indonesia, 2019). During the COVID-19 Pandemic, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi and State-Owned Enterprises Minister Erick Thohir led a state delegation on a two-day trip to London on October 10, 2020. The main objective of this visit is to secure commitments from other sources for a COVID-19 vaccine under a bilateral vaccine cooperation framework. Retno and Erick went on a similar work trip to China and the United Arab Emirates in August 2020. They secured a supply of a potential COVID-19 vaccine in the ballpark of 300 million doses (Permana & Widadio, 2020; Septiari, 2020a).

Retno confirmed that Indonesia had secured a commitment of 100 million doses of COVID-19 vaccines from United Kingdom-based pharmaceuticals company AstraZeneca for 2021 by signing a Letter of Intent (LOI) with the Indonesian Health Ministry on the procurement of COVID-19 vaccine (Septiari, 2020b). Moreover, Indonesia and the United Kingdom have agreed to increase cooperation in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic and eradicate terrorism at the 3rd Indonesia – the U.K. Partnership Forum meeting held at the Pancasila Building, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on April 7, 2021. An MoU on the COVID-19 vaccine was also signed between Indonesia and the UK commitment to conduct research and collaboration in vaccine production. Moreover, British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab expressed appreciation to Minister Retno's active role in encouraging equal access to vaccines as co-chair of the COVAX AMC Engagement Group. He also emphasized Britain's commitment to be a trusted partner for Indonesia (MoFA Indonesia, 2021c).

Indonesia – the United States Vaccine Cooperation

Since the beginning of the pandemic, 100 ventilators from the Government of the US to the Government of Indonesia for the handling of COVID-19 in Indonesia, which was the realization of the commitment of President Donald Trump to President Joko Widodo in a telephone conversation on 24 April 2020 (MoFA Indonesia, 2020h). President Jokowi special envoy, Luhut, and Indonesian Ambassador to the US Muhammad Lutfi were met with US President Donald

Trump at the White House on November 18, 2020. The U.S. has offered to cooperate with Indonesia in vaccine production (Septiari, 2020c). To achieve herd immunity, the Indonesian Government Indonesia received 3 million doses of Moderna COVID-19 vaccine from the United States Government on July 11, 2021. It's due to the international cooperation of the United States Government through the COVAX Facility multilateral channel. This is the first shipment of the Moderna vaccine from the U.S. Government. The U.S. is committed to providing 4,500,160 doses to Indonesia through a dose-sharing scheme (Setkab, 2021b).

With the arrival of the Moderna vaccine on July 11, 2021, Retno said, Indonesia has secured as many as 122,735,260 million doses of vaccine, both in finished form and raw materials (Setkab, 2021b). The shipment to Indonesia is part of the Biden administration's pledge to share an initial batch of 80 million U.S.-made vaccines globally amid concern about the wide disparity in vaccination rates between advanced and developing countries. The U.S. promised 4 million doses. Thus, it remains 1 million doses to be shipped. The U.S. was also moving forward with plans to boost Indonesia's broader COVID-19 response (Shalal, 2021). Indonesia's foreign minister Retno Marsudi says Indonesia wants to engage with as many countries as possible when combating the coronavirus and developing its economy, China, and the U.S. because it was the essence of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy (Allard, 2020).

Indonesia's Approach in Multilateral: Cooperation at Regional Level

Indonesia – Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Due to the impacts of COVID-19, ASEAN as a regional body has a potentially vital role in coordinating the responses of member states to contain the spread of the virus as a transboundary problem that individual states cannot resolve. However, as a collective issue, ASEAN-level responses have thus far been limited to communication exchanges and information-sharing among member states on infection statistics and response updates. Although individual countries have taken very different approaches to deal with the pandemic, ASEAN officials have tried to coordinate communication exchanges in a series of international online meetings. For example, in February 2020, as one of Indonesia's initiatives to propose establishing the ASEAN-China Ad-Hoc Health Ministers Joint Task Force during the Special Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of ASEAN and People's Republic of China (PRC). The Task Force is expected to focus on virus detection and vaccine (MoFA Indonesia, 2020d). More recently, on April 14, 2020, Indonesian President Jokowi called for leaders to guide the Health Ministers to strengthen research collaboration to create anti-viruses and vaccines during the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) Summit. In anticipation of a pandemic in the future, Indonesia also proposed the establishment of an APT country special task force for a

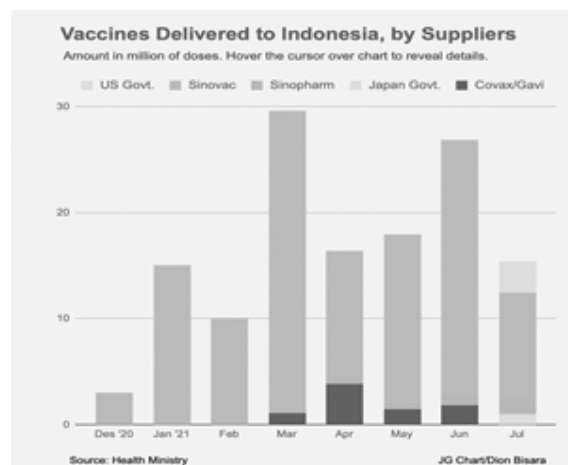


Figure 1. Vaccines Delivered to Indonesia by Suppliers (Bona & Wahyuni, 2021)

pandemic whose task would be to provide comprehensive steps to strengthen the resilience of the APT Region in the face of a future pandemic (MoFA Indonesia, 2020f).

ASEAN continues to develop partnerships with several countries through special meetings in response to the COVID-19. The EU is the leading partner of the dialogue in handling the COVID-19 pandemic. EU and ASEAN convened on 8 December 2020 to exchange best policies and identify further opportunities for collaboration on COVID-19 vaccines. As two leading regional organizations, the EU and ASEAN share a common interest in pursuing a multilateral approach to affordable, fair, and equitable access to safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines. The 23rd ASEAN-EU Ministerial Meeting on 1 December 2020 confirmed this commitment to continue to support vaccine multilateralism. The cooperation on vaccines builds upon extensive assistance to Southeast Asia provided by the EU, most notably the € 800 million "Team Europe" package to mitigate the impact of COVID-19 in ASEAN (ASEAN, 2021). In addition, at the 2nd EU-ASEAN Expert Dialogue on COVID-19 Vaccines, the EU has received over 32 million doses of COVID-19 vaccines for ASEAN through the GAVI COVAX facility by the end of 2021 (European Commission, 2020).

Russian Federation, One of the ASEAN's dialogue partners, cooperated with ASEAN to respond to the COVID-19 through the Special ASEAN-Russia Ministers of Foreign Affairs Meeting on COVID-19 on June 17, 2020. The Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi proposed three major cooperation points. One of the points is cooperation in the development of vaccines and medicines. Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs stressed that the ASEAN-Russian collaboration is required to ensure access and affordable vaccines and medication for all the member countries. Russia had advanced technology at that time, with 9 out of 130 vaccine candidates originating from Russia (MoFA Indonesia, 2020g). ASEAN collaboration with the EU and Russia is more important than ever in ensuring that everyone, everywhere can benefit from these vital tools.

Indonesia – Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)

Amid a global pandemic crisis, Indonesia is also pushing for strengthening regional cooperation of countries in the Indian Ocean Region, which are members of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) beside the ASEAN. The IORA is an organization of countries in the Indian Ocean that focuses on maritime cooperation. Founded in 1997, the IORA currently has 23 members and nine dialogue partner countries (IORA, 2017). On May 25, 2020, the IORA meeting theme "Responses, Cooperation, and Partnership" (IORA, 2020). Indonesia takes imitative to encourage regional cooperation in the Indian Ocean to fight COVID-19 jointly. Historically, Indonesia played an active role in the IORA forum, including as Deputy Chair of IORA in 2013-2014 and Chair of IORA 2015-2017. During this period, Indonesia has succeeded in raising the profile of the IORA through the holding of the First IORA Summit and successfully formulating a vision to strengthen maritime and maritime cooperation included in the 2017 Jakarta Concord (Prasetya & Estriani, 2018; Scott, 2019; Setiyanto, 2017).

IORA can be seen as a new forum strategically aligned to vaccine diplomacy. Following up on the previous meeting, the IORA Ministerial Meeting (IORA Council of Ministers) was held virtually on December 17, 2020. The Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi urged to strengthen cooperation between countries in the Indian Ocean region to face global challenges, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. In this regard, Minister for Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi emphasized three critical areas for strengthening cooperation between IORA member countries and partner countries. One of the vital areas is increasing efforts to overcome the COVID-19 pandemic by promoting equitable access to vaccines for all countries, especially developing and least developed countries (MoFA Indonesia, 2020i).

Indonesia's Approach in Multilateral: Cooperation at Global Level
United Nations & COVAX – World Health Organization

Beyond Southeast Asia, Indonesia maximized multilateral engagements to promote COVID-19 responses at the international level, such as United Nations (UN) (Chan et al., 2008), to providing affordable medicines and vaccines (MoFA Indonesia, 2020a). President Joko Widodo attends the 75th UN General Assembly in September 2020, to emphasize the importance of collaboration and collective global leadership in dealing with the pandemic (MoFA Indonesia, 2020c). Following up on his statement, Indonesia has succeeded in initiating another resolution of the UN General Assembly, namely "Global Health and Foreign Policy: Strengthening Health System Resilience through Affordable Healthcare for All" on 14 December 2020 (United Nations, 2020). Through this resolution, Indonesia highly emphasizes the importance of accessible and affordable health services to strengthen the global health resilience system.

Indonesia involvement in the Covax Advanced Market Commitment Engagement Group (Covax-AMC EG), where Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno LP Marsudi has been elected as co-chairs, led the collaboration. Indonesia has garnered the most votes of 41 percent in the voting conducted by 92 country members of the AMC 92 Economies. It means that Indonesia got trust from the international community, especially developing countries. This also means that

Indonesia's big responsibility is equal access to vaccines for all countries (MoFA Indonesia, 2021b; Setkab, 2021a).

CONCLUSION

Indonesian foreign policy in this level has represent both of actively procure vaccines and free principle by engage in three ways, namely bilateral (Australia, China, Russia, UK, and the US), regional (ASEAN and IORA), and multilateral (UN and Covax-AMC EG) cooperation Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy is definitely to ensure the availability of vaccine needs for the people of Indonesia. Through Presidential Decree No. 18 of 2020 Articles 9 and 10 concerning the National Team for the Acceleration of Handling COVID-19 and Regulation instead of Law No. 1 of 2020, the Minister of Foreign Affairs plays a role COVID-19 Vaccine Development Team. Apart from that, Presidential Regulation No. 99 of 2020 has also mentioned cooperation with international institutions or bodies such as GAVI. This legal basis then becomes the basis for the implementation of Indonesia's free and active diplomacy to accelerate and ensure the procurement of the COVID-19 vaccine in Indonesia.

The free and active foreign policy dictates that Indonesia's direction in international relations needs to be calibrated with the goals set out in the country's constitution. Free means not taking sides with specific forces incompatible with Pancasila as an implementation. While active, it means that Indonesia's foreign policy is involved in realizing world order based on independence,

Table 3. Summary of the COVID-19 Vaccine Sources for Indonesia's Mass Vaccination Programme until 12 July 2021

Vaccine Sources	Bulk	Finished Product	Total
Sinovac	115.500.280	3.000.000	
AstraZeneca	-	9.226.800	
Sinopharm	-	2.000.000	
Moderna	-	3.000.000	
Total Vaccine Arrived	11.500.280	17.226.860	132.727.140
Total Vaccine Completed	93.000.000	17.226.860	110.226.860

Note. Data adapted from Sekretariat Presiden (2021)

eternal peace, and social justice. It is then subtle under the Foreign Relations Law No. 37/1999, reaffirming the free and active principle for countrywide interest. Thus, as a full-fledged sovereign country, Indonesia is obligated to preserve international peace, ensure regional stability, and recognize the sovereignty of other independent states as its core national interests Indonesia's foreign policy has a principle of "free", which is interpreted as to its commitment to determine its attitude to international problems freely and to be free from the poles of world powers. Thus, Indonesia's balance by differentiation its diplomatic engagement on procuring the COVID-19 vaccine. The cooperation also returns to domestic interests, which secure the supply of COVID-19 vaccines. The pandemic has left the world with no choice but to work together, and this includes ensuring that every country enjoys equitable vaccine access.

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