

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nowadays, Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) crisis has become the immediate attention of every nation-state. The crisis has delivered an impact on the health sector and socially and economically. As the health sector crisis that delivers devastating impact worldwide, the COVID-19 crisis has stimulated interdependency among nation-states. The interdependency could be discerned on how the contagious COVID-19, while the health sector ability of countries around the world is imbalanced and stimulates cooperation among states. In this sense, vaccine of COVID-19 is considered as the game-changing tool to elevate the countries' capability to overcome the crisis, and the countries are hunting for access to vaccine (World Health Organization, 2021a; Xie, 2020). As a result, every government is forced to make its utmost effort to acquire access for the vaccine to be distributed in their own country.

Amidst the devastating crisis, not every country has adequate access to the vaccine. On the one hand, vaccine manufacture and distribution are dominated by a few countries with headmost health facilities like the United States of America (U.S.), United Kingdom (U.K), Russia, and China (Guetta-Jeanrenaud, Poitiers, & Veugelers, 2021). On the other hand, the countries without adequate vaccine manufacture and distribution much relied on vaccine access from other countries. Meanwhile, World Health Organization (WHO) has been urging global vaccination efforts to aim for 30 percent of every country's population to be vaccinated by the end of 2021 (World Health Organization, 2021b). As a result, foreign affairs management plays a critical role in facilitating countries in overcoming the need for vaccine distribution to overcome the COVID-19 crisis.

As the effort to acquire access to the vaccine from the international stage, vaccine diplomacy has become the recent phenomenon among states to put their utmost effort to overcome the COVID-19 crisis by foreign affairs management. Diplomacy has been known as the medium for achieving national interest internationally. Meanwhile, vaccine diplomacy could be considered as the effort to maintain foreign affairs with other countries to ensure access of vaccines, the best practices in the development of potential vaccines, to enhance bilateral and/or multilateral cooperation between countries in conducting joint research and development, and, in the case of the announcement of production, to ensure the signing of a contract for the purchase of the vaccine at the shortest term (Srinivas, 2021).

As a country severely impacted by the COVID-19 crisis, Indonesia tries to maintain and elevate its capacity in handling the COVID-19. Indonesia try to leverage international stage to this end. President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), first addressed the importance of access towards the vaccine to put the COVID-19 pandemic to an end in the United Nations General Assembly 2020. In response to the importance of COVID-19 vaccines, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Indonesia set building independence and national health security as the priority of Indonesia's diplomacy in the year 2021 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2021). However, the existing inequality of vaccine access remains a core challenge for Indonesia to manifest national health security as Indonesia's diplomacy priority.

Diplomacy from the MOFA has been the spearhead for strengthening the health sector in overcoming the COVID-19 crisis by disclosing distribution and access towards a vaccine to Indonesia. This urgency then followed with the phenomenon of Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy aimed to establish COVID-19 vaccines as a global public good, aligning national interests with Indonesia's contribution to the world, and maintaining the cornerstone of Indonesia's

foreign policy, which are the be free and active in international stage (Marsudi, 2021). Through these efforts, Indonesia can secure access to the COVID-19 vaccine, strengthening the health sector's capacity to combat the crisis. More than two hundred and fifty million doses of vaccine Indonesia has received from various COVID-19 vaccine-producing countries and multilateral platforms (Nugraheny, 2021). The national vaccination program then started in early 2021 that has been proceeded to date.

In the case of Indonesia, the effort to exteriorize health sector capacity resilient in vaccine diplomacy, MOFA is not the only actor but also consolidated with other actors like the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises and the Ministry of Health to proceed the vaccine diplomacy (Marsudi, 2021). Meanwhile, amidst the world's dynamics and the challenges in achieving the objectives of diplomacy, the state has to maximize its capacity in which all state entities could leverage their capability and deliver contribution in foreign affairs management. Therefore, it is essential to observe how non-governmental actors contributed to the effort of vaccine diplomacy of Indonesia.

In Indonesia, parliament could be considered as the non-governmental actor participating in foreign affairs management refers to the law of Indonesia Article 5 paragraph 2 of Law No. 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations (Republic Indonesia, 1999). In this point of issue, the parliament of Indonesia or namely Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR RI), carried out diplomatic function to support the government's efforts in Indonesia's foreign policy proceeding as regulated in Article 69 paragraph 2 of Law No. 17 of 2014 (Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen, n.d.-b). Meanwhile, the role of parliamentary bodies in diplomacy has been part of international relations discourses since 1889, following the establishment of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The proceeding of diplomacy by parliament has been well known as parliamentary diplomacy nowadays (Nainggolan, 2020). Furthermore, DPR RI's parliamentary

diplomacy could be observed as the effort of DPR RI as the people's representative body to embody the people's aspiration.

Amidst the pandemic, DPR RI, as the people's representative body, frequently highlights the importance of states' effort in improving health sector capability in combating the COVID-19 crisis. In this point of issue, vaccine diplomacy efforts by the Indonesian government could not be separated from the spotlight of the DPR RI as it is the body under an obligation to conduct supervision on vaccination programs executed by Indonesia's government. Besides, DPR RI also has the corridor to support Indonesia's effort in vaccine diplomacy through parliamentary diplomacy. For instance, DPR RI engages with other countries in inter-parliamentary forums and bilateral visits. In this point of issue, the role of DPR RI in diplomacy could be taken into account as a collaboration between parliamentary diplomacy and the first track diplomacy in increasing Indonesia's role in consistently seeking the availability and distribution of vaccines, medicines, and medical devices related to COVID-19 for each country (Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen, 2021).

Furthermore, the cross-sector effort in diplomacy is discerned in international relations discourses as multi-track diplomacy. Louise Diamond and John McDonald describe multi-track diplomacy as the conceptual framework in which various activities have interrelated components like a cobweb model contributing to world peace. In its development, multi-track diplomacy discerned into nine tracks which are Track One: Government, Track Two: Nongovernment/Professional, Track Three: Business, Track Four: Private Citizen, Track Five: Research, Track Six: Activism, Track Seven: Religion, Track Eight: Funding, Track Nine: Communication and Media (Diamond & McDonald, 1996). Referring to Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy, diplomacy that proceeded by the MOFA could be considered as the first track diplomacy, while diplomacy of DPR RI is the second track

diplomacy. In this point of issue, parliamentary diplomacy of DPR RI could be observed as the effort that assists the diplomatic effort of government as the first track actor carrying out comprehensive diplomatic communication (Nainggolan, 2020). While the role of MOFA has been the spotlight in the context of vaccine diplomacy, therefore, it is also important to observe the role of DPR RI's parliamentary diplomacy in vaccine diplomacy's effort within the framework of Indonesia's multi-track diplomacy to explain further the phenomenon of Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy.

1.1.1 Institution Profile

The author of this report has taken an internship program at Secretariat General of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia or *Setjen DPR-RI* from September to December of 2021. *Setjen DPR-RI* is a secretarial bodies supporting Indonesia's house of representative assembly or Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR-RI). *Setjen DPR-RI* was formed as a supporting body to facilitate the duties and authorities of DPR-RI, particularly in terms of administration, technical and expertise aspects. Although *Setjen DPR-RI* was formed to support the state legislative body, the *Setjen DPR-RI* is a government institution that is not affiliated with domestic politics. Its employees and staffs are the state civil apparatus.

Structurally, *Setjen DPR-RI* consists of two main deputies, namely the Deputy for Administration and the Deputy for Trials; the two deputies are supervised with bureaus that have specific job fields. Besides two deputies, *Setjen DPR-RI* also supervised with inspectorate and two center bodies, center education and training and center of data and information.

Setjen DPR-RI has experienced a full of dynamics and paradigm shift throughout the times. From early 1980 to 1990, Setjen DPR-RI was established to deliver service to the DPR RI. From 1990 to early 2000, Setjen DPR-RI transforms to deliver technical and administrative support to DPR-RI. Besides delivering technical and administrative support, Setjen DPR-RI also delivers expertise assistance to DPR-RI from early 2000 to 2015. From 2015 until today, Setjen DPR-RI as a supporting body systematically delivers administrative, technical, and expertise support.

Based on the strategic plan of Setjen DPR RI for 2019 to 2024, Setjen DPR-RI was established with a clear vision and mission that was implemented with a comprehensive objective and target. “Becoming a Professional and Modern Secretariat General in Supporting the Vision of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia” became the vision of Setjen DPR-RI. Meanwhile, the mission of Setjen DPR-RI are;

- 1) Provide excellent support and service for the implementation of the duties and functions of DPR-RI
- 2) Implement professional, good, and clean governance of government institutions in the environment of Setjen DPR-RI
- 3) Presenting complete, accurate, and reliable data as material for decision making of DPR-RI

The vision and mission of Setjen DPR-RI are intended to generate excellent technical support, administration, and expertise for DPR-RI, the realization of professional, good, and clean governance's institutional, as well as the realization of a complete data center and information on the legislation. The objective of Setjen DPR-RI addressed to meet the contentedness of the members of the DPR RI due to the

support of Setjen DPR-RI, realizing good governance, and the implementation of information disclosure and electronic-based Government (Sekretariat Jenderal Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, 2020).

As the supporting bodies, Setjen DPR RI delivers supporting systems to the council complementary bodies within the DPR RI, better known as *Alat Kelengkapan Dewan* (AKD). As the main focus of this report, Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Body or Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen (BKSAP) is the AKD that will be the source for the report arrangement due to the suitability of the topics raised in the report, namely the role of DPR RI's parliamentary diplomacy towards Indonesia's vaccine diplomacy. As the AKD that will be the focus of the report, BKSAP encompasses the scope of work related to the issues of parliamentary diplomacy. BKSAP is the spearhead of DPR RI's diplomatic function to fostering, developing, and enhancing relations and cooperation between DPR RI and other countries' parliaments either bilaterally or multilaterally, including with various international organizations that focus on inter-parliamentary or members of parliamentary relationship (Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen, n.d.-a).

1.2 Research Question

Refer to the background on this study, the research question in this study is: “How parliamentary diplomacy of DPR RI carried out the role of vaccine diplomacy as part of Indonesia’s multi-track diplomacy amidst COVID-19 pandemic?”

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The study of this report employs diplomacy as the theoretical basis to answer the research question.

1.3.1 Diplomacy

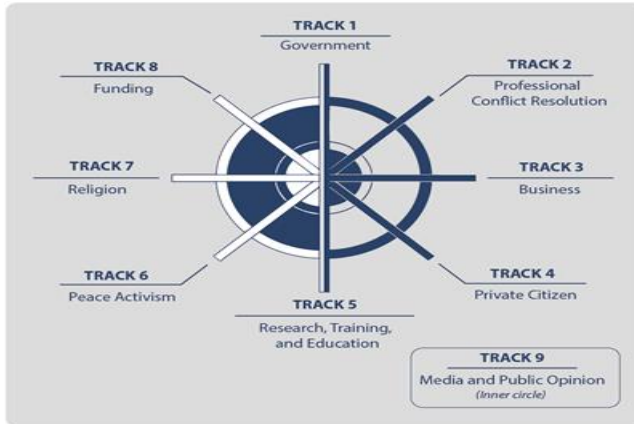
Diplomacy has been becoming the prevailing medium for states to secure their foreign policy objectives (Berridge, 2015). Diplomacy is oriented to manage interstates relationships through formal representatives and other actors, articulating, coordinating, and securing particular or broader interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchanges of view, lobbying, visits, threats, and other related activities (Barston, 2019). States manage the communication, bargaining, influencing each other, and calibrating discrepancies with other states through diplomacy (Griffiths & O'Callaghan, 2007). According to Griffiths and O'Callaghan (2007), diplomacy contains three main function that are intelligence gathering as the process to gather information as the material for foreign policy decision-making consideration, image management as the process to build favorable reflection as the profile of a state, and policy implementation as the implementation of foreign policy.

As a prevailing medium in interstates relationship, diplomacy evolve and develop due to its dynamic as a subject that exposed to constant change (Barston, 2019). Conventionally, states are considered as the single or leading actors of diplomacy. Instead, the rise of global issues has led to greater interconnectivity, which led cross-sector entities other than states such as international non-governmental organizations, transnational religious groups, and business groups to be the actor of diplomacy. Nevertheless, the state could still be considered the central authoritative decision unit concerning the routine, critical and strategic decisions over the conduct of external policy (Barston, 2019). In this point of issue, the mainstreaming of cross-sector actors in diplomacy might be best conceptualized in the multi-track diplomacy phenomenon.

1.3.2 Multi-Track Diplomacy

Since states are not the only actor in diplomacy, the multi-dimensional outlook on diplomacy is conceptualized in multi-track diplomacy. The idea of multi-track diplomacy could be discerned first in Joseph Montville's conceptualization in which diplomacy is observed in two-track: government official as the first track and unofficial actor as the second track (Jones, 2020). The second track in diplomacy emerges from the spotlight on the role of the unofficial or non-governmental actor in diplomacy. Montville then defined the second track as unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversarial groups or nations to develop strategies, influence public opinion, and organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve the conflict (Jones, 2020). To this end, Montville highlights that the government is not walking alone in dealing with creativity encountering international challenges. A relationship between officials and Track Two could generate positive outcomes if adequately structured and utilized (Jones, 2020).

The existence of track two in diplomacy was then developed by Louise Diamond and John McDonald in what is so-called multi-track diplomacy. Diamond and McDonald defined Multi-track as various activities that affect the peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes in the international scope. Activities in multi-track diplomacy are then conceptualized to be observed as interrelated components like a cobweb model to cross-fertilize and stimulate the work of the different tracks into a more coherent and systematic set of reinforcing activities (Jones, 2020). The scope of multi-track diplomacy in the nine-track could be seen in the figure below:



I · M · T · D *Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy*

Source: Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy
Figure 1.

The Track of Multi-Track Diplomacy

1.3.3 Parliamentary Diplomacy

Amidst global trends, there is the proliferation of international organization, trans-governmental, regional integration cultivating the effort to solve political, economic, and environmental issues that have been stimulating international activities that at its core recline on interparliamentary cooperation, collaboration, and coordination (Goumenos, 2018; Sabic, 2008). As a result, there is an emerging phenomenon in which parliaments become international actors and constitute a particular role in diplomacy. Nowadays, the phenomenon of parliamentary leverage in diplomacy is well known as parliamentary diplomacy.

According to Frans Weisglas and Gonnie de Boer (de Boer & Weisglas, 2007), parliamentary diplomacy is "the full range of international activities undertaken by parliamentarians in order to increase mutual

understanding between countries, to assist each other in improving the control of governments and the representation of a people and to increase the democratic legitimacy of intergovernmental institutions." Activities characterized as parliament diplomacy refer to the institutionalized or informal ways in which national parliaments engaged in international affairs and foreign policy range from bilateral relations between parliaments and between national parliaments and inter-parliamentary organizations (Goumenos, 2018). Instead of merely inter-parliamentary cooperation, parliaments diplomacy is more institutionalized in which its institutional framework recline on various Inter-Parliamentary Institutions (IPIs) (Stavridis, 2006). In this point of issue, multilateral settings are much more considered as the core of parliaments diplomacy.

Compared to conventional diplomacy carried out by the government, the settings of parliamentary diplomacy could be observed as the extension of diplomacy by government or autonomous from government's diplomacy but still constitute state's interest (Fiott, 2011; Stavridis, 2006). To some extent, it is undeniable that diplomacy that the government carries out is more powerful considering the access and resources retained in government in diplomacy proceeding such as gathered information, intelligence, and budget. However, it is undeniable that parliamentary diplomacy exists without any privileges. There are at least three aspects that could be considered the eminence of parliamentary diplomacy: availability of access, ability to build trust, flexibility, and opportunity to explore an issue from various sides and dimensions without promising any commitment (Robertson, 2007). From this point of issue, it is undeniable that parliament can meet the stakeholders in the decision-making process in its diplomatic activities. Moreover, the existence of parliaments represents

people's mandate in which the parliament members are elected to represent people's interests. As a result, parliamentary diplomacy could be an alternative way to carry out diplomatic missions when the government encounters a deadlock in diplomacy.

In the context of parliamentary diplomacy, DPR RI carried out a diplomatic function to support the government's efforts in Indonesia's foreign policy proceeding (Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen, n.d.-b). In this point of issue, DPR RI's parliamentary diplomacy implementation covered all DPR RI's international activities either at the bilateral or multilateral level. In order to carry out the function of parliamentary diplomacy, there is internal bodies in DPR RI that is Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Agency (BKSAP), established to fostering, developing, and enhancing friendly relations and cooperation between the DPR RI and the parliaments of other countries, including with various international organization that brings together parliamentarians and members of parliament (Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen, n.d.-b). BKSAP in DPR RI was also established to provide advice and recommendations to chairs of DPR RI on the issue of cooperation between parliaments and preserving Indonesia's national interests. As the employed conceptual framework in this report, parliamentary diplomacy of DPR RI could be observed as the second track diplomacy within the framework of multi-track diplomacy in which parliament carried out the role of helping government in diplomatic mission by establishing communication and mediation in the international arena (Nainggolan, 2020).

1.4 Methodology

This study used the qualitative method to answer the research question. Through the qualitative method, the

study seeks to develop the complex portrait of the issues involving reporting perspectives, identifying multiple factors in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges (Creswell, 2014). The material for this study was obtained from primary data such as sources from official documents either from DPR RI, International parliamentary bodies or the government of Indonesia. Besides, the author has the opportunity to interview Mr. Mardani Ali Sera as the Deputy Chairman of BKSAP that will support the primary data used in this study. This study also used secondary data from related research, scientific journals, online media, and other reliable literature. The materials will be analyzed with the employed theoretical basis to obtain the result and conclusion of the study.