

The Role Of Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy In Supporting Cooperation With China To Overcome Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic left many nations in a dilemma to protect their respective countries. Indonesia carried out diplomacy with various countries that had the capability to help Indonesia overcome the pandemic through various diplomatic channels, one of which was China, even though it closed itself at the start of the pandemic. The involvement of military in carrying out the action shows the role of defense diplomacy in the cooperation between Indonesia and China to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. The problem being studied is the role of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in supporting Indonesia-China cooperation in overcoming the pandemic; along with the contributing and inhibiting factors in the cooperation. The aim of the research is to analyze the role of Indonesian defense diplomacy in Indonesia-China cooperation along with the contributing and inhibiting factors in this cooperation. The research method used is qualitative method. Primary data was obtained through individual interviews and secondary data through library research. The results revealed that Indonesia's defense diplomacy played a role in supporting the activities of the Ministry of Health, and supporting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The contributing factors are China's help during the pandemic and military utilization in pandemic relief. The inhibiting factors are the prevalence of misinformation, the lack of preparedness in dealing with health threats, and the facilities, personnel and communication that are not yet optimal.

Keywords: Covid-19 Pandemic, Defense Diplomacy, Non-traditional Threats.

INTRODUCTION

The development of a country's strategic environment is an important aspect in maintaining national security. This is a substantial matter and needs to be understood and reviewed in more depth because it relates to a country's ability to defend and preserve its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and safety of the nation and its people from various threats. The fluctuating strategic environment causes very complex and unpredictable conditions.

The strategic conditions of the last few decades have caused a shift in the focus of objects in the security context. Especially at the end of 2019, the world was shocked by a new emerging infectious disease in China caused by Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19). The severity of the Covid-19 pandemic has had a multi-sectoral impact on many countries in the world. The main sectors that suffered the greatest losses were the health and economic sectors. Transmission of the virus that can occur very easily from people who have been infected through the air has caused mobility around the world to stop and has caused many countries to implement lockdown policies or lock access to domestic and foreign mobility.

Indonesia was no exception to the Covid-19 pandemic that has hit the world. The nature of the rapid spread of the virus and the lack of awareness of the dangers of this pandemic has accelerated the spread of the virus in society. In the early days of the pandemic, the spread of the virus occurred quickly so that almost all parts of Indonesia were infected due to local transmission. This has weakened the country's defense power against non-traditional security threats in the form of health threats called the Covid-19 pandemic.

Indonesian citizens in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China, which is the center of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, was given special concern from Indonesia. This concern was seen from

President Joko Widodo's statement on 31 January 2020, ordering Indonesian citizens to be repatriated. However, the order to repatriate Indonesian citizens cannot be carried out directly because there are several procedures that must be followed. In this repatriation operation plan, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) has prepared a number of aircraft to support the plan to repatriate Indonesian citizens from Hubei Province.

Even though domestic and foreign policies have been made to safeguard the safety of Indonesian citizens, Indonesia still has one crucial problem; amassing large number of vaccines for their citizens. Then, Indonesia made the basis for saving Indonesian citizens as a way to find vaccines through bilateral cooperation. Sukawarsini Djelantik (2020) argues that it is necessary for various countries to take advantage of disaster diplomacy. Djelantik (2020) also mentions that one of the points of international cooperation in dealing with Covid-19 is to build communication channels between groups of scientists who have special expertise, medical experts and other relevant professionals, including community and policy experts. As the Covid-19 pandemic continues to spread, the need for international cooperation to address both the health and economic crises has become a matter of discussion, and deploying multi-track diplomacy to expedite the response to the pandemic.

One of Indonesia's diplomacies to encourage this cooperation can be seen at the ASEAN meeting. As explained by Muhamad Haripin (2020) during the 25th Meeting of the ASEAN Coordinating Council (ACC) in April 2020, the Indonesian Foreign Minister made four important points. First, Indonesia encourages the implementation of the results of the meeting of the Health Ministers of ASEAN and ASEAN+3 member countries. Second, Indonesia proposed that the "Supply Chain and Flow of Goods during the Outbreak" agreement be discussed in the ASEAN+3 Summit forum. Third, Indonesia emphasizes the importance of ASEAN to provide protection for ASEAN citizens, including migrant workers, by taking into account the applicable health protocols. Fourth, Indonesia proposed the collection of the ASEAN COVID-19 Response Fund originating from the ASEAN Development Fund and the ASEAN+3 Cooperation Fund to finance the purchase of medical equipment and other needs. The Minister of Defense also supports efforts to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic through the ADMM forum for regional security.

Cooperation in the search for a Covid-19 vaccine is carried out by various countries. According to data from the World Health Organization on August 28 2020, there are 33 vaccine candidates that have entered the clinical trial stage and 143 vaccine candidates that are still in the pre-clinical trial stage worldwide. There are at least four bilateral collaborations in the search for a Covid-19 vaccine. The first thing that is visible because it is also conducting clinical trials in Indonesia is the cooperation between Indonesia and China. Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi and Minister of BUMN, Erick Tohir visited China to establish cooperation between the two countries in the production of the Covid-19 vaccine which is expected to be produced in 2021 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi met with Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi and had a meeting with Sinovac, Sinopharm and CanSino. The two parties also agreed on an essential business travel corridor arrangement for safe business and official travel. During the meeting, 2 cooperation agreements were signed between Bio Farma and Sinovac to provide 40 million doses of vaccines for Indonesia from November 2020 to March 2021, and Sinovac prioritized vaccine supply for Bio Farma for the April-December 2021 period.

Diplomacy between Indonesia and China in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic itself has been going on since Covid-19 entered Indonesia in early March 2020. Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, together with State Counselor and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi carried out diplomacy related to handling the pandemic via summons telephone. In addition to discussing how to combat the spread of Covid-19, the spokesperson for the Indonesian Ministry

of Foreign Affairs, Teuku Faizasyah also stated that Foreign Minister Retno also expressed hope that Indonesia and China could continue to enhance cooperation, including in procuring the delivery of health supplies needed by Indonesia (Pinandita, 2020).

The various diplomacy channel employed by Indonesia proved to be beneficial, one of them is the delivery of medical aid from China. On March 23 2020, Indonesia received thousands of medical devices from China in the form of disposable masks, N95 masks, protective clothing, goggles, gloves, shoe covers, infrared thermometers and surgical caps (Sutrisno, 2020). A few days later, on March 26 2020, aid was sent, where 40 tons of medical equipment including test kits, swab kits, along with personal protective equipment (PPE) were sent directly from Shanghai Pudong Airport to Soekarno-Hatta Airport (Akbar, 2020). In fact, aid from China continues to roll in for Indonesia, reviewed as of June 2020 Indonesia has received assistance from China as many as 50 units of portable ventilators, 150,008 PCR test kits, 80,000 medical masks, 1.4 million surgical masks, and 80,000 personal protective equipment, which if accumulated to 7.8 billion Rupiah or 557,142 USD (Yasmin, 2020).

Indonesia and China are also working together in procuring vaccines for the Covid-19 virus. Since March 2020, the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises and the Indonesian Ministry of Health have been trying to find opportunities to work with foreign companies to gain access to the Covid-19 vaccine. Through this search, a vaccine development company from China became one of the first to cooperate with Indonesia, when the company Sinovac Biotech Ltd. collaborated with PT. Biopharma, such as holding clinical trials and manufacturing vaccines. Biofarma also has priority access to 40 million doses of the Sinovac vaccine before March 2021, which is the biggest order for a Chinese vaccine company at that time (Yeremia and Raditio, 2021). Diplomacy between the two countries was further strengthened by a statement from China's State Counselor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wang Yi, who stated China's readiness to help Indonesia become a center for vaccine production in the Southeast Asian region (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). The majority of the vaccines that Indonesia receives come from China, which is as much as a third of the total number (Yeremia and Raditio, 2021). In fact, as of May 2021, 9 of the 11 stages of the arrival of Indonesian vaccines were vaccines from China. The first arrival of the vaccine began on December 6, 2020 when Indonesia received 1.2 million doses of Sinovac's finished vaccine. Since then, Indonesia has received 3,982,400 finished Sinovac and Sinopharm vaccines from China, plus 65,500,000 Sinovac vaccine raw materials (Gugus Tugas Covid-19, 2021).

The use of multi-track diplomacy is the utilization and collaboration of various sectors to be able to deal with a pandemic. However, the intensity of relations with China became the most prominent during the pandemic, as well as vaccine cooperation that could be obtained and good relations between the two countries which allowed Indonesia to obtain various assistance such as medical equipment, inseparable from Indonesia's defense diplomacy.

It also needs to be underlined that emergency situations such as a pandemic require immediate handling, so that the use of the military in handling efforts both domestically and abroad is a tactical step that can be taken. The Ministry of Health as the main agency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a supporting institution in carrying out diplomacy with other countries, and China in particular, needs assistance and support, especially from a technical point of view. Picking up Indonesian citizens from Wuhan, taking medical aid from China, was carried out by the Indonesian military. In addition, the smooth process of diplomacy between Indonesia and China from various channels is a form of successful confidence building measure that has been carried out by Indonesia's defense diplomacy which has been carried out from the previous period.

Although Indonesia also carries out diplomacy with other countries, it can be seen that the diplomacy carried out by Indonesia and China is the most prominent. Thus, it can also be

seen that when examined from Indonesia's point of view, China is the target of diplomacy because China has the capability to assist Indonesia in fulfilling its national interests. The involvement of military elements in carrying out these actions shows the role of defense diplomacy in the cooperation between Indonesia and China in the early days of the pandemic. Based on the explanation above, the problem to be examined is what is the role of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in collaborating with China to deal with the Covid-19 Pandemic and the supporting factors and inhibiting factors in carrying out this cooperation.

RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this research is a qualitative method with case study approach. The purpose of writing this journal is to find out the role of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in supporting the cooperation between Indonesia and China to overcome the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as the contributing and inhibiting factors in the cooperation. Data collection techniques used are in-depth interviews with informants and library research as additional supporting data. The results of the research were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive model (2014) and given meaning and conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on Law Number 3 of 2002 that national defense is carried out through efforts to build and foster capabilities, deterrence of the state and nation, and overcoming every threat. National defense as intended is carried out by the government and prepared early on with the national defense system. The national defense system is needed in facing military and non-military threats. To deal with non-military threats, government agencies other than the defense sector are positioned as the main element, in accordance with the form and nature of the threats faced, supported by other elements of national strength. Covid-19 is a threat with a dimension of public safety because it has threatened the integrity and safety of the nation.

Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) is a threat in the health sector. This threat is included in non-military threats that endanger national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation. The Covid-19 outbreak is an infectious disease caused by a newly discovered type of corona virus. Outbreaks of this disease are a threat to citizens and can reduce the quality of human life, and with the urgency of the situation, there is no medicine/vaccine for this epidemic. The threat of Covid-19 is a non-traditional security threat, as stated by Sudiar (2019), non-traditional security focuses more on protecting and empowering individuals, focusing attention on various threats that cross aspects of human life and emphasizing security, development and human rights. man. One of the issues discussed in non-traditional security is about human security or human security.

More specifically, Covid-19 falls into the health security category because it is associated with the rapid spread of disease which does not only threaten individuals but society as a whole. As is well known, the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic is not only centered on the initial source in the city of Wuhan, Hubei province, China, but is spreading rapidly.

Covid-19 is a threat in Indonesia's non-military defense line, so Ministries/Institutions outside of defense are the leading sector in handling it, while the Ministry of Defense/TNI is a supporting element. Because the Covid-19 pandemic can also be categorized as a national disaster, the Head of BNPB (National Disaster Management Agency) was appointed as the Head of the Covid-19 Mitigation Task Force, while the Ministry of Health is responsible from the

perspective of managing health and preventing infectious diseases. Liu (2009) argues that health security seeks to take preventive measures to protect people from infectious diseases, provide equipment, infrastructure and health care to the community. Thus, the action to deal with this pandemic is the fulfillment of the country's national interest in protecting its citizens from non-traditional security threats related to health security (Indriyanto, 2022).

The Ministry of Defense and the TNI are involved as supporting elements in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. Various policies and actions were implemented to overcome the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic in the country, and also to maintain the security of Indonesian citizens abroad. The form of the task of military involvement in handling the Covid-19 pandemic is adjusted to the capacity and capability of the military defense. In a concrete form, the Ministry of Defense and the TNI are involved as the Covid-19 Handling Task Force, at the central and regional levels, both as medical personnel, volunteers, as well as Covid-19 Protocol Monitoring Personnel. The role of the TNI in dealing with a pandemic is associated with Military Operations Other than War with three characters:



Figure 1: Interview with with Special Staff of the Minister of Defense for Cooperation and Institutional, Marsda (Purn) Dr. Bambang Eko Suhariyanto, S.H., M.H.,

- a. Service operations held as a form of concern for the community such as the provision of medical services and the distribution of health logistics to areas affected by the pandemic;
- b. TNI assistance tasks to support and support the capacity of civil institutions in dealing with impacts and anticipating social risks such as assisting health, transportation, immigration and police authorities in implementing pandemic management protocols;
- c. Mobilizing military power to restore internal security. The Ministry of Defense as an institution that regulates TNI policy also encourages the implementation of coordination and synergy functions with other Ministries and Institutions, such as attending Coordination Meetings held by other ministries for handling the TNI and implementing "Safe and Productive Covid-19 Society" (Ramsi, 2022).

As a policy maker institution, the Ministry of Defense through Government Work Plan (RKP) 2021 and national defense policy (Jakhanneq) 2021 emphasized policy adjustments during the Covid-19 period and accelerated handling. This can be seen through the implementation of various policies as follows:

- a. Allocating the Budget of the Ministry of Defense and TNI for the 2021 Fiscal Year with a priority scale for the prevention and handling of Covid-19;
- b. Conducting periodic health checks for members of the Ministry of Defense and their families, as well as students/students within the Ministry of Defense by conducting periodic antigen and PCR swabs;
- c. Equipping PPE, masks, and administering vitamins regularly to all members of the Ministry of Defense and their families, as well as students/students within the Ministry of Defense;
- d. Limiting routine face-to-face activities, and issue a number of work procedures policies and online activities within the Ministry of Defense;
- e. Restrict business travel activities, both domestically and abroad;

- f. Improving the infrastructure and services of the Ministry of Defense Hospital (Suyoto Hospital) and the TNI. At the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, as an effort to serve the community and a manifestation of the Ministry of Defense's concern for this nation, several Ministry of Defense educational facilities such as student dormitories owned by the Ministry of Defense's Education and Training Center were changed into hospitalization (isolation) facilities for Covid 19 patients;
- g. Strengthening the function of fostering defense resources and building national logistics reserves such as developing Ministry of Defense HR development in dealing with the threat of a pandemic such as the opening of Republic of Indonesia's Defense University's Undergraduate Military Doctor education by the Ministry of Defense. Apart from that, the deployment of health workers from Career Soldier Officers and students of the Military Academy Health Workforce course to be assisted in dealing with Covid-19 in the quarantine area of the Athlete's House. Meanwhile, the development of national logistics reserves such as the food estate program is to anticipate the food crisis as a result of the prolonged Covid-19 pandemic.
- h. Conducting defense diplomacy as a form of multitrack diplomacy by the Government of Indonesia, by the Ministry of Defense in dealing with the global Covid-19 pandemic. Like the diplomacy carried out by Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto to Chinese Defense Minister Wei Fenghe on several occasions such as a bilateral meeting in Singapore (Ramsi, 2022).

The involvement of the Ministry of Defense and the TNI in efforts to deal with the Covid-19 Pandemic can also be seen in efforts to rescue Indonesian citizens from Wuhan. The pick-up team was a joint team from the Koopsus TNI, BAIS TNI and other components led by Colonel PAS Dodi Irawan who departed using the Garuda Indonesia airline, and the Indonesian Embassy in Beijing sent a special team to coordinate 243 Indonesian citizens in Hubei province from the cities of Enzizhou, Yichang, Xianning, Huangshi, Liantao and Wuhan to gather at the Tianhe international airport. This pickup finally departed from Tianhe International Airport, Wuhan on February 2 2020 to Indonesia. After transiting at Hang Nadim airport, Batam, the 243 Indonesian citizens and the pick-up team continued their journey to Raden Sadjad Air Force Base, Natuna, Riau Islands with three Indonesian Air Force aircraft to be quarantined first (Nugroho, 2022).



Figure 2: Interview with Kolonel Pnb Eko Adi Nugroho

Widiatmaja (2018) argues that in defense diplomacy there is a role that involves military and civilian actors that aim to build on existing strategies in realizing defense and security. The Covid-19 pandemic situation is an emergency situation with a high level of urgency, because it threatens national defense and security, especially in non-traditional security, namely health security. The involvement of military and civilian actors can be seen in various policies carried out by the ministry of defense, where there is collaboration between military and civilian actors in realizing defense and security.

The high intensity of involvement of the TNI and the Ministry of Defense is inseparable from the involvement of Defense Diplomacy in supporting the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic. This was especially clear when the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Retno Marsudi, in mid-2020 ordered all ambassadors on duty in friendly countries to seek the possibility of procuring a Covid-19 vaccine, which is still difficult to obtain. The Indonesian Embassy in Beijing is the first Indonesian Embassy to be able to realize cooperation in the procurement of the Covid-19 vaccine with the Sinovac company.

The success of the Indonesian Embassy in Beijing in realizing cooperation in the procurement of vaccines will of course not be successful in a short time, but because the relationship between Indonesia and China has been established for quite a long time. Relations between Indonesia and China officially began in 1950. This is because Indonesia is one of China's largest trading partners (Pandjaitan, 2021). In addition to cooperative relations in the economic field, Indonesia-China cooperation also covers the fields of defense and culture. This is in line with the opinion expressed by Kusumohamidjojo (1987) regarding bilateral relations, namely a form of cooperation between countries that are geographically close together or that are far across the ocean with the main goal of creating peace by taking into account the similarities in political culture and economic structure.

Holsti (1987) argues that cooperation begins because of the diversity of national, regional and global problems that arise so that more than one country's attention is needed, then each government approaches each other by bringing problem solving suggestions, bargaining, or discussing the problem, summarizing the technical evidence to justify one proposal over the other, and ending negotiations with an agreement or mutual understanding that can satisfy all parties. It can be seen from the interactions between Indonesia and China, the two countries have their own variety of national, regional and global problems which then require attention from other countries. The diversity of problems faced culminated in the emergence of a common problem which made not only Indonesia and China but countries in the world to make mutual efforts to be able to work together to overcome this pandemic outbreak.

In line with Holsti, Rana (2002) reveals that in bilateral diplomacy, the main concept used is that a country will pursue its national interests in order to obtain maximum benefits and the only way is to create good and lasting relations between countries. It can be concluded that good and long-lasting relations between Indonesia and China are a form of pursuing the national interests of each country, and emergency situations such as the Covid-19 pandemic are inseparable from the scope of these national interests.

In handling Covid 19, the governments of the two countries help and support each other to overcome common difficulties. Since the beginning of the pandemic, Indonesia and China have collaborated regarding the provision of various health needs such as health equipment such as personal protective equipment (PPE), masks, Covid-19 test kits to vaccines. China is opening up to help Indonesia when other countries are looking for vaccines and health equipment to deal with the pandemic. Indonesia and China are also committed to increasing the independence of the drug industry and raw materials.

The cooperation formed between Indonesia and China during the Covid-19 pandemic has all the variables that need to be considered. Holsti (1987) stated:

- a. The quality, quantity, and capabilities possessed by a country.
- b. Skills deploy these capabilities to support multiple goals.
- c. Credibility of threats and disturbances.
- d. Degree of need and dependence.
- e. Responsiveness among decision makers

The five variables above are variables that are taken into account by both Indonesia and China. From Indonesia's side, China as a cooperation partner for vaccine procurement has the

quality, quantity and capability to develop vaccines, and Indonesia has the quantity for clinical trials of these vaccines. The two countries also have skills in deploying this capability, which can be seen from the level of technology they have for vaccine development. The high degree of need because the two countries have large populations and dependence on vaccines also supports cooperation between the two countries. The urgency of the Covid-19 pandemic situation also made the response from decision makers in both countries very fast.

Indonesian defense diplomacy is carried out in various ways, including active communication between the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the Chinese Ministry of Defense through Defense Minister Prabowo to discuss possible forms of cooperation in handling Covid-19 between the two countries. The results of this collaboration in its implementation include:

- a. The Ministry of Defense together with the TNI Headquarters held a humanitarian aid operation to transport medical equipment from China which was assistance from the Chinese Ministry of Defense as well as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) from a number of Chinese companies investing in Indonesia,
- b. The development of cooperation in vaccine production between the two countries is marked by technology transfer cooperation between Bio Farma and Sinovac, as well as research collaboration including clinical trials with medical research institutions in Indonesia (Suhariyanto, 2022).

The large role of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in cooperation with China can be seen from the various activities and cooperation carried out as well as the assistance provided between the two countries. Military cooperation in operations and training, education and training, logistics, and exchange visits. Visits of officials, such as on March 9 2020, when China proposed a draft revision of the MoU to Indonesia, and the Director General of Strahan of the Ministry of Defense responded to the Director General of Strahan of the Ministry of Defense to the Director General of East Asia and Pacific of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Director of HPI of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 22 2020. It was followed up with a diplomatic note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to China on May 27 2020 After receiving a response from the PRC, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs again sent a counter draft through the diplomatic channel on May 2, 2021 (suhariyanto, 2022).

Defense diplomacy expert Cottey & Forster (2004) suggests that defense diplomacy is a tool to create confidence building measures that are useful for enhancing defense capabilities in order to prevent and solve global defense and security problems. The use of defense diplomacy can be applied as a conflict prevention strategy, cooperative relations, transparency in the military field, and building a common understanding in the use of the military in the defense and security sector. The Covid-19 pandemic outbreak brought together various countries to collaborate with each other. From the various activities carried out, it can be concluded that mutual trust has been built between Indonesia and China which has enabled the two countries to work together well and smoothly to overcome the Covid-19 pandemic.

Good relations between the two countries have made the handling of the Covid-19 situation better. Indonesia's defense diplomacy with China is also a way to build mutual trust between the two countries. Indonesia's multi-track diplomacy approach, which is supported by defense diplomacy, has prevented Indonesia from experiencing major difficulties in achieving its national interests, namely protecting the entire Indonesian nation. In China, available supplies of medical devices and vaccines that can be used, such as Sinovac, support Indonesia's handling of the pandemic. China's willingness to meet Indonesia's needs is of great significance due to Indonesia's large population (Wibisono, 2022).

There were 3 supporting factors for Indonesia in a cooperative relationship with China to overcome the Covid-19 Pandemic. These supporting factors are as follows:

- a. Change in China's orientation which sees Indonesia as a good partner, and makes it easier for China to become a partner in the ASEAN Region. Indonesia, which initiated the ASEAN treaty of Amity in 1976 which prioritized the concept of non-aggression, made China want to be a party that became part of the ASEAN treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 2003. This change in orientation is due to Indonesia taking on the role of Regional Collaborator, namely a country that has economic needs, a sense of "belonging" in the Region, as well as political-ideological traditions, and shared culture with other countries Holsti (1998). This then facilitates bilateral relations between Indonesia and China and supports future cooperation. This also led to the establishment of defense cooperation between the two countries in 2007, which continues to this day. Confidence building measures that have been implemented and maintained have made mitigating the pandemic easier, one of which can be seen in the coordination carried out during the repatriation of Indonesian citizens at the end of December 2019.
- b. China's openness during the pandemic. When other countries are looking for a vaccine, and there are many opportunities provided by existing countries because there is no complete vaccine, China has offered itself. China has also provided vaccines and masks, and Indonesia has greatly assisted in handling the Covid-19 pandemic because of the readiness of medical equipment and vaccines. Rana (2002) and Rudy (2002) together revealed that in bilateral cooperation, the state will pursue its national interests in order to obtain the interests of both parties. In this situation, the two countries, namely Indonesia and China, are both getting their interests, Indonesia is getting health equipment and vaccines, China is getting locations for clinical trials as well as regional vaccine hubs. This is also an important factor because it needs to be emphasized that in the early days of the pandemic China had closed itself and was not open to the pandemic that started to spread in the city of Wuhan, and then chose Indonesia as a country to be a partner in vaccine development, and provided a number of assistances in the form of medical equipment. The entire activity of taking medical assistance by the military and the successful decision-making to cooperate in vaccine development by the foreign ministry is a collaboration of the military and civilians as the culmination of defense diplomacy, namely the activity of confidence building measures with China, this is a form of defense diplomacy as stated by Widiatmaja (2018), namely a role involving military and civilian actors that aims to build on existing strategies in realizing defense and security.
- c. Military involvement in handling the Covid-19 pandemic. This strategic step through involving the TNI to accelerate logistics distribution and build the immunity of the Indonesian people requires coordination and cooperation with the TNI as a supporting component in handling Covid. Included in military operations other than war (OMSP), the TNI distributes vaccines to all islands in Indonesia, so that in the face of a pandemic, society becomes more organized and can be managed properly. This is in accordance with Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, the TNI is involved because national defense is all efforts to defend state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state. The uneven vaccination process makes total community immunity more difficult, but with the use of the TNI in each region, this has become mutual cooperation to overcome the pandemic.
There were also 3 inhibiting factors in the relationship between Indonesia and China cooperation of handling Covid-19, as follows:
 - a. The rise of misinformation circulating in society and the lack of role of community leaders. There is misinformation or hoaxes circulating in the community regarding

vaccines from China, namely Sinovac. Indonesian people have a certain stigma against products from China. This is an association of product quality originating from China whose products tend to be of less quality. It is the development of this narrative that undermines confidence in the covid-19 vaccine. In addition, there are still religious and community leaders who act as role models and public figures who have not yet gained confidence in the safety, potency and halal aspects that the government needs to ensure. This obstacle was also overcome by President Joko Widodo by stating that he was the first person to be vaccinated. This is done in order to give confidence and calm down the public doubts and unrest about vaccines.

- b. There is no readiness in dealing with health threats in developing countries. This makes the dynamics of relations between countries and cooperation in this field tend to be less fast in dealing with threats. This has also become an inhibiting factor in the Indonesia-China cooperation, because Covid-19 has become epidemic and has caused casualties, only then have cooperation talks been held to overcome it. Liu (2009) states that health security is an effort to take preventive measures to protect people from infectious diseases, provide equipment, infrastructure and health care to the community, but it appears from the Covid-19 pandemic, there is no readiness from countries to deal with health threats. The challenge is to seek cooperation to overcome and deal with threats such as a pandemic. Indonesia is trying to encourage pandemic influence preparation, which makes a kind of necessity when a pandemic situation starts to exist. This can be interpreted as WHO's efforts to be able to control vaccines that can be easily distributed to other countries. Apart from that, it can also be concluded that countries are still lacking in awareness of non-traditional threats such as health, which can also be interpreted as an opportunity for diplomacy and cooperation, especially in defense diplomacy.

Facilities, personnel and communications that are not ready for emergency situations such as a pandemic. The Covid-19 pandemic is an emergency situation that arose from a virus. Never before has a similar situation occurred causing a lack of preparedness from facilities, personnel and communication patterns which has caused the handling process to be hampered. This is evident in the lack of preparedness of facilities and infrastructure such as hospitals, medical devices, development of domestic vaccines, untrained/untrained personnel, as well as communication barriers such as foreign languages experienced by the humanitarian aid pick-up team. Based on Cottey & Forster (2004), defense diplomacy can be carried out in the form of joint military exercises bilaterally or multilaterally, joint deployments and exercises, training of military members and foreign defense employees, as well as exchange of information and giving each other input regarding the role of democracy in controlling the armed forces and military management. In line with the second inhibiting factor, joint training, training of military members and exchange of information can be a means to build mutual trust between Indonesia and China and increase capability and readiness, especially for non-traditional threats.

CONCLUSION

Indonesian Defense Diplomacy plays a supporting role in cooperating with China. Defense diplomacy plays a role as one of the paths in the multi-track diplomacy carried out by Indonesia to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. The results were the existence of humanitarian assistance operations, such as the delivery of medical equipment assistance from China to Indonesia, the development of cooperation in vaccine production between Indonesia and China which is marked by technology transfer cooperation between Bio Farma and Sinovac, as well as research collaboration including clinical trials with medical research institutions in Indonesia.

This activity is a form of defense diplomacy involving civil and military elements in order to build a confidence building measure between Indonesia and China, especially during difficult times such as the COVID-19 pandemic. The Ministry of Defense as a supporting element in overcoming the spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia has mobilized the TNI to assist and support the handling of the Covid-19 Pandemic domestically and also assist the implementation of activities abroad such as taking medical devices, vaccines and carrying out repatriation of Indonesian citizens. The contributing factors are China's help during the pandemic and military utilization in pandemic relief. The inhibiting factors are the prevalence of misinformation, the lack of preparedness in dealing with health threats, and the facilities, personnel and communication that are not yet optimal.

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