

Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy Towards Indonesia During Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstrak

Diplomasi vaksin merupakan diplomasi yang menggunakan vaksin sebagai alat utama diplomasi. Pandemi Covid-19 menghadirkan peluang bagi negara produsen maupun negara manufaktur vaksin untuk melakukan diplomasi vaksin. Belanda sebagai negara manufaktur vaksin menjadikan Indonesia sebagai salah satu sasaran untuk melakukan diplomasi vaksin. Penelitian ini bertujuan menjelaskan instrumen dan strategi yang digunakan oleh Belanda dalam melakukan diplomasi vaksin terhadap Indonesia selama masa Pandemi Covid-19. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan data sekunder berbentuk berupa buku, artikel jurnal, berita, dan dokumen laporan dalam situs lembaga Pemerintah Belanda dan Pemerintah Indonesia, serta hasil wawancara dari Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. teknik analisis yang dipergunakan adalah data tematik. Temuan dari penelitian ini adalah Pemerintah Belanda menggunakan instrumen kolaboratif dengan pendekatan More Formal Collaborative Instruments yang ditunjukkan dengan interaksi berbagai aktor internasional seperti negara, organisasi internasional serta perusahaan multinasional produsen vaksin.

Kata Kunci: *Belanda; Covid-19; Diplomasi Vaksin; Indonesia*

Abstract

Vaccine diplomacy is diplomacy that uses vaccines as the main tool of diplomacy. The Covid-19 pandemic presents an opportunity for vaccine producing countries and producing countries to conduct vaccine diplomacy. The Netherlands as a vaccine producing country has made Indonesia one of the targets for vaccine diplomacy. This research aims to explain the instruments and strategies used by the Netherlands in conducting vaccine diplomacy against Indonesia during the Covid-19 Pandemic. This research uses a qualitative method with secondary data in the form of books, journal articles, news, and document reports on the websites of the Netherlands Government and Indonesian Government institutions, as well as the results of interviews from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. the analysis technique used is thematic data. The findings from this research are that the Netherlands Government uses collaborative instruments with the More Formal Collaborative Instruments approach which was raised by the interaction of various international actors such as countries, international organizations and multinational vaccine manufacturing companies.

Keywords: *Netherlands; COVID-19; Vaccine Diplomacy; Indonesia*

Introduction

The presence of Covid-19 has had a considerable influence on the world of diplomacy. The world of diplomacy during a pandemic is faced with an enemy that is invisible physically but has an impact in the form of a crisis and a high death rate. Diplomacy is also faced with various challenges that came after the outbreak of Covid-19, namely diplomatic efforts to stop the Covid-19 case and efforts to implement diplomacy during the Covid-19 period which is certainly different from diplomacy before the Covid-19 Pandemic occurred (Triwibowo 2020).

Vaccine Diplomacy is a step taken by the Netherlands, one of the countries that is a vaccine producer, namely Johnson & Johnson. At the start of its production, unlike other vaccines which required 2 injections, Johnson & Johnson only required 1 injection. Based on initial trials, Johnson & Johnson claims that their vaccine is 72% effective against COVID-19 and 66% effective overall in preventing moderate to severe COVID-19 within 28 days of vaccination. In addition, Johnson & Johnson also claims that their vaccine has been proven to be 85% effective in preventing severe disease as well as protecting hospitalized Covid-19 patients and reducing the death rate. With a vaccination system that only has one injection, Johnson & Johnson also claims that their vaccine makes distribution easier and is a solution to the imbalance in the number of vaccines around the world (Johnson & Johnson 2021).

The Netherlands also plays an important role in the production of other vaccines because the Netherlands is also the place for AstraZeneca vaccines to develop and produce vaccines in the country (DW 2021). Apart from that, Moderna is also developing and producing its vaccine in the Netherlands (Euronews 2021). This makes the Netherlands have a fairly important position in the world's Covid-19 vaccine chain because Johnson & Johnson, AstraZeneca and Moderna are developing and producing in the country.

Even so, these facts are not as smooth as what happened on the ground. Evidently, a number of problems arose, especially in the implementation of the Covid-19 vaccination using the Johnson & Johnson vaccine. The United States through the FDA (Food and Drug Administration) in mid-2021 recommended stopping the use of vaccines as a preventative measure due to a number of reports of blood clots due to the vaccination. As a result, Johnson & Johnson was forced to delay vaccine distribution in the United States and Europe (McGinley & Sun 2021). This incident forced Johnson & Johnson to postpone the distribution of their vaccine not only in the United States and Europe but throughout the world to ensure that the vaccine they produced was safe for use (Weiland, LaFraniere, & Zimmer 2021). Then, the United States Government limited the use of the Covid-19 vaccine with Johnson & Johnson due to various reports regarding blood

clots (NBC News 2022). As a follow-up to this incident, a number of countries such as Denmark, Belgium, Slovenia and Canada have placed restrictions on the use of the Johnson & Johnson vaccine. This created a problem where the Netherlands, as a vaccine producing country, actually had vaccines from their country experiencing a number of rejections and restrictions on use in other countries. Thus, Vaccine Diplomacy is a breakthrough for the Netherlands Government so that its vaccine is accepted by other countries. Therefore, the researchers focused on researching Vaccine Diplomacy and various strategies undertaken by the Netherlands against Indonesia.

Indonesia is a country that has a large population. Based on the results of the population census conducted in 2020, Indonesia was recorded as having 270,203,917 people (Badan Pusat Statistik 2020). Indonesia also has a vaccination target of 70% of the total population to achieve communal immunity or herd immunity (Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia 2021). With a high population size and vaccination target, researchers see this as an opportunity for the Netherlands to make Indonesia the target of their vaccine diplomacy so that the Netherlands-produced vaccine is used by the Indonesian people. Therefore, based on the intensive cooperation established by the two countries, researchers see that there are opportunities for vaccine diplomacy that the Netherlands can carry out during the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The issue of vaccine diplomacy has been at the forefront since 2010 and has started to become a topic of discussion which has been extensively researched since the Covid-19 pandemic occurred in 2020 which is also shown by the large number of articles discussing vaccine diplomacy since 2020. Vaccine diplomacy carried out by a country has been studied by (Zuhari, Ladiqi, & Supriyadi 2022) which discussed China's vaccine diplomacy policy during the Covid-19 period where China shifted policy priorities from infrastructure diplomacy to vaccine diplomacy during the Covid-19 Pandemic. In addition, (Sharun & Dhama 2021) describes Vaccine Diplomacy carried out by countries in the world to ensure vaccine supply throughout the world and equal access to vaccines for countries in the world. Then, (Kier & Stronski 2021) regarding the steps taken by Russia in carrying out vaccine diplomacy. Steps taken by Russia include introducing and marketing the Sputnik vaccine globally, especially to countries friendly to Russia such as the United Arab Emirates. This is proven by the presence of 70 countries that recognize and allow the use of Sputnik.

In addition (Wicaksono, Hirawan, & Ragamustari 2022) explains vaccine diplomacy towards Indonesia which is carried out bilaterally such as China and the United States or multilaterally such as ASEAN and COVAX.

Then in (Yuliantoro 2022) it is explained about China's Vaccine Diplomacy towards Indonesia. The difference between these articles is that this research seeks to see and analyze vaccine diplomacy and the Netherlands vaccine diplomacy instruments and strategies towards Indonesia. It is on this basis that researchers are interested in conducting research related to "Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy towards Indonesia During the Covid-19 Pandemic". This research aims to explain the Netherlands vaccine diplomacy instruments and strategies towards Indonesia.

Research methods

This research uses qualitative research methods which are produced through literature studies and interviews which are examined qualitatively. In this research, researchers used literature research and interview techniques. Literature studies carried out by researchers included journal articles, books, news, and policies related to vaccine diplomacy which were carried out at the state level, especially the Netherlands, to those carried out at the level of international organizations and other non-state actors. In addition to the literature research, the researcher will also complement primary data sources by conducting interviews with sources, namely the Directorate of Europe I of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which has responsibility for managing bilateral relations between Indonesia and several countries in Europe, especially the Netherlands. The interview will focus on the research of Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy Against Indonesia and the Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy strategy.

Theoretical Framework

Vaccine Diplomacy

Vaccine diplomacy is a branch of health diplomacy (Hotez 2014; Boasiako 2022; Bhattacharya, et al. 2021). Vaccine diplomacy refers to use by countries to improve diplomatic relations and to achieve other objectives of a country implementing the vaccine diplomacy. Vaccine diplomacy also refers to almost all aspects of global health diplomacy that are engaged in the use and delivery of vaccines which also includes cooperation with GAVI (Global Alliance for Vaccine and Immunization), WHO, and other international organizations related to vaccine diplomacy. The essence of vaccine diplomacy is an effort to create peace in the humanitarian sphere globally and to try to stop hostilities between countries as long as the vaccination series is still ongoing (Hotez 2014).

Vaccine Diplomacy also refers to a policy used by a country to improve diplomatic relations or to achieve other objectives of a country implementing the vaccine diplomacy. Vaccine Diplomacy has the goal of introducing and marketing vaccines implementing the vaccine diplomacy. Vaccine Diplomacy has the goal of introducing and marketing vaccines produced from one country to other countries (Kier & Stronski 2021). Apart from that, Vaccine Diplomacy can also be used as a tool for conducting public

diplomacy to gain soft power (Lee 2021).

So that in vaccine diplomacy, apart from the state, actors from the diplomacy can also come from WHO, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), or non-governmental organizations. Apart from that, in vaccine diplomacy, there are also a number of actors such as state and non-state actors. Non-state actors also contain not only non-governmental organizations but also individuals, private parties such as multinational companies, to civil society (Chattu & Knight 2019).

Vaccine Diplomacy is the ability of a country to use vaccine supplies to achieve national interests in relations with other countries. Discussions about the concept of vaccine diplomacy existed even before the Covid-19 Pandemic. Vaccine diplomacy is also seen as a relationship between one country and another in interacting regarding the production and delivery of vaccines with related parties. Vaccine diplomacy is generally used to mitigate current or potential global health crises in the future. Vaccine diplomacy is also defined as diplomacy relating to the development, manufacture and delivery of vaccines as goods needed for the global community (Boasiako 2022).

Vaccine Diplomacy is also defined as a scheme for the development and delivery of vaccines pursued in the name of national interests, state security and with the aim of gaining national benefits for a country, both directly and indirectly. Vaccine diplomacy also includes state efforts to spread vaccines under the pretext of creating *national branding*, national prestige, and *soft power*. Vaccine diplomacy activities are also closely related to efforts to create integrity and build communication with other countries through sending and procuring vaccines. Vaccine diplomacy is also said to be an effort by a country to build strength geopolitically by taking advantage of the pandemic situation, especially the Covid-19 pandemic (Sparke & Levy 2022).

Vaccine Diplomacy refers to almost all aspects of Global Health Diplomacy that depend on the use and delivery of vaccines followed by the involvement of various elements such as GAVI, WHO and other international organizations. Based on its history, countries tend to collaborate from various elements such as arts, culture, sports, and various humanitarian activities in diplomacy. Therefore, vaccines can also be a tool to support national needs and national interests of a country that can be used in diplomacy (Bhattacharya, et al. 2021).

Vaccine diplomacy is part of health diplomacy that can be linked to foreign aid and the delivery of vaccine supplies from one country to another. Vaccine diplomacy is said to be carried out in two ways, namely through international negotiations which aim to solve problems related to

vaccine procurement and pandemic resolution and can also be carried out through negotiation of vaccination policies and multilevel diplomacy from several influential actors in the health sector and policy formation on a global scale (Kobierecka 2022).

Based on several definitions of vaccine diplomacy conveyed by experts (Sparke & Levy 2022; Bhattacharya, et al. 2021; Kobierecka 2022) the definition of vaccine diplomacy used in this research is vaccine diplomacy is diplomacy that uses vaccines as the main tool of diplomacy. The goals of Vaccine Diplomacy include: 1) Reducing current or potential future global health crises; 2) Achieve national interests such as state security and economic improvement as well as achieving the country's image and *soft power*; and 3) Resolving conflicts and providing equitable access to vaccines for all parties.

Vaccine Diplomacy Instrument

There are several instruments of vaccine diplomacy, namely: normative instruments (*normative*), collaborative (*colaborative*), operative (*Operative*), and advisor (*advisory*). *First*, The normative instrument is an instrument that moves rigidly where the instrument contains resolutions, regulations, and conventions/agreement. Normative instruments are also known as instruments that are closely related to international law. Basically, normative instruments define duties, responsibilities, rights and obligations that are authorized and enforced by actors using binding or non-binding legal structures. Normative instruments also encourage actors, especially the state, to adhere to collective agreements. However, the presence of normative instruments is also important in order to encourage actors to solve various problems together on a clear basis of international law. *Second*, Collaborative instrument is an instrument that emphasizes the participation of international relations actors such as the government, *Intergovernmental Organizations*, private sector, *Non Governmental Organizations* (NGOs), and various other actors (Novotny, Kickbusch, & Told, 2013).

In this instrument there is a notion that there is a strong need for various existing international actors to be integrated into policy-making discussions on global health issues. This was done due to the increasing complexity of the global health problem itself so that collaboration from various parties is needed to prevent and reduce the major impact of the health crisis that has occurred. With collaboration from various parties, it is hoped that global cooperation in the health sector will become more open and create multilevel cooperation and involvement from many parties for decision making in the global health sector. This can lead to various innovative actions and additional resources so as to encourage effective policies.

Third, Operative Instrument is an instrument that emphasizes the operationalization of norms in a more stringent and directed manner through action plans and strategies. Operative instruments basically emphasize specific guidelines and procedures to address global health problems. Basically, operative instruments place more emphasis on strategies and real actions that are normatively binding on all members of international organizations (Novotny, Kickbusch, & Told, 2013).

This is illustrated through *guidelines* or instructions in solving a particular problem which is continued to the preparation and implementation of a project. *Fourth*, Advisory Instrument is an instrument that emphasizes research in the development and formation of policy. Advisory instruments play an important role in translating science into action and providing input to governments and international organizations in policy making. The instrument also emphasizes the importance of research efforts, problem identification, drug development and analysis of strategic data to address global health problems (Novotny, Kickbusch, & Told, 2013).

Vaccine Diplomacy Strategy

In the implementation of Vaccine Diplomacy, there are several strategies carried out by several countries which are a reference for the author in mapping out the vaccine diplomacy strategy. First, there is a strategy *All Around Dealer*. *All Around Dealer* is a strategy implemented by a country in maximizing the ability to procure vaccines from various fields. These fields include vaccine research and development, vaccine manufacturing, vaccine distribution, and marketing of these vaccines. To help carry out this strategy, the government of a country needs to have strong export and trade strengths. *All Around Dealer* one of which was carried out by the Chinese Government. China has great strength in vaccine research and development, vaccine manufacturing, and vaccine distribution. China is aware that their greatest strength is distribution and marketing. With the status of a country with the largest export and trade levels in the world, China has strong business and economic ties with developing countries. This is the main target of vaccine diplomacy from China (Suzuki & Yang).

Second, strategy for vaccine manufacturing centers for developing countries (*Manufacturing Center for the Developing World*). This is a strategy implemented by the Government of India in conducting Vaccine Diplomacy. India was a country that produced 60% of the world's vaccine supply before the Covid-19 Pandemic. At the time of the Covid-19 Pandemic, India also played an equally important role by becoming a vaccine manufacturing center by collaborating with AztraZeneca. This will enable India to produce more than 100 million doses of vaccines by 2021. With quite a lot of production results, India is able to emerge as one of the countries conducting Vaccine Diplomacy. The majority of India's vaccines are distributed to neighboring and friendly countries.

This is demonstrated by vaccine shipments that lead to Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Bangladesh and Myanmar. Not only through bilateral channels, India also carried out a vaccine diplomacy scheme through multilateral channels which was demonstrated by participating in COVAX (Suzuki & Yang 2022).

Third, there is a strategy *Reclaimed Science Superpower* or reclaim the status of a country as the most scientifically advanced country in the world. This is a strategy implemented by Russia. Russia has the greatest strength in vaccine research and development. A different thing with China which is more directed to the power of trade and India in the manufacturing sector. Russia has been conducting research since the beginning of the pandemic and has successfully launched a vaccine that is quite effective, namely the Sputnik Vaccine. With their experience since they were in the Soviet Union, Russia has a long experience in developing and researching vaccines. The results of the Sputnik vaccine have also been recognized by the world's best journals. Knowing that its capacity is not in trade, Russia is offering their vaccines to other countries while offering technology transfer cooperation. This attracted the attention of a number of countries such as Brazil, Bolivia, and Argentina as well as South Korea. Russia also offers the efficacy of the Sputnik vaccine which reaches 90% which is claimed to be better than AstraZeneca. Nonetheless, Russia prefers to use bilateral channels in conducting Vaccine Diplomacy due to the country's minimal contribution to COVAX (Suzuki & Yang 2022).

Results and Discussion

Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy Towards Indonesia

Based on the results of an interview with the European Directorate I of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, through written answers, it was conveyed that when a meeting was held between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands in The Hague, on 1 July 2021, the Netherlands conveyed plans to provide vaccine support for the Covid-19 19 to Indonesia. In its development, the Netherlands Government through the Netherlands Ministry of Health said that it would donate Covid-19 vaccines for 3 million Indonesians by adjusting the availability of vaccines and the needs of the vaccination program in Indonesia. The distribution of vaccines from the Netherlands is carried out through 2 mechanisms, namely bilateral and multilateral (COVAX). In this regard, the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in The Hague and the European Directorate I coordinate closely with the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Health of the Netherlands, and the Netherlands Embassy in Jakarta regarding the need for and availability of vaccines, fulfillment of vaccine requirements that can be accepted and used in Indonesia and vaccine

delivery and storage mechanisms. As of January 18, 2022, the Government of the Netherlands has provided vaccine assistance in the amount of 3,781,000 (bilateral scheme) and 2,266,400 doses (COVAX scheme) with the following details:

Table 1. Delivery of Vaccines from the Netherlands Government to Indonesia from a Bilateral Scheme

Bilateral Scheme	
Vaccine Type	Number of Vaccines given by the Netherlands Government
AstraZeneca	657.000
Janssen	824.000
Moderna	2.300.000

Sumber: Interview with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023

Table 2. Delivery of vaccines from the Netherlands Government to Indonesia from a multilateral scheme

Multilateral Scheme (COVAX)	
Vaccine Type	Number of Vaccines Given by Netherlands Government
Modern	1.500.000
AstraZeneca	766.400

Sumber: Interview with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023

Thus, as of 18 February 2022, the Covid-19 vaccine received by the Government of Indonesia from the Government of the Netherlands was 6,047,400 doses of vaccine. In addition, related to the implementation of the vaccine booster 2nd by the Government of Indonesia, there has been no discussion regarding procurement of vaccines with Netherlands. need for Covid-19 vaccine in Indonesia will be furr coordinated with Ministry of Health of Republic of Indonesia (Interview with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia 2022).

Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy Instrument Against Indonesia

Based on data obtained by researchers, vaccine diplomacy instrument used by Netherlands is a collaborative instrument. So, from explanation above, instrument used by Netherlands Government in conducting vaccine diplomacy against Indonesia is a Collaborative Instrument with an approach *More Formal Collaborative Instruments* which uses institutional cooperation with a clear structure and governance. This can be seen from delivery of vaccines bilaterally carried out by Government of Netherlands. During dialogue stage, meeting of two Ministers of Foreign Affairs from both Government of Netherlands and Government of Indonesia to discuss plans to support Netherlands for Indonesian vaccination program through delivery of vaccines proved that there was strong inter-institutional cooperation between two parties. Apart from that, from multilateral realm, vaccine delivery is carried out through COVAX agency (World Health Organizations 2020).

Netherlands Vaccine Diplomacy Strategy Towards Indonesia

Based on author's interpretation, Netherlands vaccine diplomacy strategy towards Indonesia is *Manufacturing Center for developing world*. Quoted from (Suzuki & Yang 2022) strategy *Manufacturing Center for Developing World* is a strategy in which a country focuses on its capacity as a vaccine manufacturing center that can produce as many vaccines as possible so that these vaccines can not only be used domestically but can be used by other countries throughout world. With vaccine stocks owned by vaccine manufacturing countries, these countries can carry out vaccine diplomacy to achieve their national interest goals including strengthening their influence regionally and internationally. In addition, this strategy also has several steps, namely mass production from vaccine manufacturers, bilateral vaccine donations, large-scale vaccine sales in bilateral sphere, and multilateral initiatives in COVAX (Suzuki & Yang 2022).

First step of this strategy is mass production from vaccine manufacturers. This is shown by fact that Netherlands is a country that has good capabilities in research and development, especially in health sector, in this case vaccines. Netherlands through its health research agency has contributed to solving various health problems such as smallpox epidemic which was resolved in 1981 and became one of biggest achievements in health sector globally (Netherlands National Institute for Public Health and Environment 2020). Talking about Covid-19 pandemic, Netherlands plays an important role as a leading vaccine manufacturing center in world. This is evidenced by vaccine manufacturing companies such as AstraZeneca, Moderna, and Johnson & Johnson choosing Netherlands as

ir vaccine manufacturing center in Europe. AstraZeneca is collaborating with Halix, a pharmaceutical company from Netherlands to cooperate in manufacture of vaccine being developed by AstraZeneca (Reuters 2020). In addition, Moderna also appointed Netherlands as ir vaccine manufacturing center. In 2021, Moderna agreed to work together to manufacture vaccines in Geleen, Netherlands. Moderna also plans to carry out research and development in order to produce a Covid-19 vaccine that can deal with new variants in future (Reuters, 2021). Not only that, Johnson & Johnson, has also chosen Netherlands as vaccine manufacturing center since 2018 in Leiden, Netherlands, which will focus on research and development as well as large-scale vaccine production and as site of late-stage clinical trials for ir vaccines. Johnson & Johnson chose Netherlands as ir vaccine manufacturing center because of potential to increase production at high capacity and speed at a lower cost (Lynch 2018).

Second step of this strategy is to donate bilaterally. Netherlands made a bilateral donation to Indonesia. Based on an interview with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was said that Indonesia received Netherlands vaccine donations through 2 channels, namely Bilateral and Multilateral. number of vaccine doses given by Netherlands government to Indonesia through bilateral routes was 3,781,000 vaccine doses (Interview with Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2022). In addition, there are several other countries that receive vaccine donations bilaterally from Netherlands, such as Vietnam, which received 1 million doses of vaccine bilaterally from Netherlands (Vietnam News 2022), Namibia, 75,000 doses of vaccine (AllAfrica.com 2021), and Suriname, which received 700 thousand doses of vaccine from Netherlands Government (NL Times 2021).

Third step of this strategy is sale of vaccines on a large scale from bilateral domain. This is demonstrated through purchase of 50 million doses of vaccine by Ministry of Health in collaboration with Bio Farma for AstraZeneca vaccine (Detikcom 2020). Apart from that, AstraZeneca was also purchased by a number of countries such as Malaysia which purchased 12.8 million doses (Reuters 2020), European Union which purchased 300 million doses (Reuters 2020), and United States which purchased 300 million doses (Reuters 2020).

Meanwhile, Moderna vaccines were also purchased by a number of parties such as European Union which purchased 300 million doses (European Commission 2021), Japan which purchased 100 million doses (Japan Times 2021), United States which purchased 200 million dose (Reuters 2021). Meanwhile, United States also purchased 100 million doses of Janssen vaccine (Johnson & Johnson 2020).

Fourth step of this strategy is initiatives within Multilateral agencies such as COVAX. Netherlands is quite actively involved in making shipments through COVAX. Like delivery of 2,266,400 doses of vaccine to Government of Indonesia (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Interview 2022), Papua New Guinea which received 300 thousand doses of vaccine (National 2022), Philippines which received 1.5 million vaccine doses (ABS-CBN News 2021), Laos which received 199,200 doses of vaccine (UNICEF 2021), Cape Verde which received 150 thousand doses of vaccine (BES Reporter 2021), Kenya which received 750 thousand doses (Denmark Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021), as well as a total of 27 million doses vaccine to COVAX (Netherlands Review 2021).

Conclusion

Vaccine diplomacy is a diplomacy that uses vaccines as main tool of diplomacy that aims to reduce current global health crisis or prevent future global health crises, achieve national interests, and resolve conflicts and provide equitable access to vaccines to all parties. Actors in vaccine diplomacy are all international actors related to all vaccine diplomacy activities such as countries, international organizations, private parties and international non-governmental organizations. Government of Kingdom of Netherlands when conducting vaccine diplomacy forms and efforts towards Indonesia through 2 channels, namely Bilateral and Multilateral (COVAX). Through bilateral channels, Indonesia received 3,781,000 vaccine doses. Meanwhile, through multilateral channels, Indonesia received 2,266,400 doses of Covid-19 vaccine. Thus, total vaccine received by Government of Indonesia is 6,047,400 doses of Covid-19 vaccine. This research found that instrument used by Netherlands Government in conducting vaccine diplomacy with Indonesia was a collaborative instrument with an approach *more formal collaborative instruments* which is indicated by more formal collaborative relationships such as relationship between Foreign Ministries of two countries and involvement between non-state actors as evidenced by involvement of COVAX as an international institution involved in Netherlands vaccine diplomacy process towards Indonesia.

This research found that Vaccine Diplomacy Strategy used by Netherlands Government was *Manufacturing Center for Developing World*. This is evidenced by Netherlands focusing on its capacity as a vaccine manufacturing center that can produce as many vaccines as possible so that vaccines can be used by or countries around world, especially developing countries. Netherlands also carried out several strategies *Manufacturing Center for Developing World* demonstrated by mass production by vaccine manufacturers, bilateral vaccine donations, bilateral large-scale vaccine sales, and multilateral initiatives in COVAX.

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Interview

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