

## COVID-19: Nationalism and global solidarities

### *COVID-19: Nasionalisme dan solidaritas global*

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#### Abstract

As the COVID-19 crisis emerged, many forms of nationalism have been rising, such as racism, state individualism, vaccine nationalism, and so forth. However, this kind of nationalism cannot solve the global pandemic that affects various aspects of human life that needs global solidarity in the framework of thinking. The purpose of this article is to explore the relationship between COVID-19, nationalism, and global solidarity. This article used the literature review method to compare and contrast the COVID-19, Nationalism, and Global Solidarity arguments by using reputable resources such as journals, research reports, and news articles. This article was divided into three sections: 1) the explanation about nationalism, its definition, and theoretical approach, 2) state and nationalism in crisis time, 3) cooperation and global solidarity. It concluded that the COVID-19 period showed us people tend to have greater individuality and higher attachment to their groups and state, as Social Identity Theory (SIT) suggests. It manifested in state nationalist view that state as the sole player in mitigating this pandemic shows selfish attitude. However, as the COVID-19 served as a global pandemic, it also needs global solidarity which has been proven in solving the spread of coronavirus and tackle its impact.

**Keywords:** cooperation; COVID-19; global solidarity; nationalism; state

#### Abstrak

Ketika krisis COVID-19 terjadi, banyak bentuk nasionalisme meningkat, seperti rasisme, individualisme negara, nasionalisme vaksin, dan lain sebagainya. Namun, nasionalisme semacam ini tidak dapat menyelesaikan pandemi global yang sudah memengaruhi berbagai aspek kehidupan manusia di mana solidaritas global dibutuhkan juga dalam kerangka pemikiran. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi hubungan antara COVID-19, nasionalisme, dan solidaritas global. Artikel ini menggunakan metode tinjauan pustaka untuk membandingkan dan mengkontraskan argumentasi COVID-19, Nasionalisme, dan Solidaritas Global dengan menggunakan sumber-sumber terpercaya seperti jurnal, laporan penelitian, dan artikel berita. Artikel ini terbagi dalam tiga bagian: 1) penjelasan tentang nasionalisme, definisi dan pendekatan teoretisnya, 2) negara dan nasionalisme di masa krisis, 3) kerjasama dan solidaritas global. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa periode COVID-19 menunjukkan bahwa individu cenderung memiliki individualitas yang lebih besar dan keterikatan yang lebih tinggi dengan kelompok dan negara mereka, seperti penjelasan Social Identity Theory (SIT). Hal ini juga terwujud dalam pandangan nasionalis negara bahwa negara sebagai satu-satunya pemain dalam penanggulangan pandemi ini menunjukkan sikap egois. Namun, karena COVID-19 adalah pandemi global, diperlukan juga solidaritas global yang telah terbukti dapat menangani penyebaran virus korona dan mengatasi dampaknya.

**Kata kunci:** kerjasama; COVID-19; solidaritas global; nasionalisme; negara

## Introduction

COVID-19 was firstly reported on 31 December 2019 in Wuhan, China. In weeks, specifically on 13 January 2020, the first coronavirus case was detected outside China in Thailand (WHO 2020). A few months later, COVID-19 had spread worldwide, with more than 200 countries reporting the issue.

Thus far, it has killed more than 200,000 people. The disease can spread quickly. One estimation said that a person with coronavirus could infect 59,000 other people (Venaik 2020). The novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) has changed how the world works. The interconnected state system, including trade, transportation, and technology, has suddenly changed course. People should stay at home and only go out to buy the necessary things for their daily life. It ruins the states' economy since there is no significant economic activity ongoing during this crisis. The travel ban, lockdown, closing of public and entertainment places, and the closing or limiting public transportation are among the standard norms (Oum & Wang 2020). People are suffering economically. Globalization, as the interconnectedness in which essentially people moving from one country to another seemed unstoppable before, has ceased because of this crisis. Because of this crisis, there is a considerable disruption, such as an economic downturn and unemployment skyrocketing. According to the World Bank (2020), the impact of COVID-19 brought the economic activity to a near-standstill because state policy during the COVID-19 pandemic tries to restrict people's movement to prevent the spread of the virus. The economic crisis is prevalent and this pandemic becomes the largest economic shock the world has experienced in previous years. The pandemic has both direct and long-term impacts, such as decreasing the economic growth, which the world economy contracted at 5.2%. It can also bring the states into a deep recession that resulted in lower investment, erosion of human capital because of lost work and schooling, and fragmentation of global trade and supply linkage. Besides the economic shock, the pandemic also heavily correlates to the surge of nationalism where everyone is focusing on their own.

The study about nationalism during the COVID-19 pandemic was prevalent. This is because, evidently, there is a silent rise of nationalism in the world during the pandemic. The nationalism discourse has never been easy to deal with since the world that we live in was a break from the Second World War where the great war gave primacy to ideological struggles. Although we live in capitalism, nationalism already deep-rooted in this kind of system. COVID-19 served as a force that accelerates this trend (Rao 2020). Furthermore, nationalism in political discourse has grown stronger. For instance, in Europe, there is a successful rise of nationalist and populist parties in Italy, Austria, Hungary, France, and Germany. In the US, the nationalist rhetoric starts to be normally accepted when former US President Trump's said "Make America Great Again". In the UK, we also see the Brexit, where the UK left the European Union. This nationalist policy and then the outbreak of COVID-19 even trigger another dimension of nationalism. Similar to anti-Asian sentiment, xenophobia, the ideas of people being different and others are superior rather than the rest further exacerbated by this outbreak. Evidently, anti-Asian sentiments, as well as racism, have been shown stronger in various parts of the world (Mkonza 2020). The discussion about nationalism during the pandemic varied in many ways. Bieber (2020) argued that there are several factors that ignite the nationalist tendencies during the COVID-19 pandemic such as the recent trajectory of nationalism and how the state has the experience in handling the crisis, the type of government whether authoritarianism or democratic, the rise of bias against some groups and the rise of borders, and deglobalization and the politics of fear. Different from Woods et al. (2020), the direct relations between COVID-19 and nationalism were difficult to be examined because COVID-19 is also a highly politicized issue and there is also political process consideration. Therefore, there is a priority that comes from COVID-19 in the policy-making that comes from the government. The discussion goes longer when it comes to vaccine nationalism, inequality to vaccine access, inability to achieve the target of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and bio-political nationalism of 'we are doing better' compared to the other to start to emerge when they deal with this pandemic (Nhamo et al. 2020; Kloet et al. 2020).

This article provided different stances that although it is prevalent that nationalism grew stronger and present in various forms, the state also shows their solidarity to tackle this pandemic together which is also prevalent in many cooperation. It is true that the state plays a dominant role in handling the crisis. There is an increase in negative sentiments towards migrants and Chinese ethnic individuals in some parts of the world. This article aimed to explore the relations between the COVID-19 and nationalism that emerge in various forms. The first section explained how the pandemic crisis could lead to the rise of nationalism both at the individual and state levels within the theoretical frameworks. The second

section is a continued explanation of state nationalism along with its response during the pandemic. The third section talked about global solidarity and cooperation in handling the virus and its impact. It concluded that although nationalism is rising both for individual and state, the state cannot act alone to handle the pandemic since this is a global problem and needs a global solution to tackling the spread of COVID-19 and its impact. Therefore, the answer is on the need for global solidarity and cooperation instead of focusing on nationalism alone.

## Research Method

This article used the literature review method by selecting the related information and theories from various sources. The sources included journal articles from publisher websites such as SAGE, JSTOR, Taylor and Francis, Wiley Blackwell, Springer, and other reputable publishers. The news media used were *The Diplomat*, *Time*, *The Jakarta Post*, *Foreign Policy*, and Vox News. The research reports used were from think tank organizations or relevant institutions for instance World Health Organization, the National Bureau of Economic Research, and Institute for Global Dialogue, and the World Economic Forum.

The information regarding nationalism was analysed in a two-level approach, individual and state. The individual analysis shows that their actions are also influenced by state policy. Then further analysis explained how leaders shape nationalist tendencies. However, during the research, it also found that the state conducted cooperation and participated in global solidarity in tackling the pandemic. Thus, to solve this global problem, it also needs a global solution. The leaders cannot act this pandemic as a zero-sum game because as the world is more connected than ever, when one state suffers from the pandemic, it also affects the others. Therefore, this article compared and synthesized the arguments that are related to nationalism and global solidarity.

## Results and Discussion

### COVID-19 and nationalism: Theoretical perspectives

In general, nationalism can be understood as malleable with a narrow ideology where people feel that they belong to a nation rather than to another group. Nationalism consists of two aspects, the first is on objective elements such as physical, ethnic, and territorial characteristics, which the group of the population commonly share. It also contains subjective elements such as ideological belief and identity that are imaginatively constructed. At the individual level, “nationalism refers to sentiment and actions that are expressed by fellow nationals from the bottom-up, either to make sense of their lives in the framework of supra-personal narrative or to sharpen the contrast against ‘the other’ who are alien to their community.” Meanwhile, at the state level, nationalism is a form of state policy from the top-down to drive and advance the idea of independence and solidarity within the state through various ways such as war, media, education, and language. These two levels of nationalism work together with the elements of nationalism which consists of three elements. The first element is the idea that a whole nation exists to differentiate its citizens from other nations. The second element focuses on the implication of national membership, including its rights and obligation. The third element mainly refers to political independence and self-determination. These three elements play and influence the political constellation that would result in negative and positive forms (Wang 2021), such as radicalism, exclusivity, and violent and civic, inclusive, and peaceful respectively. When talking about an ideal situation, maintaining a civic and inclusive nationalism calls for stronger solidarity and better governance performance, particularly in crisis times. However, during the crisis, the rise of extreme and exclusive elements of nationalism appears unavoidable. The relations between crises to nationalism lies in the process that political or economic shocks will push nationals to blame outsiders, take self-protectionist policies, develop nativist sentiments, and resort to anti-establishment movement. Therefore, the coronavirus that makes the state experiencing the crisis and other protective measures could even more become a fertile ground for the rising of the state’s nationalist sentiment (Wang 2021).

Many scholars have argued that the government response during the pandemic has influenced the global rise of nationalism. Starting with the border lockdowns, this has made people tend to look for help within their communities. It is capable of making nationalism more salient than ever. It provides people with a political reference to and for the nation. It has been amplified by world leaders such as Donald Trump, who has referred to COVID-19 as the Chinese virus. Although it is correct that the virus came from China and that China is being held responsible for the virus spread, the term 'Chinese virus' positively correlated with racism. The racism and discrimination against Chinese people in the United States have increased during the pandemic time. Within two weeks (19 March-1 April 2020), there were 1,135 cases of COVID-19 discrimination. The form of discrimination consists of verbal abuse, being rejected from accessing public services, and physical abuse. The anti-Chinese and anti-Asian attitudes became the most prominent in the US, primarily after Trump uttered the Chinese virus remarks (Bieber 2020).

Besides the anti-Chinese and anti-Asia sentiment, another group of people has also received discrimination, immigrants specifically. The Hungarian Prime Minister and Far-Right parties in Europe, such as the Alternative for Germany and the Austrian Freedom Party, have connected the virus's spread to migrants. They cannot provide evidence or even a direct link between people's migration and the spread of the virus. They also demand that there should be strict regulations imposed on immigrants. It repeats in history that minorities and marginalized groups have often been accused of being disease carriers. For instance, in Nazi propaganda films, Jews were described as a plague because of rats. From the 1892 cholera outbreak to HIV/AIDS and Ebola, minorities and vulnerable people have always become the scapegoats in pandemics and epidemics. Therefore, it is somewhat familiar that immigrants have been accused of being disease carriers (Bieber 2020).

The situation proves that it is necessary to look at the theoretical perspectives of why nationalism is rising during this pandemic and even racism that happened in various countries. According to Su & Shen (2020), pandemic time turns states to be more selfish in some ways, such as closing down borders, fighting for medical supplies, and accusing each other of the disease cause. The rise of nationalism during the crisis has been proved by the Wall Street crash in 1929 and the global financial crisis in 2008. The state prioritized their well-being and directed their policies into nationalist ones. The explanation between crisis and nationalism relies on social identity theory (SIT), which said that crisis and uncertainty caused by crisis could lead the individual to have strong identification within groups. Besides, during crisis time, the state has the upper hand in controlling the situation. Therefore, these two tendencies are capable to bring nationalism rising than before. It also happens when a health crisis occurs, which can incite individual nationalist emotions, trigger high attachment with the countries, and make the conflict unavoidable. When it comes to COVID-19, it directly threatened people's lives and led people to change attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. Adding psychological dimensions could even complicate the nationalism that coming from this health crisis. Based on these arguments, it can be summarized that individuals relied on their groups during the pandemic, and the state also has more control over the society. This relation would be explored further.

### **Individual attachment to groups during the pandemic**

The cultural (social, political, economic, etc.) process is altogether within the individual mind and the collective level of the culture's surroundings. Each collective trend starts with a new personal experience where the thinking would react using the existing cultural resources. Suppose the experience turns out provocative and leads to the people's reaction into a shared ideal. In that case, this could result in a new way of thinking and acting—and even change society's nature (Woods et al. 2020). It is in parallel with two psychological pathways people may follow when facing a threat and anxiety in crisis times, including group affiliation and ideological validation. SIT theory suggests that individuals tend to affiliate themselves within groups to minimize uncertainty and threat. Therefore, people would have a strong identification with a state since the state is the sole player that could protect them from danger. In the second part of ideology, SIT theory argues that there is an association between ideological

beliefs such as authoritarianism and conservatism during the crisis. People could obtain more strength when they belong to groups with extreme ideologies and reduce the uncertainty during crisis time. Nationalism manifests an individual desire to side with the nation-state and strong group's affiliations such as racial, national, and ideological camps. Despite their ideology, people tend to be nationalistic in crisis times because it fulfills affiliation (Su & Shen 2020).

Nationalism can be referred to in various forms with different meanings relating to various levels of analysis, for instance, nationalism as a xenophobic policy, an ideology, a movement, and individual sentiment. Nationalism becomes a social-psychological phenomenon that can develop individual attitudes regarding their own and other nations (Su & Shen 2020). According to Qasim (2020), the pandemic is driving up the incidence of racism around the world and the fear caused by the virus manifesting itself in discrimination. For example, in the UK, people are asking not to be treated by doctors or nurses of Asian ethnicity while in the US anti-Asian racism is rising. The blaming attitudes as the cause of the pandemic become more prevalent during this time. The situation has also accelerated Islamophobia in countries like India. India's religious tensions between Hindu nationalist and Muslims is rising as the coronavirus broke out. Hate speech already circulated within social media hashtags such as coronajihad or bio jihad as shown in figure 1 and figure 2.



Figure 1.

Hashtag coronajihad become popular on Twitter  
Source: Pritchard (2020)



Figure 2.

Fake news targeting Muslims by using #coronajihad  
Source: The Observers (2020)

As Antonio Guterres United Nations Secretary General said, "pandemic continues to unleash a tsunami of hate and xenophobia, scapegoating and scare-mongering." It shows that this kind of situation has high priority and needs to be addressed. Guterres asked everyone to give their best efforts to end hate speech globally because COVID-19 spread massively around the world and everyone is affected by it.

In connecting between individual and state-level analysis on nationalism, it is necessary to look deeper regarding what actually happened. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic has become highly politicizing issues and this kind of approach could open the ideological divide perceptions of the pandemic. Therefore, individual nationalist sentiment could derive from the government response in pandemic since the government could have nationalist policy or sentiment when responding to the pandemic crisis (Su & Shen 2020). An example of it is Trump's expression calling coronavirus a Chinese virus which makes the anti-Asian sentiment rising. As Scott (2020) suggested, using a racist name for the coronavirus is dangerous. Trump revived the racism sentiment and it is indeed an example of xenophobia attitudes. It did not only happen in the US, but in the UK, Italy, Spain, Greece, France, and Germany latched on the COVID-19 to advance anti-immigrant, white supremacist, ultra-nationalist, anti-semitic, and xenophobic conspiracy theories that disregarding the refugees, foreigners, prominent individuals, and political leaders (HRW 2020).

### **State and nationalism in crisis time**

It is prevalent during the COVID-19 pandemic that shows us the state serves as an actor that capable of providing security, ensuring the healthcare system is running well, and becoming a safety net when the state economy has been disturbed. The state needs to intervene against the free market to secure the needs of its citizens. However, we are in the era of the global economic market when everything is interconnected. This kind of situation has led to the argument that it is better to work alone since working together exposes us to risk. Therefore, even a small state could think about its safety. In contrast, more generous states tend to choose protectionism as the US has. It leads to rivalries between states around the world, increasing the level of nationalism and power-based competition (Bieber 2020).

Nonetheless, although the world has been facing various forms of a pandemic such as the SARS infection in 2003, other examples like swine flu, MERS, Ebola, and Zika virus, COVID-19 has made the world paralyzed because it involves worldwide lockdowns, people movement limitation, substantial state-sponsored, and state-controlled mitigation (Fontaine 2020; Woods et al. 2020). COVID-19 is a highly infectious disease. All health and political authorities worldwide have committed to preventing its spread at the global level. Since travel is one of the critical disease transmission facilitators, it is necessary to impose travel bans and reduce transport frequency, such as trains, even though there is already a decreased demand for travel (Parnell et al. 2020; Wells et al. 2020). These are affecting the global supply chain. It has ruined the state's economy along with the finances of the people within it. The world's interconnectedness concerning goods, services, capital, people, data, and ideas brings an enormous advantage while also posing a higher risk when a threat comes in. This strong dependency makes people realize that their actions could affect someone else and that their sickness because of coronavirus could infect other people in a faster way (Fontaine 2020). Therefore, states have the upper hand in controlling this disease within their territory.

When it comes to state leaders, the COVID-19 crisis provides more opportunities for world leaders to exercise their leadership. It is because, during this crisis, people are putting their trust in the government. Ordinary people are already aware that they can survive by obeying public health rules even though it then places them under economic and social stress. Even further, medical nationalism has also emerged during this time. For example, the member states of the European Union have imposed export restrictions on medical supplies. When the COVID-19 crisis happened, the first step that the EU took was creating Union-wide rules requiring permits for medical exports. It makes the intense cooperation only facilitated within the EU. The regulations limit exports, and the territorial borders within the EU member states become stronger since each country has different responses and capabilities in terms of responding to the

pandemic. Italy, for example, is where the first significant outbreak of COVID-19 happened in Europe. The slow reactions of the other EU countries help show that EU solidarity is not that strong. This kind of atmosphere is used by Eurosceptic parties to enhance the north-south divide within the EU. Thus, the notion of borders has started to re-emerge during the pandemic, strengthened by Donald Trump's tweet on 23 March. He said, "This is why we need borders!" (Bieber 2020).

Controlling an infectious disease should be treated as a global public good because it will involve various actors and varied activities like creating a vaccine and making personal protective equipment. However, this is easier to be said than done. One country could exclude another country from its vaccine cooperation concerning intellectual property rights. There also exist rivalries between the different vaccine producers, which has further led to vaccine nationalism. It has already happened with countries independently researching a COVID-19 vaccine. There is inadequate cooperation between strong states and weak states to respond to the spread of the virus, along with the appearance of global nationalism where the US has tended to act unilaterally in a multipolar world. The slogan 'My Country First' has served as a worldwide movement, turning into 'American First', 'India First,' and 'China First'. This kind of situation undermines the prospect of cooperation during the pandemic (Brown & Susskind 2020).

As countries have decided not to open their doors to foreigners while implementing lockdown for their community, leaders have tended to shape their country into becoming more 'selfish' to diminish the virus spread. It negatively affects international cooperation between organizations, with some criticizing each other and restricting the overall structure. Self-protectiveness is utterly significant amidst a disease calamity. This is what has been done by France and Germany by rejecting health-related supplies provisions to other European Union members, especially Greece, whose vulnerability has been getting worse in the outbreak. It is ironic because countries in Latin America like Cuba have voluntarily provided help in the battle against coronavirus in Greece instead of the EU members stepping up to do so. It also indicates that the EU used to be the primary reference for cooperation and solidarity within its organizational members, but it has changed to show the opposite (Greer et al. 2020). Therefore, it is prevalent that state nationalism grew stronger during the crisis time, as the previous arguments suggested. The state cannot achieve an ideal situation that makes civic, inclusive, and peaceful nationalism happened. The opposite thing would instead happen. It would push the nationalist sentiment ahead because the state is unable to have strong solidarity, in parallel with its inability to develop better policies during this crisis. State as the sole actor in handling the coronavirus and its impact proving tends to works for itself and impose self-protectionist measures.

### **Global solidarity and cooperation**

Nonetheless, the discussion should not be stopped only at nationalism alone when solving the pandemic. There is no country immune from the impact of COVID-19. It has affected state economics. Companies worldwide, both large and small, have experienced the effect caused by the associated economic shocks. Investment has not been running as usual, and the informal economy sectors and tourism have suffered a slump (Gossling & Hall 2020; Niewiadomski 2020). Some countries have experienced investment barriers, and some have even experienced a recession, such as South Korea. Governments have not had the time to mitigate the damage to the economy in the pandemic face because all attention is focused on the health sector (Atkeson 2020; Anderson et al. 2020; Rahman 2020). Apart from working from home, several jobs must be left, which results in unemployment (Brynjolfsson et al. 2020). Coronavirus is significant concern around the world as the factor of health comes first. Various countries are working to fight against it along with the socioeconomic shocks that affect how people work, how organizations operate and determine industry and society's responses (Kramer & Kramer 2020; Forsythe et al. 2020; Del Rio-Chanona et al. 2020).

The state's dominant role in handling the crisis does not mean that it has diminished the potential for cooperation. The opportunity for collaboration is still there. The state's autonomy in response to the situation could also lead it to a fruitful collaboration with other states. As Appadurai said (2020), "when

the states treat the pandemic as a zero-sum game, to be won or lost, they are bound to fail." This pandemic shows that the disaster does not recognize borders. In facing this crisis, it serves as an opportunity to prove the international community's sincerity and success. It is essential to provide practical resources and global openness to respond to this crisis. Investments in the digital field have started to increase, and distance working and learning have become a way of life (IFIMES 2020). This pandemic might be a cornerstone in international solidarity in strengthening cooperative action, especially helping countries in a crisis with limited resources (Oba 2020). The emergence of a globally spread disease has made it necessary to look at another approach to responding to the threat to global health. It is important to note that a worldwide phenomenon needs global action. It moves away from the state-centric approach towards a new form of global health governance. There are various actors besides states that can contribute to handling this global pandemic. The establishment and growth of international institutions and the related norms should become a state priority to end this crisis (Woods et al. 2020). The revised version of the International Health Regulations (IHR) in 2005 agreed on by the WHO member states tried to institutionalize the concept of "Global Health Security." It means that individual states' security depends on the security of all (Ferhani & Rushton 2020).

Meanwhile, Coronavirus has made the world recognize that all nations share the same future in the globalization era. Global scientific collaboration is the key to improving our understanding of the novel coronavirus, which will allow us to learn how to fight it better. When the WHO declared that COVID-19 was a global pandemic, global cooperation thus serves as the only way to combat it. Scientific collaboration is more than just a driving force in the global exploration of cutting-edge science. It is also the best way for the world to respond to various issues such as problems with resources and the environment and climate change, health, and public safety. According to the data gathered on 15 April 2020, 1,265 article reviews and letters were jointly published by 1,608 institutions in 752 cities from 84 countries. When it comes to cooperation, 77 countries (regions) have cooperated internationally 1,180 times, 354 cities have cooperated 2,052 times, and 1,495 institutes have conducted 7,192 institutional collaborations (Duan et al. 2020). Another example of cooperation at the state level is where several countries have sent medical equipment to Indonesia. Indonesia has also received assistance from various international organizations. At the regional level, Indonesia's progress has resulted in the cooperation known as ASEAN Plus Three. The leaders seek to strengthen the level of cooperation to improve the regional response to COVID-19 and mitigate the region's socioeconomic impact (Djumala 2020). In addition, in March, China, Japan, and South Korea held a special video conference on their joint response to COVID-19. They agreed to explore common prevention and control mechanisms to prevent the cross-border spread of the epidemic effectively. They have further explored mutually acceptable solutions to keep up the necessary people-to-people exchange related to economic cooperation, trade, and the three countries' industrial supply chain to be continued (Zhengyue & Xinyu 2020).

Although the state government plays a significant role in handling COVID-19, non-governmental institutions, public-private partnerships, and charitable organizations have also served as helpful assistance during the crisis. Having coordinating with the state by building networks, coalitions play a crucial role in managing the crisis. At some point, states must cooperate because the COVID-19 virus needs an effective vaccine that can function optimally as soon as possible. Countries should support each other in terms of research to find multiple possibilities for the vaccine. Multilateral institutions such as the WHO and World Bank have a role in pooling the available funds to support the countries capable of conducting vaccine research. Countries should cooperate regarding the COVID-19 vaccine because the virus needs to be eliminated all over the world, and it needs to be mass-manufactured. The inequality in response to handling the virus has served as a loophole, affecting another country because everything is connected. These kinds of inequality must be responded to through international cooperation, such as by offering debt relief to poorer countries so that they can face the pandemic crisis. Removing the export restrictions on raw food and medical supplies and providing disaster relief and direct support to the countries struggling the most through World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and UN agencies are other possible solutions. Assisting the weakest links becomes a way to cut the virus's chain spread from poorer countries in the future (Brown & Susskind 2020).



## Conclusion

In conclusion, during the COVID-19 pandemic, nationalism—attachment towards groups and state for the individual—is rising than before. During the crisis, individuals identify themselves within their groups, their nationalities. It leads to various forms of racism towards other people who are not part of the group. The second is that individuals also have a greater attachment towards the state because they can protect their citizens from harm.

In parallel with the state as an actor, during the pandemic, states choose to act for themselves since it is also in line with the COVID-19 policies such as borders lockdown, limiting people movement, etc. It has led to an increase in nationalist aspirations from the state. States are also becoming selfish and prioritizing themselves when handling the virus. However, COVID-19 served as a global pandemic and needs global action. Also, it brought a global impact on the global economy. Therefore, state individualism cannot solve the problem. The answer lies in global solidarity and cooperation. Because as the world becomes connected than ever, one insecurity also became a threat to others. Therefore, it would make sense that the solution is to cooperate in solving this problem. State cooperation, governmental organization, and global cooperation are already taking place to handle the spread of coronavirus as well as its impact because no one is safe if the other is unsafe since we are all connected.

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