



**Royal University of Law and Economics**

**Final Report on**

**Vaccine Diplomacy in Contemporary  
International Relations:  
The case of People's Republic of China**

**Name of Student:  
Mr. YOM MENGCHHAY**

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Dr. RAYMOND LEOS**

**International Program  
Bachelor's Degree in International Relations  
Cohort 9  
Year of Submission: 2021**





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I might take this opportunity to dedicate my honor to the Frontline heroes includes Doctors, Nurses, Medical professionals, Healthcare workers, Policeman, Authorities and more from around the world in the battle of fighting with COVID-19. You all have spent the hardest time for protecting the people from the spread. I only wish to stay by your side in any circumstances. I pray for your hardworking and make our world backs to normal as the beautiful world.

Last but not least, I would like to profound sadness and express my deepest condolences to all the people in the world who lost their life due to the COVID-19. I strongly believe whenever the world is working together, the virus will be no longer exist in the world.

Stay Safe,

**YOM MENGCHHAY**

## **ABSTRACT**

Coronavirus has taken over the world since 2019 which is giving the effects to the world. Coronavirus is becoming the invisible enemy for every country to fight against. To save people's lives, governments have tried really hard since the virus variants are stronger and stronger. Every Countries have their own different strategies to stop the spread. However, Masks and alcohol spray and alcohol gel are becoming the needed good during this time because people cannot get out the homes without them. Vaccine Diplomacy has arisen after the vaccine developed. The Vaccine Diplomacy is the tools for most of the superpowers, especially China. This diplomacy will become the necessary method for the rich countries to influence the world.

For this thesis, there are eight parts: (1) the start is about the introduction which provides with the background, scope, key terms, primary questions and research methodology. (2) Chapter one provides the literature reviews with relates to the thesis. (3) Chapter two explains the concept of the vaccine diplomacy that includes the definition of the vaccine diplomacy, COVAX as vaccine diplomacy and the vaccine diplomacy as the foreign policy. (4) Chapter three is about China's vaccine diplomacy in contemporary international relations. (5) Chapter four will be about the intentions of China's vaccine diplomacy while (6) Chapter five will be about the contrast to the China's vaccine diplomacy. (7) Chapter six will discuss about the analysis of China's vaccine diplomacy in order to know whether the diplomacy will be good or bad. (8) The final part will be finished by the conclusion, the recommendation to the topic and the sources from the professional author.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease 2019
COVAX	COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access
WHO	World Health Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
GAVI	Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization
SARS	Severs Acute Respiratory Syndrome
CEPI	Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovation
EU	European Union
VACSERA	An Egypt states owned company which produce vaccine
EMA	European Medicine Agency
APAs	Advance Purchase Agreements
BBIBP-CorV	Sinopharm’s Beijing Bio-Institute of Biological Products
ACT	Access to COVID-19 Tools
LGBT	Initiation that stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

# INTRODUCTION

## Background

The world has faced with the depressed time since the late 2019. Almost two years until the year of 2021, the virus has not gone and still transform in too many variants. The virus has spread to the rest of the world and more than hundred people infected and more than million people died. Since the first case of the COVID-19 had been confirmed, the world is falling into the difficult time. Lives have changed due to the spread. Everything has postponed and closed during the pandemic. People lose their job, their business and face the financial crisis. All sectors have stopped especially tourism. “Mask Diplomacy” has appeared and mask is the most needed. People cannot get out from their home. In case of necessary, people can go out with their mask and alcohol spray. People cannot gather together as before since it is very risky. Governments started doing everything to keep people away from the spread includes lockdown, curfew, crowded-banned, quarantine and more. Most of the public services have announced to be closed. Students are not allowed to go to school and start their class in distance, Online Class. Flights have been canceled due to the flight restriction and lockdowns. There is no more concert during the pandemic. Back in the diplomatic sector, most of the International Forum or summit have been canceled and some might run as an online.

People died everyday especially the elder people which have weak immunities. The amount of the dead toll is high, and the cases is increasing. Since the world is in the pandemic, what the world needs to fight is virus. Public health is coming to the first in the contemporary. It becomes the most important thing than everything. The hope was waiting for the vaccines to protect from the virus. Some parts of the world start seeing the light of the normal world after the vaccines have

been developed by many countries. However, some countries still fighting so hard with the new variants of the virus. Vaccines have become the most important tool for its owner states. Vaccination is counted as strategies to fight with COVID-19. Despite of the vaccination is important, most of the superpower use it as their benefit.

### **Scope**

The intention of this thesis is about to give the concept of the Vaccine Diplomacy generally since the world are facing the crisis which vaccine is the necessary good, also the definitions of the vaccine diplomacy, the term of COVAX is and the reasons of the vaccine diplomacy is the tool of the foreign Policy. Despite this, the way how China uses their Vaccine diplomacy to any regions of the world in currently international relation. In addition, there is a brief analysis of the intention of China's vaccine diplomacy and the confrontation from other countries.

### **Primary Question**

Within the scope of thesis is to analyze Vaccine diplomacy especially China's vaccine diplomacy, there are question which need to be asked includes (1) What is Vaccine Diplomacy? (2) What is COVAX and its benefit? (3) Where are the China applying the Vaccine Diplomacy? (4) What are the intentions of China's vaccine diplomacy? (5) What is the criticizing of the China's vaccine diplomacy? (6) Also, would China be in the better way or dangerous?

### **Key Terms**

**Mask Diplomacy:** a strategy set by a government with the intention to gain one's benefits under the disguise as a diplomacy.

**Delta Variant:** also known as B.1.617.2, is a subtype or a strain of SARS-CoV-2 that is genetically mutated. It was first reported in India and considered to be the most transmissible of all SARS-CoV-2 variants.

**Alpha Variant:** a strain of SAR-CoV-2 that was first reported in the United Kingdom and has spread to more than 50 countries. This variant is also known as B.1.1.7.

**Foreign Policy:** strategies put up by the government with the objectives of guiding activities and relationship of one country/state in its interactions with other country/state.

**Asylum Seeker:** a person who requests to be a refugee but whose application hasn't been assessed. Said person would've registered for asylum on the grounds to seek safety.

**Vaccine Nationalism:** an ideology of a person who uses the vaccine for only the own nation.

**Humanitarian activities:** refer to the protection of people and those who no longer taking part in hostilities by providing food, water and sanitation, shelter, health services and other needed assistance to facilitate the return to normal lives and subsistence.

**Blaming game:** a strategy for blaming other for something bad or unfortunate rather than attempting to find the solution.

**Health Silk Road:** New China's initiative beside Belt and Road initiative during the pandemic era for helping and supporting the world from recovery from COVID-19.

### **Research Methodology**

The Research is really the newest event in contemporary international relations, so there are some difficulties to collect the information and it need times for the last updated. Even though there are some difficulties for collecting the information, there are also many last updated sources from the any news, professional articles, interview documentary videos, lecturer notes, professional

online analysis article which is related to the article and press from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, would guarantee a better process for the thesis.

The sources which are used for this thesis would be the sources that published or written by the professional and authors. Also, the most effective sources are from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China and other International Organizations such as WHO, and UNICEF.

## CHAPTER I: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this Literature Review, proficient authors and researchers had pointed out a few issues, and related issues or portion of vaccine Diplomacy and China's Vaccine Diplomacy such as:

1. What are the strategies of vaccine Diplomacy to shape a New World Order in contemporary international relations?

Analysis and Opinion: “Can vaccine Diplomacy Shape a New World Order?”, was Written by Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Michael B. Greenwald and Michael A. Margolis. Greenwald obtained Master of Arts from Boston University’s Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies and earned a Juris Doctor degree from Boston University School of Law, also is expert in future of the U.S. dollar and digital currencies; illicit finance; sanctions; and affairs in the Gulf/Middle East, Europe, and Africa. The analysis article discusses about the international community after the coronavirus has spread, also about the history cases studies such as Polio, SARS and HIV and AIDS. Moreover, Greenwald and Margolis also show on the analysis about vaccine Diplomacy in terms of China and USA also. The analysis also ended with the Policy Recommendation which are really useful for the process of the thesis such as the low-income countries should receive immediate assistance and the world should considerate on promoting medical research and development. <sup>1</sup>

2. What are the reasons to be China’s vaccine Diplomacy and what are behinds its vaccine diplomacy?

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<sup>1</sup> Micheal B. Greenwald and Micheal A. Margolis, “Can Vaccine Diplomacy Shape a New World Order?,” Havard Kenedy Shool:Belter Center, <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/can-vaccine-diplomacy-shape-new-world-order>.

Vaccine diplomacy: nation branding and China's COVID-19 soft power play, was written by Seow Ting Lee, is the professor at the University of Colorado Boulder who is expert in strategic communication focuses on public relations and health communication. She studies organization-stakeholder communication strategies and practices, with an emphasis on new media. Her research has been published in leading, peer-reviewed journals in the field, including Journal of Communication, Public Relations Review, Journal of Public Relations Research, Journal of Health Communication, Health Communication, Media Culture and Society, Mass Communication and Society, Health Promotion International, Journal of Mass Media Ethics and Place Branding and Public Diplomacy. The article is very pushing the process of the thesis to have a clear idea and purpose since the article includes the reason that China changes from using medical diplomacy to vaccine diplomacy, also shows about the Nations branding benefit from using vaccines. The most important parts for the article which is very advantageous the research is its finding. The article shows about the reason behind China's vaccine diplomacy such as motivation behind China's vaccine diplomacy, soft power outcome, and repairing nation branding.<sup>2</sup>

3. What is the new opportunity for China during the pandemic and what could China do during the pandemic?

Fighting COVID-19: China's Soft Power Opportunities in Mainland Southeast Asia, was written by Dr. Chheang Vannarith who is expert on the international political economy. The perspective discusses about the opportunity for China to exert its international leadership and influence from COVID-19. Due to the Executive Summary of the article states about public health diplomacy has become one of the key sources of China's soft power projection, enhancing China's

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<sup>2</sup> Seow Ting Lee, "Vaccine diplomacy: nation branding and China's COVID-19 soft power Play," Springer Nature, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41254-021-00224-4>.

image and influence, Chinese government's effective measures to curb the pandemic outbreak at home and the provision of COVID-19 assistance to regional countries have enhanced China's soft power, China's intention toward the pandemic. The perspective research is helping the thesis a lot especially with the analysis about the strategies.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Chheang Vannarith, "Fighting COVID-19: China's Soft Power Opportunities in Mainland Southeast Asia," ISEAS YUSOF ISHAK institute, [https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2021\\_66.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/ISEAS_Perspective_2021_66.pdf).



## **CHAPTER II: CONCEPT OF VACCINE DIPLOMACY**

The world has changed after the first cases of COVID-19 confirmed. The pandemic is teaching the world to be more caution and find the way to get out of it. Throughout the history can really show about the solution to stop the world pandemic. A global health is very important during the pandemic and which is the concerns of all the international government. Pandemic always lasted not more than a year and it will be under controlled however the COVID-19 is still remaining since 2019 until now and it is now more serious. According to the Worldometers, almost 200 million cases has been confirmed and more than 4 million people died due to the COVID-19.<sup>4</sup> Due to the long period of the pandemic, international government has tried their best to get the vaccines for their own people as fast as they can. These are turning the vaccine program into the diplomacy. Some superpower uses this to turn into the diplomacy and foreign policy tool. Vaccine diplomacy is not just happened only during the COVID-19 pandemic. This happened in every pandemic in the history. Even though the world was in the previous pandemic, the vaccine diplomacy is still remaining until now.

### **2.1 Definition of Vaccine Diplomacy**

Vaccine Diplomacy is not simply complicated in the actual meaning but it might be difficult and more complicated. Vaccine diplomacy is not much different from other foreign diplomacy. In this period of the pandemic, Vaccine diplomacy and Foreign Diplomacy are walking together. As the world is stilling lasting with the Coronavirus, all the Foreign Diplomacy such as States Visiting, International Meeting, International Forums and much

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<sup>4</sup> Worldometers, Coronavirus Weekly Trends, <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/> (accessed June 16, 2021).

international diplomacy were also canceled. Vaccine diplomacy is not simply complicated in the actual meaning but it might be difficult and more complicated. Vaccine diplomacy is not much different from other foreign diplomacy. In this period of the pandemic, vaccine diplomacy and Foreign Diplomacy are walking together.

Definition of vaccine diplomacy by Peter J, Vaccine diplomacy refers to almost any aspect of global health diplomacy that relies on the use or delivery of vaccines and encompasses the important work of the GAVI Alliance, as well as elements of the WHO, the Gates Foundation, and other important international organizations. GAVI is an international organization which bringing together public and private sectors with the shared goal of saving lives and protecting people's health by increasing equitable and sustainable use of vaccine.<sup>5</sup>Central to vaccine diplomacy is its potential as a humanitarian intervention and its proven role in mediating cessation of hostilities and even cease-fires during vaccination campaigns. Also, Vaccine diplomacy is the branch of global health diplomacy that relies on the use or delivery of vaccines, while vaccine science diplomacy is a unique hybrid of global health and science diplomacy.<sup>6</sup>

Vaccine diplomacy is the concept of foreign policy which countries use vaccine in order to strengthen the diplomacy between countries and countries. This concept is remaining in contemporary, especially during the pandemic of COVID-19. Most of superpower seem like to deliver the vaccine doses to other countries. For the real case, China has delivered more than million doses to the rest of world. When the vaccine diplomacy appears, there are two kinds of vaccine diplomacy that the world tastes nowadays. Countries use vaccine diplomacy by

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<sup>5</sup> GAVI, Our Alliance, <https://www.gavi.org/our-alliance>

<sup>6</sup> Hotez PJ, "Vaccine Diplomacy: Historical Perspectives and Future Directions," 2014, 2.

donating the vaccine doses to other and countries sell in the lower prices compare to other. The inequality of the term economic, some poor countries are trying to seek for the vaccine for their people. By that, superpower might take action on helping by using the two kind of vaccine diplomacy which are mentioned. In contrast, some definitions are likely to against the definition above. Countries are using vaccine diplomacy, just to influence their political into other only. The more they donate, the more they get. To expand their geopolitical, they might use the vaccine diplomacy as the tool. Also, it's complicated to recognize the great definition of vaccine diplomacy. However, countries must try to get the vaccine for their own people. Government shall try to get the vaccine for people at least 60% to build the immunity A question appears whether the government need to reject for getting donation and let the spread getting worst or need to think about their own humanitarian supply first. Shall government take care about geopolitical or the people?

## **2.2 COVAX as Vaccine Diplomacy**

The pandemic is not personal or country's issues, but it is the world's pandemic which effects to all the countries or places. The virus is hitting the lives, the world life. There is no stable if there is the country is still remaining of the cases. The only way to stop the spread and making the world back to normal is vaccination. Vaccination is very important to build the immunity. According to WHO, the COVID-19 vaccines produce protection against the disease, as a result of developing an immune response to the SARS-Cov-2 virus. Developing immunity through vaccination means there is a reduced risk of developing the illness and its consequences. This immunity helps you fight the virus if exposed. Getting vaccinated may also protect people around you, because if you are protected from getting infected and from disease, you are less

likely to infect someone else. This is particularly important to protect people at increased risk for severe illness from COVID-19, such as healthcare providers, older or elderly adults, and people with other medical conditions.<sup>7</sup>

### **What is COVAX?**

COVAX is one of three pillars of the (ACT) Accelerator, which was launched in April in response to this pandemic. Bringing together governments, global health organizations, manufacturers, scientists, private sector, civil society and philanthropy, with the aim of providing innovative and equitable access to COVID-19 diagnostics, treatments and vaccines. The COVAX pillar is focused on the latter. It is the only truly global solution to this pandemic because it is the only effort to ensure that people in all corners of the world will get access to COVID-19 vaccines once they are available, regardless of their wealth.<sup>8</sup> According to WHO, COVAX is co-led by CEPI, GAVI and WHO, alongside key delivery partner UNICEF. In the Americas, the PAHO Revolving Fund is the recognized procurement agent for COVAX.<sup>9</sup>

### **Why is COVAX important?**

The global pandemic has already caused the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and disrupted the lives of billions more. As well as reducing the tragic loss of life and helping to get the pandemic under control, introduction of a vaccine will prevent the loss of US\$ 375 billion to the global economy every month. Global equitable access to a vaccine, particularly protecting

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<sup>7</sup> World Health Organization, Coronavirus disease (COVID-19): Vaccines, [https://www.who.int/news-room/q-a-detail/coronavirus-disease-\(covid-19\)-vaccines](https://www.who.int/news-room/q-a-detail/coronavirus-disease-(covid-19)-vaccines).

<sup>8</sup> GAVI The Vaccine Alliance, COVAX explained, <https://www.gavi.org/vaccineswork/covax-explained> (accessed July 2, 2021).

<sup>9</sup> World Health Organization, COVAX, <https://www.who.int/initiatives/act-accelerator/covax>.

health care workers and those most-at-risk is the only way to mitigate the public health and economic impact of the pandemic, due to WHO.<sup>10</sup>

Until the mid-July, 129 million doses shipped through COVAX to 136 countries in different amount which is based on the countries condition.<sup>11</sup> COVAX is the program which is working as Vaccine Diplomacy during the pandemic. COVAX is simply the middle actor which help poor countries by asking the vaccine from rich countries. COVAX is really a tool and will be the one which can help countries for their Vaccine diplomacy. Since COVAX is helping between countries and countries. Also, it is helping the people health throughout the vaccine diplomacy.

### **2.3 The Vaccine Diplomacy as the tool of Foreign Policy**

Vaccination is very important and very necessary during this time. This is the effective method to protect from the spread. During the pandemic, vaccination becomes the part of stopping the spread for all the government. Government tries to stop the spread in the community, treat the patient and provide vaccines to the people. Vaccination is the mean act of being nationalism, but becomes the diplomacy after the success within the countries. There are many diplomacies to be used in entire world such as Public Diplomacy, Economy Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, Parliament Diplomacy and Military Diplomacy.<sup>12</sup> Most of superpower turning to use this vaccine diplomacy instead of other diplomacy. The Military diplomacy have no more use during the pandemic. Countries might be glad to receive the millions of vaccines than the millions of the arms.

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<sup>10</sup> ibid

<sup>11</sup> UNICEF, COVID-19 Vaccine Market Dashboard, <https://www.unicef.org/supply/covid-19-vaccine-market-dashboard>.

<sup>12</sup> Codrean, "Diplomacy. A brief analysis of the types of diplomacy," Anals of Faculty of Economics, University of Oradea, Faculty of Economics, vol 1(2), pages 279-283, December, <http://anale.steconomieuoradea.ro/volume/2017/n2/27.pdf>

Government in contemporary do need to spend the million dollars to get the vaccine, not the arms anymore. The enemies during this war are the virus. So that people must need to be vaccinated. Based on this concept, vaccine diplomacy has become the most policy for most superpower. They might spread the vaccine as much as they spread the power.

Vaccine diplomacy also consider as the soft power in the contemporary International Relations. There were many forms of soft power which all the countries have except vaccines before the pandemic. The Foreign Policy includes of diplomacy which government of the countries deal with other country. Foreign Policy is known as the guideline that led the activities to deal with the relationship between other countries. There is a huge changing after covid-19 appears, most superpower changes to use the vaccine diplomacy as the tool to strengthen their relations. Many doses to be sold in the lowest prices and many doses to be donated in order to strengthen the relationship. Before this becomes the vaccine diplomacy, this must be the vaccine nationalism first. Countries cannot donate their vaccine during nothing for their people. Most of the superpower has tried to develop their vaccine to deal with the covid-19 pandemic. Generally, there are many vaccines diplomacy of the superpower such as India, Russia, EU and China.

Vaccine Diplomacy is made as both form of Open Diplomacy and Secret diplomacy which is most of the superpower tries to announce to donate the vaccine to other and might keep confidentially with the price. There is important to keep confident about the vaccine price because the price is also based on the condition in each country. Vaccine Diplomacy applies to every country the same but not the price that shall be shown to the public. The vaccine competition has also found as the challenges in the Foreign Policy also. Until June 2021 there are eight vaccines which WHO has announced to be used as an emergency such as Pfizer/BioNTech, Three Versions of AstraZeneca (COVISHIELD) which are from South Korea-India-Sweden, Jonhson&Jonhson

from Belgium, Moderna from Spain, Sinopharm and Sinovac-CoronaVac from China. There is more vaccine to go. Vaccine Diplomacy is very the best tool for countries doing the foreign policy in the time of the pandemic.

Other countries also share their vaccine to other countries also. Some countries have plans to deliver the vaccines to help but not yet. Also, USA Plans to send their first tranche of 25 million doses to some countries around 19 million doses will be shared through COVAX and around 6 million will be for regional priorities and partner recipients. Countries include: Mexico, Canada, the Republic of Korea, West Bank & Gaza, Ukraine, Kosovo, Haiti, Georgia, Egypt, Jordan, India, Iraq, Yemen, as well as for the United Nations frontline workers.<sup>13</sup> According to Think Global Health, as of June 4th 2021, Russian donors about 1 million doses of vaccine to 14 known nations. The vaccine donated were mostly Sputnik V and some are EpiCoronaVac. Some donations have been small in quantities which was considered as free samples. The following nations are the one that had received donations from Russian donors.<sup>14</sup> India is considered to be one of the world's largest vaccine producers rivaled China in the scale of its donation efforts. Out of the 48 countries India is donating their vaccines to, there are 27 Commonwealth members; Commonwealth is an association of 54 states which most of them used to be a part of the British Empire. Below is the list of countries which India had donated their vaccines to as of June 4th 2021 according to Think Global Health Organization.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The White House, FACT SHEET: Biden-Harris Administration Unveils Strategy for Global Vaccine Sharing, Announcing Allocation Plan for the First 25 Million Doses to be Shared Globally, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/06/03/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-unveils-strategy-for-global-vaccine-sharing-announcing-allocation-plan-for-the-first-25-million-doses-to-be-shared-globally/>.

<sup>14</sup> Kiernan, Tohme, Shanks and Rosenbaum, "The Politics of Vaccine Donation and Diplomacy: Is a friend in need a friend indeed?," Think Global Health, June 4, 2021, <https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/politics-vaccine-donation-and-diplomacy>.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

The reason of delivered, Countries might be thinking of the vaccine can be the tool for its Foreign Policy. Delivering the vaccines in the term of foreign policy, is really competitive during this pandemic while some countries have just promised but the doses have not shipped out yet. Some countries promised to provide this number of doses but still hold the word “Nationalism” behind. This will be the questioned for China about its vaccine diplomacy. Only China that can do by not using this scenario or not.



## **CHAPTER III: CHINA'S VACCINE DIPLOMACY IN CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **3.1 Overview**

China's vaccine diplomacy as known as "Health Silk Road" initiative has opened the opportunity for most countries to get the vaccine for the people.<sup>16</sup> Vaccination is the most concerning for some poor countries. Vaccination needs to be spent more than millions of dollars includes vaccine prices. Vaccination also really stays as the most strategy for the foreign policy in China. China has stepped forward to the vaccine diplomacy without any doubts. No matter what other superpowers try to stop or be the obstacle, but China's vaccine diplomacy has gone smoothly. China's Vaccines also be able to get the trust from most of the countries even though WHO had not announced to be used. More than millions of doses have delivered to all around world. Moreover, millions are keep going to deliver to the global. There is question about the purpose of this delivered. Why does China need to delivered many doses of COVID-19 vaccine to the world? Most of countries had already use China's Vaccine before WHO announced Sinopharm, the first China Vaccine as an emergency. As Cambodia, Government announced to authorize Sinopharm as the emergency use in Cambodia on 4 February 2021. <sup>17</sup>Almost a month before WHO announced Sinopharm to be used. That is not only Sinopharm, even the Sinovac, Cambodia still provides the vaccine to the people before. Besides Sinopharm, Sinovac vaccines were injected before the announcement also. According to the announcement of the Ministry of Health of Cambodia,

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<sup>16</sup> Jacob Mardell, "China's "Health Silk Road": Adapting the BRI to a pandemic-era world," MERICS, November 25, 2020, <https://merics.org/en/short-analysis/chinas-health-silk-road-adapting-bri-pandemic-era-world>.

<sup>17</sup> Ministry of Health, Ministry of Health of Cambodia's announcement, 4 Feb, 2021.

Sinovac was announced to be used as emergency in Cambodia on 12 February 2021.<sup>18</sup> Sinopharm and Sinovac have become the tools for China's vaccine diplomacy.

### **3.2 China's vaccine diplomacy to the international region**

#### **3.2.1 China's vaccine diplomacy with Asia**

China's geopolitical might be more convenient in Asia since China is located in Asia. Vaccine diplomacy seems to happen the most in Southeast Asia. Most of Asia Countries have received more than millions of COVID-19 vaccines from China. The region seems to be the great region which received the most vaccines from China. According to the BRIDGE, almost two hundred and fifteen million doses of COVID-19 vaccines have delivered to 37 countries within as sales and donates until the Mid-July.<sup>19</sup> The diplomacy is helping the countries with the conditions to have the vaccine for the people in order to stop the spread. Some countries received as the form of purchase while other are received as donating. However, the prices of each purchase are also not equal which is based on the country's condition. Some countries can purchase within a small money and other purchase with the higher. Sinovac and Sinopharm are mostly announced to be used in Southeast Asia which is around 226 million doses.<sup>20</sup>

Until 17 July 2021, Indonesia is the first largest buyer of Chinese vaccines in the region of Asia Pacific, having purchased 140 million doses with 120 million doses delivered so far.<sup>21</sup> Indonesia's president Joko Widodo is the first ever major world leader to publicly receive Chinese COVID-19 vaccine. The cooperation between China and Indonesia on COVID-19 vaccines from

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<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Health, Ministry of Health of Cambodia's announcement, 12 Feb, 2021.

<sup>19</sup> China COVID-19 Vaccine Tracker, BRIDGE, Accessed 17 July, 2021, <https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/>

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. (accessed July 17, 2021).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

development stage to production stage has been escalated. The COVID-19 pandemic might have arguably strengthened the ties between Beijing and Jarkarta. Indonesia has recorded the most cases of COVID-19 in Southeast Asia, by offering vaccines to Indonesia, China may have improved its global reputation. After Indonesia, Turkey is the second countries since almost 31.4 million Sinovac have been delivered.<sup>22</sup> Pakistan is coming as the third countries after Indonesia. Pakistan has received 2 million doses of Chinese vaccines as donation and has purchased 66 million doses of vaccines, having 19 million doses of which were delivered.<sup>23</sup> Pakistan was the first country to ever receive Beijing's first batch of gifted vaccines marking China's first vaccine aid sent overseas. This should come as no surprise since China-Pakistan relations have always been considered strong. Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi said that this donation represented the strong friendship between the two countries. Besides the vaccines, Beijing has also assisted Islamabad in fighting against the outbreak of COVID-19 by providing medical equipment and protective gear, as well as doctors. Even with these drawbacks, China still has been giving away its COVID-19 vaccines to strengthen the ties with its neighboring countries as a part of a diplomatic push. Through its vaccine diplomacy, China has presented itself as a responsible global power while strengthening its relations with its recipients as well.

### **3.2.2 China's vaccine diplomacy with Europe**

Unlike the other regions, China's vaccine diplomacy with Europe is rather small and slow. Due to the debate of its vaccine efficiency, China has comparably fewer deals with Europe. Regardless of the skepticism, several European countries have turned to China for its

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Elenor Albert, "China Gifts Pakistan 1.2 Million COVID-19 Vaccine Doses," *The Diplomat*, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/02/china-gifts-pakistan-1-2-million-covid-19-vaccine-doses/> (accessed July 17, 2021).

vaccines as Europe struggles to acquire enough doses to fulfill vaccination plans. Europe has purchased 116 million doses of vaccines with 44 million doses delivered.<sup>24</sup> A few countries that decided to turn to China for its vaccines include Serbia, Hungary, and Ukraine, having purchased the most doses out of most countries in Europe.<sup>25</sup>

Serbia is a country in Europe where they allow their citizens to freely choose which COVID-19 vaccine they want to take. The choices vary from Western-made Pfizer to China's Sinopharm or Russia's Sputnik V. It is the first country in Europe to produce of China-Developed vaccines.<sup>26</sup> Also on the PBSO News Hour weekend, Jorgen Samsø said:

*“Serbia has a population of around seven million citizens. It was the first country in Europe to approve and start using the Chinese produced Sinopharm vaccine. By the beginning of March, two million Chinese vaccines had arrived here. That's far greater than what Western pharmaceuticals or Russia, a traditional Serbian ally, could provide. Because of the Chinese vaccine deliveries, by mid-March, Serbia had vaccinated more adults than any of the other 27 countries in the European Union, becoming continental Europe's best vaccinator.”*<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> BRIDGE, China COVID-19 Vaccine Tracker, <https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/> (accessed July 17, 2021).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Global Times, Serbia to become first country in Europe to produce China-developed COVID-19 vaccine, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202107/1228583.shtml> .

<sup>27</sup> Jorgen Samsø, “Serbia’s winning fight against COVID-19 raises questions about ‘vaccine diplomacy,’” PESO News Hour Weekends, PBS, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/serbias-winning-fight-against-covid-19-raises-questions-about-vaccine-diplomacy> .

Alongside Serbia, Hungary is the second country in Europe to approve the use of Chinese vaccine, Sinopharm, for general public use.<sup>28</sup> China and Hungary had an alliance with each other prior to the pandemic. China has been providing diplomatic support to Hungary as well as investment in infrastructure and education. Hungary has purchased 5 million doses of Sinopharm vaccines from China of which 4.5 million doses have already been delivered. Hungary has the fourth highest vaccination rate in Europe which wouldn't have been possible if the contract with the Chinese company Sinopharm were not signed. On March 25 2021 while meeting with visiting Chinese State Councilor and Minister of National Defense, Wei Fenghe, in Budapest, Hungarian President Janos Ader made a remark hoping to strengthen the cooperation between Hungary and China partnership.<sup>29</sup>

Ukraine has received 1.7 million doses of Sinovac vaccines out of 5 million doses purchased. China is willing to continue assisting Ukraine in the field of vaccines to help the country overcome the COVID-19 pandemic until June. China has denied any claims regarding any political conditions attached to the vaccines going as far as to say “No condition attached” on June 26th 2021.<sup>30</sup>

### **3.2.3 China's vaccine diplomacy with Latin America**

According to the BRIDGE Tracker, Latin America has received the second largest quantity of Chinese vaccines, despite having only 19 countries with vaccines deals with China. Latin America's relations with China have always been close, especially since both regions are also

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<sup>28</sup> Pawet Paszak, “China's Vaccine and Mask Diplomacy in Hungary,” Warsaw Institute, April 5, 2021, <https://warsawinstitute.org/chinas-vaccine-mask-diplomacy-hungary/>.

<sup>29</sup> Xinhua, China and Hungary agree to strengthen cooperation in various fields, [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-03/25/c\\_139835982.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-03/25/c_139835982.htm) (accessed July 17, 2021).

<sup>30</sup> Radio Free Europe, China Says 'No Conditions Attached' After It Is Accused Of Vaccine Threat To Ukraine Over Uyghur Rights, <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-china-covid-vaccine-uyghurs-threats/31327704.html>.

working under the South-South Cooperation and the BBI. China has donated only 1 million vaccine doses to the region, and has sold 358 million doses, with 128 million doses delivered. China is also providing the region with active ingredients to make other vaccines, such as the AstraZeneca vaccine.<sup>31</sup>

Of all the countries in the region, Brazil, Mexico, and Chile are the largest buyer of Chinese COVID-19 vaccines. Until 17 July 2021, Brazil is the largest buyer of Chinese COVID-19 vaccines in the region, having purchased 100 million doses of Sinovac vaccine. Since October 2020, from when Sinovac was conducting Phase 3 trials in the country however, Brazil's President Bolsonaro has had contradicting opinions on Chinese vaccines. Phase III results released by Brazil's Butantan Institute show the Sinovac vaccine has a 50.7% efficacy at preventing symptomatic infections, and 83.7% effective in preventing mild cases needing treatment, which has prompted debates on the use of Sinovac vaccine.<sup>32</sup>

Latin America is the continent which is the highest purchase of vaccine with more than 350 million doses while ASIA just purchased only 348 million doses. However, Latin America is the second continent that China delivered doses to, until 17 July 2021.<sup>33</sup>

Beside Brazil, Mexico and Chile, other countries also received vaccine from China within both form of purchase and donation includes Dominican Republic received 10 million doses of Sinopharm and Sinovac, Argentina received almost 6 million doses of Sinopharm, El Salvador received 4.15 million doses of Sinovac, Ecuador received 4.72 million doses, Peru received 2 million of Sinopharm. Venezuela received 1.8 million doses, Uruguay received 1.75 million doses

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<sup>31</sup> BRIDGE, China's vaccines in latin america, China COVID-19 Vaccine Tracker, [https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/#China8217s\\_Vaccines\\_in\\_Latin\\_America](https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/#China8217s_Vaccines_in_Latin_America)

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. (accessed July 17, 2021).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

of Sinovac, Bolivia received 2.7 million doses of Sinopharm, Paraguay and Guyana received less than million doses

### **3.2.4 China's vaccine diplomacy with Africa**

Africa is the lowest continent that purchases vaccine from China, also only 27 million doses have delivered there until 17 July 2021. China agreed to give COVID-19 vaccines to 19 African countries as part of the South-South Cooperation initiative in late February. China has sold and donated vaccinations to 35 African countries to date. The speed of these agreements went significantly in May, but China's total amount of vaccines given to Africa remained the lowest among the regions. Africa has received vaccines through the COVAX initiative in addition to bilateral partnerships. Out of the 55 million medicines guaranteed, China has delivered 27 million to Africa.<sup>34</sup> Unlike other regions, Africa has received Chinese vaccines through donations rather than sales. Affordability and accessibility are particularly important issues for African countries with low financial resources

Morocco is the most countries in Africa which received more than 10 million doses of Sinopharm until 17 July 2021.<sup>35</sup> Egypt is the third countries that around 4.15 million doses have delivered while Zimbabwe received 4.4 million doses.<sup>36</sup> Following this demand, Chinese leaders have planned to increase the affordability and accessibility of the vaccines in Africa by assisting in manufacturing the vaccines locally. Sinovac has provided Egypt with raw materials, technical instructions in producing the vaccine, and the right to produce and pack the vaccine locally. On

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<sup>34</sup> BRIDGE, CHINA's Vaccine in Africa, China COVID-19 vaccine Tracker, <https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/> (accessed July 17, 2021).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

June 30th 2021, Egypt managed to produce their first 300,000 doses of Chinese vaccines through the Egyptian Holding Company for Biological Products and Vaccines (VACSERA).<sup>37</sup>

Beside these two countries other countries also received in different number of doses both purchasing and donating includes Mozambique received 0.76 million doses, Tunisia and Guinea received 0.7 million doses, Equatorial Guinea received 0.6 million doses, Senegal received 0.5 million doses, Ethiopia received 0.5 million, Niger received 0.4 million doses and the other received each amount of its countries.<sup>38</sup> (Data on 17 July 2021)

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<sup>37</sup> Egypt Today, WHO congratulates Egypt on producing Sinovac vaccine doses, <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/105580/WHO-congratulates-Egypt-on-producing-Sinovac-vaccine-doses>

<sup>38</sup> BRIDGE, CHINA's Vaccine in Africa, China COVID-19 vaccine Tracker, <https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/> (accessed July 17, 2021).



## **CHAPTER IV: THE INTENTION OF CHINA'S VACCINE DIPLOMACY**

Covid-19 pandemic have really changed some part of diplomacy between countries and countries. China has tried aggressively to enter this space in the pandemic both to reverse the narrative about itself in this pandemic but to put itself as innovator and the countries which its vaccine is worldwide. There is nothing happens without reason. Based on the liberalism, China's vaccine diplomacy is very helpful for the world during these times since most of the countries are tending to the China to recuse them from the virus. Beside China's BRI, vaccine diplomacy is identified and criticized as its intention. China's vaccine diplomacy is remaining with the reasonable points such as foreign policy strengthening, humanitarian activities, winning the game, soft power and the path to the hegemony.

### **4.1 Foreign Policy strengthening**

There is no doubt about the China's vaccine diplomacy whether it rules the tool for Foreign Policy or not. Linking to the general scope of vaccine diplomacy as the tool of foreign Policy, China seems to try for strengthening its relations with most of the countries in the world. Almost a hundred countries are using the china's vaccine both Sinopharm and Sinovac. During the pandemic, the arms are no longer important as the vaccines. The Spread is extremely dangerous which cause more than million deaths. Vaccine is only the thing which all governments seek for their people. The opportunities beside nationalism for superpower is the Foreign Policy build up. As mentioning, China has delivered more than hundred doses to the rest of the world. China can strengthen its relations by delivered direct to the countries or to the COVAX which is the part of WHO for helping poor countries.

According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, the Chinese government and companies have been conducting vaccine cooperation with partners in various countries through such means as donation, export and joint production in a bid to promote the equitable and appropriate global distribution of vaccines. Despite the huge domestic demand and limited supply, China has done its best to donate vaccines to more than 80 developing countries in urgent need, and export doses to over 40 countries. We have provided 350 million doses to global cooperative partners, more than any other country in the world. China has announced to provide an initial 10 million doses to COVAX designated for emergency use in developing countries, of which the first batch officially rolled off production line not long ago. The listing of China's Sinopharm and Sinovac vaccines for emergency use by the WHO will enable Chinese vaccines to make greater contributions to the global response. Currently the vast developing world is still facing special difficulties and challenges in obtaining vaccines and fighting COVID-19. We can fully relate to them. Not long ago, President Xi Jinping announced a series of new measures China would take to support the global response at the Global Health Summit. China will stay committed to its pledge of making vaccines a global public good, continue to do its best to provide more vaccines to other countries, and continue to support Chinese vaccine companies in conducting technology transfer and joint production with other developing countries, so as to help more countries especially developing ones to gain early access to affordable vaccines, narrow the vaccination divide, and work with others to build a global community of health for all.<sup>39</sup>

China's vaccine diplomacy is completely the tool to embrace the relationship within china and other countries. Before the vaccine finds, China also delivered the medical supplies and

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<sup>39</sup> Ministry of foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Spokesperson's Remarks, June 2021, [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/t1882905.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1882905.shtml).

technical assistance to most of the countries and it is the time for china to deliver the vaccines plus. On the Special ASEAN-China Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Celebration of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Dialogue Relations which was held in Chongqing on 7 June 2021, said that ASEAN 'greatly appreciates China's provision of vaccines, medical supplies and technical assistance,' and praised the wisdom of close collaboration on pandemic control and socio-economic recovery."<sup>40</sup> That really shows about the foreign policy between China and ASEAN is really strengthening during the fall of COVID-19. China also backs up with its confidential response to ASEAN also, not only in ASEAN but also the other regional too. Within this pandemic, the best present for building up the relationship is the only vaccines. That is not only about the free-vaccines or purchased, the relations might be better.

Beside ASEAN, most of the developing countries which is walking along with china turn to China for the vaccines includes some countries which are from the rest of the Asia, Africa, Latin America, Middle East and few countries from Europe. China has not closed its eyes on its friend during this time. Most of the China's vaccines seems to be delivered to the most of developing countries in order to strengthening the vaccine Cooperation. China's vaccine diplomacy is not competing with other vaccine diplomacy but it might compete with itself. It seems China has ambitious influenced in the Foreign Policy.

Whenever countries can receive what its country need the most from other country, their relationship would rather go smoothly. Before the pandemic, china had done the foreign policy with other countries by provide aid, investment, building up the economic and assistance in technical. Everything has changed after the first case confirmed in Wuhan, China. China's Foreign

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<sup>40</sup> Yanzhong Huang, "Vaccine Diplomacy Is Paying Off for China," Foreign Affairs, June 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-03-11/vaccine-diplomacy-paying-china> .

Policy is still remaining even though during the pandemic. Month to Month until 2021, China has turned itself to the vaccine diplomacy.

## **4.2 Humanitarian activities**

COVID-19 has killed more than 4 million people from the rest of the world, until June 2021. Millions of lives have been facing with the virus and virus has demonstrate everything. The new version of virus has transformed one to one which is the concern for the world health includes Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta, according to WHO.<sup>41</sup> People lives in risk because they don't know they can infect or not. All government seek for the vaccines for the people as fast as possible. Especially developing countries, that is really hard for them to purchase the vaccines. So that COVAX is ruling as an important alliance for this. China's vaccines diplomacy has been becoming the one of the humanitarian activities both directly and indirectly, which has mentioned above. Equality of the vaccine is the man challenges for the world since most rich countries try to buy the big amount of the doses. According to Justin Trudeau, Prime minister of Canada said that:

*“Equitable, timely, and affordable access to safe and effective COVID vaccine will be critical to help protect people’s health.”*<sup>42</sup>

As the term of Humanitarian activities, The Humanitarian Buffer is a mechanism established within the COVAX Facility to act as a measure of ‘last resort’ to ensure access to COVID-19 vaccines for high-risk and vulnerable populations in humanitarian settings. Populations of concern in humanitarian settings may include refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons, internally displaced persons, minorities, populations in conflict settings or those affected by

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<sup>41</sup> World Health Organization, Tracking SARS CoV 2 variants, <https://www.who.int/en/activities/tracking-SARS-CoV-2-variants/> .

<sup>42</sup> GAVI The vaccine Alliance, Key Quotes, Covax vaccine roll out: One World Protected, <https://www.gavi.org/covax-vaccine-roll-out> .

humanitarian emergencies, and vulnerable migrants irrespective of their legal status. Both COVAX Participants and humanitarian agencies can apply for Humanitarian Buffer doses.<sup>43</sup>

Behind helping poor countries and developing countries directly as the humanitarian activities, China has worked with COVAX also. For facing this problem, China has involved by announcing to donate provide an initial 10 million doses to COVAX designated for emergency use in developing countries, of which the first batch officially rolled off production line not long ago. The listing of China's Sinopharm and Sinovac vaccines for emergency use by the WHO will enable Chinese vaccines to make greater contributions to the global response, according to Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Wang Wenbin's Regular Press on 10 June 2021.<sup>44</sup> People's life is very important for the government for protecting. In term to save people's lives, that id what China always think of. There is no doubt about its vaccine diplomacy, China won't send any doses to other countries if china doesn't think of humanitarian activities or human lives. China would be Nationalism and think of its own people, if China steps out from humanity. China's behavior is never letting its alias behind but itself never break the wall. These might be better for China itself and the world since China has tried to provide three group of people to be able to access the vaccinated includes first China thinks of its own people in China land, China provides to other developing countries and Chinese which are staying abroad.

This diplomacy might be the best scenario for other superpower for never letting humanitarian activities behind. Since vaccine is saving and limiting the death tolls of each country,

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<sup>43</sup> GAVI The Vaccine Alliance COVAX Humanitarian Buffer Explained, <https://www.gavi.org/vaccineswork/covax-humanitarian-buffer-explained> .

<sup>44</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the people's Republic of China, Spokesperson's Remarks, [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/t1882905.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1882905.shtml) .

also to stop the spread in each other shall be take action. China vaccine diplomacy is really paying off with building the immunity in the world and can really save people life.

### **4.3 Winning the Vaccine Diplomacy game**

There is not only China's vaccine diplomacy in the world, others also have tried to choosing this diplomacy. India also starts up its vaccine diplomacy by decided to supply 10 million doses of the vaccine to Africa and 1 million to UN health workers India under the COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access (COVAX) facility of the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunizations (GAVI). Among the individual countries, Bangladesh is the largest beneficiary having received 7 million doses of "COVISHIELD" vaccine, of which 2 million doses are in the form of grant, while Nepal has received 1 million. Bhutan and Maldives have received 150,000 doses and 100,000 doses respectively, while Sri Lanka and Afghanistan have both received 500,000 doses. Other than its South Asian neighbors, Government of India has supplied 1.5 million doses of "Covaxin" vaccine to Myanmar. Mauritius and Seychelles have been sent 100,000 doses and 50,000 doses of "COVISHIELD" respectively. Several other countries, including Bahrain, Barbados, Dominica, Oman, are also part of India's "vaccine assistance" program. Thus, India is using its soft power to assist developing countries, a role that it has increasingly been playing as a development partner.<sup>45</sup> There is a question about the India's vaccine diplomacy whether it is remaining or not since it is in the danger now. More than 400 thousand people has died and almost 32 million cases has been confirmed in India.<sup>46</sup> Russia, also plays the game with china in term of Vaccine Diplomacy even though China's vaccines have been announced to be used before Sputnik V. Sputnik V is known

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<sup>45</sup> Global Policy, India's Vaccine Diplomacy, <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/08/04/2021/indias-vaccine-diplomacy> .

<sup>46</sup> Worldometers, India Coronavirus Cases, <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/india/> (accessed July 20, 2021).

as Gam-COVID-Vac — was the first COVID-19 vaccine to be registered for use in any nation, and it has since been approved in 67 countries, including Brazil, Hungary, India and the Philippines. But the vaccine — and its one-dose sibling Sputnik Light — has yet to receive approval for emergency use from the European Medicines Agency (EMA) or the World Health Organization (WHO). Approval by the WHO is crucial for widespread distribution through the COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access (COVAX) initiative, which is providing doses for lower-income nations.

<sup>47</sup> The approval might be the challenges for Russia for playing this game with China. To break the challenges for Russia, Russia has signed to deal with UNICEF for delivery of 220 million doses of Sputnik V through the COVAX platform. <sup>48</sup> USA, also joined the game with other superpowers also. According to President Joe Biden, announcing on 10 June 2020 that the United States will purchase and donate half a billion Pfizer vaccines to 92 low- and lower middle-income countries and the African Union, an historic action that will help supercharge the global fight against the pandemic. This is the largest-ever purchase and donation of vaccines by a single country and a commitment by the American people to help protect people around the world from COVID-19.<sup>49</sup> He also added that the United States has contributed two billion dollars to COVAX, more than any other nation—and is supporting local production capacity abroad for safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines, including through the Quad initiative. <sup>50</sup> This really show that USA will step in the vaccine diplomacy and compete with other vaccine diplomacy, especially China's Vaccine

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<sup>47</sup> Bianca Nogrady, "Mounting evidence suggests Sputnik COVID vaccine is safe and effective," Nature, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-021-01813-2>.

<sup>48</sup> SputnikV, RDIF And UNICEF Sign Sputnik V Vaccine Supply Agreement, <https://sputnikvaccine.com/newsroom/pressreleases/rdif-and-unicef-sign-sputnik-v-vaccine-supply-agreement/>.

<sup>49</sup> The White House, FACT SHEET: President Biden Announces Historic Vaccine Donation: Half a Billion Pfizer Vaccines to the World's Lowest-Income Nations, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/06/10/fact-sheet-president-biden-announces-historic-vaccine-donation-half-a-billion-pfizer-vaccines-to-the-worlds-lowest-income-nations/>.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Diplomacy. EU is not also different with India, Russia and USA. According to European Council on 24-25 May 2021, EU member states committed to donate at least 100 million doses of COVID-19 vaccines to countries in need before the end of 2021.<sup>51</sup> Beside this President of European Council, Charles Michel also said that:

*“This pandemic is global. We won’t be safe until everyone is safe. Thus, we have reaffirmed our solidarity with third countries — through COVAX and the sharing of vaccines with our neighbourhood, and beyond...”*<sup>52</sup>

The vaccine diplomacy has really appeared since there are many vaccines were found. The game is not ended yet, it is still remaining while COVID-19 is still remaining.

China’s vaccine diplomacy does not stop and it still remains its delivery. On 12 July 2021, GAVI, the Vaccine Alliance, it had signed advance purchase agreements (APAs) with Sinopharm for its “BBIBP-CorV” inactivated virus vaccine against COVID-19 as well as with Sinovac for its inactivated virus vaccine against COVID-19, “CoronaVac”. The agreements, which come at a time when the Delta variant is posing a rising risk to health systems, will begin to make 110 million doses immediately available to participants of the COVAX Facility, with options for additional doses.<sup>53</sup> Beside delivery the vaccines to other countries, China will not let international organization behind. China’s vaccine diplomacy through COVAX is really the benefits for China to win this game. China vaccines can be reached to the rest of the world. The more vaccines go, the biggest wins.

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<sup>51</sup> European Council, EU's international solidarity during the COVID-19 pandemic, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/coronavirus/global-solidarity/> .

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> GAVI The Vaccine Alliances, Gavi signs agreements with Sinopharm and Sinovac for immediate supply to COVAX, <https://www.gavi.org/news/media-room/gavi-signs-agreements-sinopharm-and-sinovac-immediate-supply-covax>.



China, itself, was asked about the USA's throughout COVAX by delivery half of billions does to COVAX. On the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Wang Wenbin's Regular Press Conference on June 10, 2021, he was asked by Associated Press about whether China had any reaction or comment and also ask if China is thinking at all of increasing its donation or distribution of vaccine through COVAX. Foreign Ministry Spokesperson replies:

*“As we all know, until recently, the US has been stressing that its top priority with vaccines is domestic rollout. Now that it has announced donation to COVAX, we hope it will honor its commitment as soon as possible.”*<sup>54</sup>

Commitment is the most thing which must be came first before everything. There is the one of its intentions for doing this vaccine diplomacy. And China might keep doing this until the end of the pandemic or even the virus has gone.

#### **4.4 Soft Power**

Within the terms of Soft Power, China's vaccine can be the power for itself during this pandemic. According to Quartz, Countries that produce vaccines can set up bilateral supply agreements with countries that need vaccines, which become a tool of soft power, or outright diplomatic allegiance. While this hasn't played out with vaccines at this scale before, the strategy is similar to the energy supply agreements that were sought internationally, including by the USA, to face energy crises in the early 2000s.<sup>55</sup> Not only China which is using its vaccine to be the tool for being the soft power, but other countries too.

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<sup>54</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Wang Wenbin's Regular Press Conference on June 10, 2021,

[https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/t1882905.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1882905.shtml).

<sup>55</sup> Annalisa Merelli, "Vaccines are the hottest new way to establish global influence," Quartz, April 3, 2021, <https://qz.com/1991486/is-china-winning-the-vaccine-diplomacy-game/>.

Soft Power bases on Joseph Nye, Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment. A country's soft power rests on its resources of culture, values, and policies.<sup>56</sup> China's vaccine has become the national resource to gain its benefit and vaccine can influence the other countries too. Vaccine diplomacy is the part of soft power which most of the countries have turned to. Each soft power of the countries has been influenced by the foreign policy of the countries. Nye also defines soft power as the ability to get others to want what you want.<sup>57</sup>

China's vaccine diplomacy has also been the tools for the global health in the pandemic. Worldwide wellbeing discretion has ended up the foremost striking include of China's foreign policy. Since 1949, China has been utilizing wellbeing strategy as a delicate control instrument in its remote approach. Given the episode of the COVID-19 widespread, China has utilized worldwide health diplomacy to construct its generous picture and to look for a rich ground for its geopolitical impact in a few districts such as Africa, Asia and Europe.<sup>58</sup> According to ISERS Yusof Ishak institute, China has changed the COVID-19 emergency into a window of opportunity to boost its delicate control through sharing data and information, giving restorative supplies, sending restorative groups, and giving immunizations. China's delicate control has been marginally upgraded, based on the discernment of approach creators or administering elites, and its geopolitical impact has expanded in Terrain Southeast Asia. The territorial nations have

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<sup>56</sup> Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," 2008, <https://courses.helsinki.fi/sites/default/files/course-material/4594675/Nye.pdf>, p. 94.

<sup>57</sup> Joseph S. Nye, "The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone" (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> Gauttam, Priya; Singh, Bawa; and Kaur, Jaspal (2020) "COVID-19 and Chinese Global Health Diplomacy: Geopolitical Opportunity for China's Hegemony," *Millennial Asia* 11 (3), p. 318-340.

commended and acknowledged China for effectively controlling the widespread episode, for the arrangement of COVID-19 help, and for the advancement of vaccine diplomacy.<sup>59</sup>

Vaccines is the popular diplomacy out of other diplomacy in the pandemic which cause the countries to compete with the vaccine development. Only vaccine can be the weapon to cut out the spread. Nations Branding is very important for the vaccine diplomacy and being the tools for each country. Beside approval vaccines which approved by WHO, there are many vaccines candidate that try to develop in each phase. Whenever the WHO approves, that is its success for its countries. According to COVID-19 Vaccine Tracker, until the mid-July, there are 135 vaccine candidates and almost 20 vaccines that approved by countries.<sup>60</sup>

Sinopharm and Sinovac is running as China's vaccine and its tools to influence other. Pfizer is the tools for Germany, Moderna and Jonhson&Jonhson are from USA, Sputnik V is from Russia and AstraZeneca-COVISHIELD is from India.<sup>61</sup> Each vaccine branding is used to strengthen its power. According to Jaspreet Pannu, the inequity of global vaccine access has also turned vaccines into diplomatic bargaining chips. China, India, and Russia have all seized the opportunity to use access to their COVID-19 vaccines to curry favor with friends and foes. The wish to persuade and attract through the soft power of vaccines should be considered an all-round improvement compared with the use of military hard power.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Chheang Vannarith, "Fighting COVID-19: China's Soft Power Opportunities in Mainland Southeast Asia", ISERS Yusof Ishak Institute, 2021, <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/posts/2021-66-fighting-covid-19-chinas-soft-power-opportunities-in-mainland-southeast-asia-by-chheang-vannarith/>.

<sup>60</sup> McGill Covid19 Vaccine Tracker Team, Covid-19 vaccine Tracker, <https://covid19.trackvaccines.org/> (accessed July 19, 2021).

<sup>61</sup> GAVI The vaccine Alliances, The COVID-19 vaccine race – weekly update, <https://www.gavi.org/vaccineswork/covid-19-vaccine-race> (accessed July 19, 2021).

<sup>62</sup> Jaspreet Pannu, "The state inoculates: vaccines as soft power," The Lancet, 10 March, 2021, [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/langlo/article/PIIS2214-109X\(21\)00091-7/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/langlo/article/PIIS2214-109X(21)00091-7/fulltext).

Generation, dispersion and control of COVID-19 vaccine has made predicaments and openings for states who work out delicate control in their universal relations — and indeed permitted modern players to emerge. Soft control is the capacity to create change through influence and influence rather than impelling. Within the state’s tool compartment, it sits between open strategy, corporate strategy, and statecraft. For these reasons, how much delicate control a nation can apply depends on its arrangements, organizations, and citizens, who must work together to guarantee that the impact remains positive.

#### **4.5 The path to the hegemony**

In the terms of hegemony, Marco and Jeff, Hegemony generally refers to the mechanisms and dynamics describing how a determinate group comes to organize its ruling at multiple levels, such as the political economic, social, cultural, and linguistic. In communication studies, the term is almost automatically associated with the particular conceptualization of Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci, who provides a way to describe and explore the critical link between “power,” culture, and communicative practices.<sup>63</sup> Also Schenoni shows hegemony might denote the concentration of relation capabilities in a single state, the presence of a state that seeks international leadership.<sup>64</sup>

China’s vaccine diplomacy is preparing the path for China to win the game and being the hegemony. A doubt about China to be hegemony in contemporary, China’s vaccine diplomacy seems to be the great push to be hegemony. There is a question whether China can take over USA’s hegemony or not. Many advantages for China that might be taken from its vaccine diplomacy.

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<sup>63</sup> Marco Briziarell, Jeff Hoffmann, “Hegemony in Marxist Traditions, Oxford research Encyclopedias, Communication, July 27, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.48>

<sup>64</sup> Schenoni, “Hegemony,” International Studies, April 26, 2019, <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-509>

Treat war seems silent during the pandemic but China might take benefit by its vaccine. China's vaccine diplomacy seems being on the way to be the hegemon. China does not announce to be hegemon by its vaccines, but its intention is shown. Vaccine diplomacy is the form of being hegemon due to the more uses of vaccine. Some countries work their vaccine diplomacy as the nationalism while China has reached its vaccines to almost the rest of the world. While most of developing countries turn to China, USA still focus on the own people. Developing countries believe in China for helping. By the word helping, just not only donating the vaccine, there are three forms such as purchasing, donating and debt. The debt might be the same form to be the hegemon which was used by USA. Until the end July, more than 102 countries using the shots of China vaccines.<sup>65</sup> This can really show that China is on its path to be the hegemon by its vaccine diplomacy silently. It seems openly known to be the new hegemon while the price of the vaccines is very confidential.

Cambodia, Prime Minister, said on the special press on 1st of July 2021 about the COVID-19 Situation in Cambodia:

*"[...] if I do not rely on China, whom do I rely on? Tell me. It's just the truth. Many people promised me much – but in the end, promises are not vaccines – and it was only the Chinese vaccines that actually arrived,"<sup>66</sup>*

This might be the great supporting for the idea which said China is on the path to be the hegemon after the pandemic. During the pandemic, vaccine diplomacy seems take over the vaccine nationalism.

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<sup>65</sup> BRIDGE, China Covid-19 Vaccine Tracker, <https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/> (accessed July 30, 2021).

<sup>66</sup> Mom Kunthear, "Hun Sen: Reliance on China for vaccines the right decision," The Phnom Penh post, July 1, 2021, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/hun-sen-reliance-china-vaccines-right-decision> (accessed July 30, 2021).

With the hegemony concept, willingness to be is the most point to be the hegemon. China is willing to help the world with its vaccine in any circumstance and also in the absence of other superpower. Vaccine diplomacy has helped increase China's influence and enabled it to capitalize on new opportunities.<sup>67</sup> China's vaccine diplomacy has provided more than the vaccines to the world. It provides the relationships, trusting and more.

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<sup>67</sup> Suisheng Zhao, "Why China's vaccine diplomacy is winning," East Asia Forum, April 29,2021, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/04/29/why-chinas-vaccine-diplomacy-is-winning/>.

## **CHAPTER V. THE CONTRAST TO THE CHINA'S VACCINE**

### **DIPLOMACY**

Everything does not go without criticized. Even China is doing well, it still receives the contrastive idea. Contrast to its positive intentions, China is doing with something behind its vaccine diplomacy. Behind Humanitarian activity, it might be Debt-Trap diplomacy theory. Behind Foreign Policy strengthening and being the hegemon, it also might be about its geopolitical influence. Also, there will be the great opportunity behind the soft power.

#### **5.1 Debt-Trap diplomacy theory**

As vaccine diplomacy, vaccine is conveyed to other nations by acquiring and giving. Acquiring vaccine of other nations, can buy by loaning. China's vaccine diplomacy may well be the trap for letting other nations to drop within the obligation. It is exceptionally complicated to know the precise sum of cash that other nations owe by obtaining the vaccine. That is not helping poor countries, but to let poor countries to gain more debt. Vaccine is ended up the foremost required merchandise for every state after the widespread. Most of the governments are looking for vaccines instead of arms. Vaccine cost is the foremost thing which continuously come to begin with. It gets to be the challenge for creating nation governments. Cost will be expanded depend on the populace. Vaccination costs does not include the vaccine costs, all of the restorative materials and the method too fetched. China and other nations bargain the vaccine cost with sensible condition. Some vaccines are not the same prices, its price will be different later on. However, some vaccine might be the same price as expected. Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine is sold at \$19.5 per dose, Moderna is at around \$32-\$37 per dose, Sputnik V is at \$10 and COVISHIED is at \$3.3 per

dose.<sup>68</sup> Vaccine price drag developing countries in debt. China vaccines cost different from each country. Sinopharm costs at \$75 per dose and Sinovac is at around \$13.6-\$60 per dose.<sup>69</sup>

Debt-trap implies that one owes a gigantic sum of cash to different educate or individuals, which feels ceaseless. Some of the time advances are taken to pick up monetary advantage, which could be a shrewd choice. On the other hand, an obligation trap may be a circumstance that never need to be in. Debt-Trap Diplomacy before the pandemic seem to be the most used by China in order to provide developing countries a loan to build its infrastructure in the fields of transportation, energy, water supply and other sectors.<sup>70</sup> COVID-19 changes and might give unused concept of Debt-Trap discretion. Immunizations has been getting to be the device for drag most of creating nations to drop within the obligation whereas the antibodies are exceptionally vital for individuals.

Since vaccine is the key to recovery from COVID-19, there is much companies and governments can urgently do to ensure equitable access to vaccines, including prioritizing vaccine distribution on the basis of need rather than purchasing power. Governments must also address the fundamental global inadequate production of vaccines. Investing in maximizing manufacturing capacity is critical to deliver adequate doses to vaccinate the world including through a fully funded COVAX.<sup>71</sup> The world need more vaccines to build up the global herd immunity. There is not the matter for developed countries but it might be the serious challenges for developing countries. Financial crisis and people life are the choices for government to choose. While most governments

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<sup>68</sup> Mersad Alimoradi, "Comparison of Covid 19 vaccines," MYACARE:Health and Wellness Simplified, July 27, 2021, <https://myacare.com/blog/comparison-of-covid-19-vaccines> (accessed July 30, 2021).

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Haderiansyah, Habibah, Setiawan, Muzahid, "POLICY OF CHINA'S DEBT-TRAP DIPLOMACY: The Influence Of Media In Forming Community Political Opinions," DIA: Jurnal Administrasi Publik, 202 December, Vol18, No.2, p. 171.

<sup>71</sup> Vaccine Debts: How Africa's debt crisis is slowing COVID-19 vaccination, and how vaccine costs threaten to add to the debt burden, Christian Aid, May 2021, <https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2021-05/Christian%20Aid%20-%20Debt%20and%20Vaccine%20Briefing%20May%202021.pdf>



are enthusiastic to procure vaccines, a few are essentially battling to pay for preexisting open administrations and other costs such as debt servicing. Although COVAX is helping to donate vaccines to developing countries, developing governments are still seeking to purchase more. There need to take more time for receiving the vaccines from COVAX. China always be criticized for dragging developing countries to fall in the trap, especially since BRI shows up. According to the Hill Opinion, American statesman John Adams, who served as president from 1797 to 1801, famously said:

*“There are two ways to conquer and enslave a country: One is by the sword; the other is by debt.”*

China, choosing the second path, has embraced colonial-era practices and rapidly emerged as the world’s biggest official creditor.<sup>72</sup> China’s vaccine diplomacy can be seen as an extension of the Chinese “debt-trap diplomacy” theory that became a cornerstone of the Trump administration’s Africa policy – despite being disproven – to deter African states from cooperating with China.<sup>73</sup> During the pandemic, only the governments that have to decide for avoiding the trap or letting the spread becomes bigger and bigger.

## **5.2 Opportunities**

Beside Humanitarian activities, there are something behind China vaccine diplomacy. Since the China’s vaccines have been delivered, China had sought for the behind opportunities. Beside Debt-Trap and Geopolitical influences, there are many more. The opportunities are not only

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<sup>72</sup> Brahma Chellaney, “China’s debt-trap diplomacy,” The Hill, <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/551337-chinas-debt-trap-diplomacy>.

<sup>73</sup> Rosie Wigmore, “5 Reasons to Worry About the ‘Chinese Vaccine Diplomacy’ Narrative,” The Diplomat, March 11, 2021, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/03/5-reasons-to-worry-about-the-chinese-vaccine-diplomacy-narrative/>.

in the good ideas such as foreign policy strengthening, humanitarian activities or hegemony, there are more.

In spite of the fact that China reported to create COVID-19 vaccines as the global public good, China can be charged to discover the things behind its vaccine. Opportunity to induce out from the title of the trouble maker. China's vaccine diplomacy might pull itself from any blaming from the worldwide since it is the primary country who begins the spread of Coronavirus. It's the awesome openings to itself by fair giving the antibodies to the foremost of the nation to require over its botch. The blaming is just not only by calling "China's virus", also asked for the compensation. According to Hindustan Times, Trump said China should pay more as compensation to the world.

*"The number (compensation) is much higher than that. But there's only so much they can pay. And that's to us (United States). The number is bigger throughout the world. Look, countries have been destroyed over what they did, and whether by accident or not. And I would hope that it was an accident. I hope that it was through incompetence or an accident,"<sup>74</sup>*

China's vaccine diplomacy is the very intelligent tool for cover up it criticizing. Turning from "China's virus" to "China's vaccine". China would end up from the maker and the plug.

Alongside of covering up the blaming, China is taking these opportunities to extent its manufacturers. Since China's vaccines has ordered with a huge amount, China seem try to find more producer. The more produce of vaccines, it would be enough for the worldwide purchasing. China opens for the country that want to produce China's vaccines within its territory. At the Global

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<sup>74</sup> Meenakshi Ray, "Trump says India devastated by Covid-19, China must pay for its spread," Hindustan Times, June 18, 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/trump-says-india-devastated-by-covid-19-china-must-pay-for-its-spread-101623975069857.html> (accessed July 27, 2021).

Health Summit 2021, Chinese President Xi Jinping reiterated China's support for its vaccine developers to transfer technologies to other developing countries and carrying out joint production.<sup>75</sup> According to Bridge until the end of July 2021, there are more than 10 countries which are producing and will produce China's vaccine, Sinopharm and Sinovac.<sup>76</sup>

Beside vaccine diplomacy, it is also the time to find the place to produce more vaccine.

Egypt, the first 2 million doses will be produced at the plants of the Egyptian Holding Company for Biological Products and Vaccines (VACSERA), Egyptian Health Minister Hala Zayed said in May.<sup>77</sup> Also, it has plans to being producing China's Sinovac vaccine locally soon.

<sup>78</sup> United Arab Emirates will start manufacturing around 200 million doses of Sinopharm later this year by the new factory in Abu Dhabi.<sup>79</sup> Turkey, report by the Turkish media says that Sinovac, the Chinese producer of its COVID-19 vaccine CoronaVac, has provided a license to Turkey to manufacturing the jabs.<sup>80</sup> Chile, China's Sinovac had begun evaluating potential sites for the construction of a vaccine plant in Chile that could begin producing doses of the Chinese shot as early as the first half of 2022.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Xinhua, Full Text: Remarks by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the Global Health Summit, [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-05/21/c\\_139961512.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-05/21/c_139961512.htm).

<sup>76</sup> BRIDGE, Overseas Manufacturers of Chinese Vaccines, China Covid-19 Vaccines Tracker, [https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/#Overseas\\_Manufacturers\\_of\\_Chinese\\_Vaccines](https://bridgebeijing.com/our-publications/our-publications-1/china-covid-19-vaccines-tracker/#Overseas_Manufacturers_of_Chinese_Vaccines).

<sup>77</sup> Global Times, Sinovac vaccine production line in Egypt to start operating soon, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202106/1227118.shtml> (accessed July 28, 2021).

<sup>78</sup> Egypt Independent, Egypt produces one million doses of coronavirus vaccine so far, Egypt Independent, July 5, 2021, <https://egyptindependent.com/egypt-produces-one-million-doses-of-coronavirus-vaccine-so-far/> (accessed July 28, 2021).

<sup>79</sup> ALIAZEERA, UAE to manufacture Chinese COVID vaccine in Abu Dhabi, ALIAZEERA, March, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/29/uae-to-manufacture-chinese-covid-vaccine-in-abu-dhabi> (accessed July 28, 2021).

<sup>80</sup> Daily Sabah, Sinovac allows its COVID-19 vaccine to be made in Turkey, <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/sinovac-allows-its-covid-19-vaccine-to-be-made-in-turkey/news> (accessed July 28, 2021).

<sup>81</sup> Reuters, China's Sinovac evaluates vaccine plant in Chile, July 24, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/chinas-sinovac-evaluates-vaccine-plant-chile-2021-07-23/>.

### 5.3 Geopolitical influence

Most of the super power always want to extend its geopolitical. Out from winning the vaccines game and trying to be hegemon, China seems extend its political. As China's vaccines have delivered to almost the continents around the world such as Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Oceania. Since the vaccines have delivered out, its geopolitical already extended. China might try to extent with political silently to the world by using its Sinopharm and Sinovac.

The model of geopolitical influence is in many forms. Before and after pandemic, China's geopolitical influence seems flexible. The China's influences did rely on the economic investment while contemporary is changing. In the past, there shows up to be a huge increment in China's abroad speculations, extending from the Middle East to North Africa and Southeast Asia, in what is presently known as the Belt and Street Activity. Be that as it may, a closer see at these abroad venture ventures uncover that they have brought more hurt than great to have nations. A need of financial reasonability and swelled costs have as it were cleared out have nations intensely obliged to Beijing, making a shape of use that China can utilize to constrain these deliberately found nations to bolster China's aspirations all inclusive. Hence, it shows up that in reality these speculations carry more geopolitical desire rather than financial ones, as China looks for to pick up impact in their locale.<sup>82</sup>

China's vaccine diplomacy is contrasting to vaccine nationalism of United States and other Western democracies. David Fidler, East Asia Forum also show that COVAX has not escaped geopolitics. The Trump administration's 'America First' refusal to participate in COVAX provided

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<sup>82</sup> Panos Mourdoukoutas, "The Problem With China's Investments -- From Malaysia To Sri Lanka, Pakistan, And Uganda," Forbes, July 11, 2019, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/panosmourdoukoutas/2019/07/11/the-problem-with-chinas-investments-from-malaysia-to-sri-lanka-pakistan-and-uganda/?sh=943bdcf2e357>.

China another opportunity to strengthen its vaccine diplomacy and global influence. To compete more effectively with China, the Biden administration reasserted US leadership by pledging US\$4 billion to COVAX and hosting a COVAX funding event in April 2021. Geopolitical concerns also informed commitments other G7 countries have made to COVAX in 2021.<sup>83</sup> Foreign Minister Wang Yi announced a \$1 billion loan to Latin America and the Caribbean for COVID-19 vaccine access during a virtual gathering with his Latin American counterparts on Wednesday, according to a statement released by the Mexican Foreign Affairs Ministry.<sup>84</sup> Since many countries announced to use china's vaccine for emergency, it is the sign of its success on geopolitical. Based on the uses of its vaccine, based on the countries hosting trials to manufacture the china's vaccines, can clearly show how China's vaccine diplomacy win the geopolitical influences. China's intention is just not winning the vaccine diplomacy game, but it is political game. Just not the vaccines to influences, China has used many aids to help other countries especially the developing world. Developing countries might fall down if there is no help from china.

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<sup>83</sup> Davaid P Fidler, "Geopolitics drives vaccine access in Asia," East Asia Forum, April 13, 2021, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/04/13/geopolitics-drives-vaccine-access-in-asia/>.

<sup>84</sup> Karol Suarez, "China offers \$1 billion loan to Latin America and the Caribbean for access to its Covid-19 vaccine," CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/07/23/americas/china-billion-vaccine-latin-america-coronavirus-intl/index.html>

## **CHAPTER VI: THE ANALYSIS OF THE CHINA'S VACCINE**

### **DIPLOMACY**

China's vaccine diplomacy seems doing both which drag the world with the benefits and consequences. China's vaccine is the most and last expectation for the developing world. As the thesis researching, China is willing to help the world for recovery from the virus. It's the only hope after the ignorance. China and other superpower are fighting for its vaccine diplomacy and the answer can only be answered after the virus is gone. The doubt and the future of the China's vaccine diplomacy cannot be shown whenever the virus is still remaining. The global can easily decide that China's vaccine is good or bad. Currently, it is only the period of fighting the virus, not to judge any vaccine diplomacy.

The brightness of the beautiful is coming day by day whenever the vaccination is completed by around 70% of the world population. China's vaccine is really helping the world a lot. The world might think of China's intentions in the good way than in the different way. China seems not care much about the criticizing and still remaining its helps. The intention is likely being better than the confrontation. China's vaccine diplomacy is really helpful for the people in the contemporary. People is really needing the vaccines to protect them from the COVID-19 virus even from Alpha or Delta. China's vaccines are really help the people from more than hundred countries.

Humanitarian activities is the most thing that comes first during this time than anything. Even though there are many vaccines diplomacy but China is stepping forward to the successful process. The world will turn to someone who never leave them behind when they are in the suffering. It is the great success for the China and it is the great opportunity for its vaccine brands.

China will win the vaccine diplomacy game by using its Sinopharm and Sinovac. Also, the CanSino vaccine will be China's tool for its diplomacy in the future.

## CONCLUSION

Within this thesis, a question was asked about the definition of Vaccine diplomacy in general, Vaccine Diplomacy is the concept of foreign policy which countries use its own branding vaccines or other vaccines to strengthen the diplomacy between country and other countries.

Briefly, COVID-19 has changed the world a slot also includes the diplomacy. Vaccine diplomacy has become the new strategy for superpower. Since vaccine is really needed for the people, COVAX is ruling as the helper for developing and to deal with other countries' vaccine diplomacy. Vaccines also consider as the tool for the foreign policy in contemporary international relations. It becomes the tool since more than millions vaccine doses have been delivered out. Most of superpowers are turning to vaccine diplomacy since it will provide the unexpected benefits for them.

China's vaccine diplomacy as known as "Health Silk Road" initiative has welcomed widely the other countries to receive the COVID-19 vaccine. More than hundred countries have received China's vaccines. Sinovac and Sinopharm have delivered to almost the rest of the world includes Asia, Europe, Latin America, and Africa. China's geopolitical might be more conveniences in Asia since China is located in Asia. Due to the debate of its vaccine efficiency, China has comparably fewer deals with Europe. Latin America is the continent which is the highest purchase of vaccine with more than 350 million doses from China. However, Africa is the lowest continent that purchases vaccine from China. COVID-19 widespread have truly changed a few portions of discretion between nations and nations. China has attempted forcefully to enter this space within the widespread both to invert the account almost itself in this widespread but to put itself as trailblazer and the nations which its vaccine is around the world. There's nothing happens without



reason. Based on the radicalism, China's vaccine diplomacy is exceptionally supportive for the world amid these times since most of the nations are tending to the China to recuse them from the infection. Close to China's BRI, vaccine diplomacy is distinguished and criticized as its deliberate. China's vaccine diplomacy is remaining with the reasonable points such as foreign policy strengthening, humanitarian activities, winning the game, soft power and the path to the hegemony. Whatever point nations can get what its nation requires the foremost from other nation, their relationship would or maybe go smoothly.

China's vaccines diplomacy has been becoming the one of the humanitarian activities both directly and indirectly, which has mentioned above. Equality of the vaccine is the man challenges for the world since most rich countries try to buy the big amount of the doses. There is not only China's vaccine diplomacy in the world, others also have tried to choosing this diplomacy, also Russia and India. China might keep doing this until the end of the pandemic or even the virus has gone. Sinopharm and Sinovac is running as China's vaccine and its tools to influence other. China's vaccine diplomacy is preparing the path for China to win the game and being the hegemony. A doubt about China to be hegemony in contemporary, China's vaccine diplomacy seems to be the great push to be hegemony.

In contrast, China is doing with something behind its vaccine diplomacy. Behind Humanitarian activity, it might be Debt-Trap diplomacy theory. Behind Foreign Policy strengthening and being the hegemon, it also might be about its geopolitical influence. Also, there will be the great opportunity behind the soft power. China's vaccine diplomacy seem drag developing countries to fall in the Debt-Trap and might take opportunities from them. China might take the great opportunities to build up more manufacture factory and avoid from the blaming from

the world for letting the spread goes viral. China seems extend its political. As China's vaccines have delivered to almost the continents around the world.

The following authors, Greenwald and Margolis, on their analysis and opinion, had questioned about the strategies of vaccine diplomacy to shape a New World Order in contemporary international relations, the thesis strongly agrees with them. Since the world is falling into the pandemic, the developed countries take the vaccine diplomacy to rule the world or might control the developing world. Also, that is the needed time for the international community shall take action on promoting the medical development to fight back and stop the spread. That might not only USA, but also China shall help to promote in order to help the world especially developing world. Moreover, there are authors who had questioned about the reasons to be the China's vaccine diplomacy and the opportunities which china could do during the pandemic. The thesis paper also supports and concurs with author, Seow Ting Lee and Chheang Vannarith. China's vaccine diplomacy has used the vaccines to promote the power within the international stages, also used vaccine to be the part of the soft power during the pandemic. The thesis completely agrees to the author who states about nation branding can be used as an important tool in developing and maintaining a country's soft power. Furthermore, COVID-19 pandemic gives the great opportunities for China to influence the international leadership and provide the COVID-19 assistance to the regional countries.

For the final analysis of the research paper, China's vaccine diplomacy seems also helpful and success for the world to fight against the virus. It is the right decision for China during the pandemic. China's vaccine diplomacy will provide them back with the great opportunities. China is the really the hope for developing countries.

## **RECOMMENDATION**

In favor of Vaccine Diplomacy in contemporary international relations: The case of People's Republic of China, there is assuming many recommendations within the national stage and international stage. The world is now relying on the vaccinations to stop the virus. China's vaccine diplomacy can be the lesson for other superpowers. The right intentions shall be taken instead of the negative intentions. That is the time for the world for working together to fight against COVID-19 and the vaccination.

Throughout, the paper had made several recommendations for dealing with vaccine diplomacy, especially China's vaccine diplomacy. The following recommendations might be directed to China and for the international:

### **Recommendation for China**

Debt-trap diplomacy avoidance: during the crisis, vaccine is really needed for all of the countries. China shall not take or drag down the poor countries into the deep debt. We do not want to see the poor countries become poorer after the pandemic since all countries have suffered from COVID-19 too much currently. China shall manage and make up with the clearly plan for the debt of purchasing the vaccines.

Developing world assistance: China shall continue to take action on developing world onward, since most of the developing countries rely on China already. That's the time to helping not leaving behind. China shall be the great assistance for the developing world by providing more medical supplies, technical assistance and more vaccines which is the part of China's vaccine diplomacy.

Within the international stage; there would be the several recommendations for every country to take actions on:

### **Recommendation for the International stage**

Vaccination for everyone: vaccines must be for everyone, no matter who they are, black, white, short, LGBTQ, and more. That is just not only for everyone, but it shall be free for everyone. Governments shall take responsibility to get the vaccines for their people.

“Blaming game” avoidance: that is very wrongful during this pandemic for blaming each other. Besides blaming each other, international community shall find the way to get the world out of this pandemic and stop the spread as soon as possible since it should not be delayed until the year of 2022. Every star shall stop accusing since there might be no use in this pandemic.

Together for stopping COVID-19: that is the first obligation of all state’s governments and the global people to work together to stop the spread. Government shall be ready to deal with any cases of the COVID-19 and shall not stand still to let the people died without any acts. Also, people shall be ready for the “New Normal” and be more cautious by wearing the mask, washing hand with alcohol spray and social distancing. If the world work together, the virus will be gone as soon as possible.

Vaccine branding race: there are many vaccine candidates and vaccine branding such as Pfizer-BioNTech, AstraZeneca, Johnson and Johnson, Moderna, Sinovac, Sinopharm and Sputnik V. Since there are many brandings, there is the Vaccine Branding race arises. The international community shall avoid the vaccine branding race, because there will be the consequences for the world in future. All vaccines have its own effectiveness and quality. Also, there is not suitable time for judging this branding is worst or better, but that is the best situation for vaccination. The more vaccination, the more immunization. The world shall believe and not criticize any vaccine

branding. There is no the best vaccine in the world, the best vaccine is the fastest vaccine. The more vaccines are provided, that will be the best vaccine.

Over purchasing avoidance: the gap between developing countries and developed countries is becoming the challenge for developing countries since the developed countries try to purchase the COVID-19 vaccines over the amount. Developed countries shall not purchase over and let the developing countries could not access to the vaccines. Rich countries shall share and make sure they get with the suitable amount.

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