

An Analysis of South Korean TRUST Diplomacy toward Indonesia in Pandemic Covid-19

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the factors that influenced South Korea to issue TRUST diplomacy and made Indonesia as the object of its diplomacy during the Covid-19 pandemic. In previous year before Covid-19 outbreak, Indonesia and South Korea had experienced stagnation in strategic economic cooperation negotiations, but the two countries managed to reach the agreement in the early of 2020. This research will use qualitative research methods. Based on William D. Coplin's theory of foreign policy making, it was found that domestic political conditions, the influence of sentiment on trade liberalization from the business group, the decline in South Korean exports due to the trade war and South Korea's relations with Japan, and South Korea's status as a middle power country in the world as well as Indonesia's position as a bridge for South Korea to enter the ASEAN market which is the biggest driving factor for South Korea to carry out TRUST diplomacy in Indonesia. South Korea took advantage of the pandemic momentum to appear to form a positive image and increase the confidence of its strategic partner countries..

Keywords: Soft Power, Foreign Policy, South Korea, Indonesia, Covid-19.

1. Introduction

The Corona virus or covid-19 has started to become an epidemic in South Korea since the first confirmed case of COVID-19 was reported on January 20, 2020. In its development, COVID-19 has spread massively in South Korea and made this country as the second largest country with the most COVID-19 cases, after China. The number of Covid-19 cases infection in South Korea reached 10,613 on April 16, 2020 [1]. However, with the South Korean government's effective policies in controlling the pandemic, the country has managed to flatten the Covid-19 curve in a short time. South Korea's success in controlling the spread of COVID-19 without a lockdown has attracted attention and appreciation from the world as a country that is considered successful in overcoming the pandemic effectively.

South Korea has encouraged its country to carry out public diplomacy as its neighbors, namely China, Taiwan, and Russia. South Korea is strengthening cooperation in handling COVID-19 with Indonesia, which is one of the priority countries in South Korea's New Southern Policy (NSP) foreign policy. Indonesia and South Korea have established cooperation, especially in the economic field. A year before the pandemic, the two countries had just agreed on a strategic economic development agreement through the framework of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement. This cooperation is equivalent to a free trade agreement with a more specific scope towards the economy after previously the two countries experienced stagnation in this cooperation in the last five years [2]. However, the implementation of the cooperation framework has yet to be implemented due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Unlike South Korea, Indonesia is experiencing an uncontrollable situation due to the Covid-19 virus. The curve of COVID-19 in Indonesia has increased, even within 38 days since the first case was discovered, the Covid-19 virus has spread to all provinces in Indonesia and reached 100,000 cases in the fifth month [3]. Indonesia's inability to handle the Covid-19 case has opened a gap for South Korea to implement its public diplomacy. The condition of the Covid-19 case in Indonesia is not much different from South Korea in the early days of the pandemic, but South Korea has succeeded in suppressing the spread of the virus, while Indonesia has not yet reached its peak curve. Then, South Korea came up with TRUST diplomacy based on the principles of transparency, openness, and democracy. TRUST stands for Transparency, Responsibility, United Actions, Science and Speed, and Together. Transparency is an effort by South Korea to combat hoax information related to Covid-19.

Responsibility is part of South Korea's commitment by providing free tests for its economic expansion. United Actions is a unit of all actors in the South Korean government system working in synergy to produce test-kits quickly so that they can be distributed to other countries. Science and Speed was realized by South Korea by introducing the Covid-19 test with drive-thru and walk-thru, namely the quick and easy sampling of covid tests. Finally, together is implemented by South Korea by inviting countries to cooperate with each other for the development of medicines, vaccines, and keeping global supplies running [4]. This public diplomacy was carried out by South Korea during the pandemic as a response to its country's form of international solidarity.

In the midst of uncertain international conditions, South Korea emerged together with its TRUST diplomacy by carrying out the spirit of global community solidarity against Covid-19, especially for Indonesia as its strategic partner. The first package of assistance from South Korea for Indonesia was the delivery of 322 test kits that could be used for 32,200 tests at the beginning of the pandemic that hit Indonesia. South Korea's policy is considered brave enough because South Korea itself is also experiencing the uncertainty of the Covid-19 condition, although the Covid-19 curve in South Korea quickly declined in the early days, but the possibility of an increase could still occur. The unpredictable crisis situation and the election of Indonesia as one of the objects of South Korea's public diplomacy raises the question of why did South Korea issue TRUST diplomacy as a form of public diplomacy to Indonesia during the Pandemic? It is known that South Korea and Indonesia had been absent from discussing the framework of their strategic economic cooperation and only agreed to the framework again in 2019. South Korea and Indonesia have been in cooperation for 45 years since 1973. South Korea sees Indonesia as a middle power in Southeast Asia. to get a potential market [5] Therefore, the author looks at the economic conditions and the international context which are the biggest driving factors for South Korea to carry out TRUST diplomacy in Indonesia. This study seeks to explain what factors influence the dynamics of the TRUST diplomacy policy between South

Korea and Indonesia so that it can provide future prospects regarding future cooperative relations between the two countries.

2. Research Method

This research used qualitative research methods. It explored and redefined the meaning of interactions between individuals or groups with social and human problems [6]. According to McCusker, qualitative research conducts observations and a deeper understanding of social phenomena then interprets and explains them in words. This method is suitable to provide an explanation of how these social phenomena occur [8]. This qualitative research helped to mention and explain the reasons for South Korea's foreign policy direction to Indonesia and the motives for its public diplomacy in Indonesia. South Korea's Diplomacy Trust is a social phenomenon was observed and understood, then interpreted the results through a descriptive explanation. As said by W.H. It is true that this approach provides space for researchers to carry out detailed descriptions and interpretations to gain an overall understanding [7]. This study used data on the intensity of economic interactions between the two countries before and during the pandemic, then the responses of the two countries in responding to world supply chains during the pandemic, as well as data on interactions between the two countries with the international community regarding health diplomacy during the Covid-19 crisis. The indicators are the economic conditions of the two countries, the political conditions of the two countries, and the international response related to their interactions. Data collection technique in this research was literature study by collecting data from secondary data, such as books, magazines, newspapers or journals and internet searches. The results of the data obtained will be interpreted in a theoretical framework that is used to accurately prove the hypothesis and produce an answer to the research question.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Foreign Policy Decision Making

Policy is defined as a set of concepts and principles that outline a plan or reference for the implementation of a mission from a long-term strategy and guidelines in achieving certain goals [9]. In the course of a country's foreign policy is issued not only on one factor of consideration, but there is a process that maps out any considerations until the policy is decided. This research will further examine South Korea's foreign policy to Indonesia in a pandemic situation. The purpose of this study is to see what factors influence South Korea in issuing Trust diplomacy and the reasons South Korea chose Indonesia as one of its public diplomacy targets. Therefore, this study uses William D. Coplin's policy-making model to examine the factors and reasons for South Korea's TRUST diplomacy to Indonesia. Coplin stated that there are several categories that influence the adoption of a foreign policy [10]. The three determinant factors are domestic political conditions, economic and military capabilities, and the international context.

In domestic political conditions, the direction of foreign policy is influenced by the relationship between foreign policy makers and domestic political actors. This is because foreign policy makers need support from domestic political actors to convince constituents of the decisions made. Usually cultural factors are included to see the interactions between these actors [11]. This interaction between domestic actors is referred to by Coplin as Policy Influencers. Then, the second category that influences is economic and military capability. Coplin added that when economic capacity is getting stronger, it will have an impact on increasing its military. These two things can contribute to each other [10]. The last category is the international context. This category relates to the geographical, economic, political nature of the country's international environment. The international context discusses the international impact on a country's foreign policy because the country has the territory it controls in relation to other countries in the system as well as the country's economic relations with other countries [7]. This study will explain South Korea's TRUST diplomacy as a form of foreign policy and look at the three determinant factors above to find out what factors are the most dominant influencing South Korea to choose Indonesia as the object of its public diplomacy during the Pandemic and map out Policy Influencers in South Korea in achieving a policy. abroad, especially in times of crisis.

2.2.2 Soft Power Diplomacy

The definition of soft power diplomacy is often associated with processes, activities and negotiations carried out by countries in international forums to support their national interests. As Freeman said, diplomacy is a form of peaceful coercion to advance the interests of the state [12]. Based on this definition, forms of diplomacy can be interpreted into all forms of peaceful actions to promote national interests, either through culture or interactions that do not intersect with high politics. This diplomacy is easier to implement because it provides a large impact with less threatening efforts. Although the measurement of diplomacy is quite difficult because the results are related to intangible things. There are three sources of soft power diplomacy, namely culture, political values, and foreign policy [13]. The use of soft power in its diplomacy has often been done by South Korea in promoting its national interests, one of which is through the Korean Wave, South Korea succeeded in entering the Indonesian market and beating several other products. The promotion of South Korean culture also increases the interest of Indonesian citizens to visit South Korea. South Korean products are increasingly being seen in various parts of Indonesia. This success led South Korea to choose diplomacy as a strategy to improve relations with other countries.

3. Findings

3.1 Pandemic Covid-19 in South Korea

South Korea was one of the first countries to experience the spread of Covid-19. The first positive case of COVID-19 in South Korea was reported on January 20, 2020. According to Exemplars in Global Health data published in 2021, at the beginning of the month the number of confirmed cases started from zero to two per day. Then the addition of cases occurred in Daegu, a city in South Korea, which became a new cluster of COVID-19 with 15 cases on February 19. After that, the daily cases in South Korea increased rapidly and reached 909 on February 29. Two weeks later or March 12, the number of infections decreased rapidly to below 200 daily cases. Daily cases continued to decline to almost zero, although small increases still occurred in mid-May at around 30 cases per day due to state policies beginning to loosen social movement restrictions [14]. The easing policy has been implemented by the South Korean government, one of which is the opening of face-to-face teaching and learning activities in schools on May 20, 2020 while still implementing health protocols. The large spread of COVID-19 in South Korea again occurred in early August 2020. This new cluster in Seoul was identified at the Jeil Sarang Church, Seoul. Due to the increase in positive cases of COVID-19, the Seoul government has re-imposed level 2 restrictions, which include limiting indoor gatherings to 50 people, limiting outdoor gatherings to 100 people, and sports without spectators [14]. Level 2 restrictions were imposed on 23 August 2020, considering that as of 17 August 2020, South Korea reported a cumulative total of 15,515 cases with 305 deaths [15].

The Korea Disease Control and Prevention Agency (KDCA) is the Korean Disease Control and Prevention Agency that plays an important role in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic in South Korea. As a crucial institution, KDCA is in charge of releasing daily reports on the condition of cases, patients, deaths, identifying the location and number of cases based on different groups, and seeking information regarding the capacity of the health system in South Korean hospitals. On September 20, it was reported that daily cases finally improved with a decrease in the number of cases below 100 until January 2021 [14]. South Korea's response in overcoming COVID-19 can be said to be fast and responsive because it is able to flatten the curve of Covid-19 infection cases quickly without implementing a massive lockdown or closing the economic business sector. South Korea's success cannot be separated from the role of the government and all related parties who learned from the experience of dealing with the previous pandemic, namely the MERS which was endemic in 2015. When the Covid-19 case was first detected in South Korea, the government began to provide clear health protocol appeals to the public and actively conduct comprehensive testing and contact tracing. In fact, before Covid-19 entered South Korea, KDCA had

responded responsively by making preparations such as the development of virus diagnostic tools so that when after the first case was reported, South Korea shifted its focus to preparing for large-scale testing. South Korea also supported the development of many biotechnology companies even before the COVID-19 outbreak due to South Korea's awareness in preparing for a health crisis that might occur at any time [16].

Detection is South Korea's attempt to track and build an innovative and high-capacity health system to ensure an adequate supply of tests from the start of the pandemic. South Korea has around 600 test centers and 150 diagnostic laboratories with a capacity of up to 110,000 tests. To expedite detection efforts, the Korean government took a major approach with the approval of the South Korean community, namely using people's digital data to carry out contact tracing. Contact tracing is carried out using credit card histories and location data from mobile phone operators of Covid-19 positive patients so that a patient's movement can be tracked in the previous few days. Containment is South Korea's attempt to isolate infected patients. To improve patient compliance during isolation, the government implements a contact tracing system that is connected to their respective smartphones. Treatment is South Korea's effort to secure health care capacity for COVID-19 positive patients. The city of Daegu, which became a cluster for the spread of Covid-19 infections in March 2020, became the focus of the government at that time by placing an additional 2,400 health workers in Daegu. The South Korean government also restructured the hospital system, built temporary hospitals to increase capacity, and addressed the shortage of personal protective equipment through centralized government purchases.

The latest Covid-19 developments in South Korea experienced an increase again on August 8, 2021. The number of daily cases was reported to have increased rapidly to reach 1,275 cases allegedly due to the entry of the delta variant which has a very fast spread rate. The increase in cases of Covid-19 infection mostly occurred in Seoul and was the beginning of South Korea experiencing a major spike since the pandemic emerged. Thus, to control the further spread, the government imposed a level 4 lockdown for the next two weeks which is the strictest lockdown ever imposed than before. However, the lockdown imposed by South Korea is not a total closure of borders and access to mobility, but tends to provide restrictions and tighten entry mobility by screening any arrivals from outside South Korea. During lockdown level 4, the government gave several rules which include: closing entertainment centers including nightclubs, dining service is only allowed until 10 p.m., banning gatherings of three or more people, and limiting operating hours until 10 p.m. for some public facilities. To date, based on data taken from worldometers.info on August 9, 2021, the cumulative total of COVID-19 cases in South Korea has reached 212,448 cases, with 2,125 deaths and 186,242 people [17].

The international community commends South Korea's performance for its good initial handling of the pandemic along with its responsiveness to efficient and widely available Covid-19 detection and testing. However, currently South Korea is experiencing problems in getting the vaccine, where less than 11% of the population has been fully vaccinated and most of the rest have not received the vaccine. Through cooperation with several countries, one of which is Indonesia, South Korea is trying to get an adequate supply of vaccines as a final solution in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic.

The impact of the pandemic on the South Korean economy is quite significant. Although it is hoped that the South Korean economy will be able to continue to perform well in 2020 because it is able to keep the Covid-19 curve under control, this country cannot escape the economic impact. The impact faced by South Korea is the loss of most of the livelihoods of the South Korean people. To overcome this, the South Korean government responded by providing subsidies to companies in order to provide salaries and unemployment insurance. Not only that, the government also opened low-interest loans and lowered insurance premiums for social safety net programs for individuals and businesses. For civilians affected by the pandemic, the government provides cash assistance based on the number of family members owned [14]. South Korea's economic recovery was driven by global demand for electronic hardware, semiconductors, automobiles and ships in the second half of 2020.

Global demand has increased significantly since the second half of 2020, contributing to an increase in GDP of more than 5% in the second half of 2020. second quarter of 2021 [18]. Recovery also occurred in May 2021, where the livelihood sector in South Korea gradually recovered with some redistribution of jobs to old age workers so that it is expected to make a strong contribution to GDP growth. Currently, with the return of the increase in positive cases of Covid-19, the prospect of improving the economy during the pandemic seems to be threatened by a surge in existing cases. However, the South Korean government is still struggling to fight the Covid-19 pandemic in its country even though the implementation of greater restrictions has just been implemented.

3.2 Pandemic Covid-19 in Indonesia

Indonesia announced its first positive case of Covid-19 on March 2, 2020, which was transmitted through human-to-human transmission. The dynamics of the Covid-19 situation in Indonesia fluctuates and tends to continue to increase. The daily increase in positive cases in Indonesia has increased from March 2020 to July 2021. In March 2020, there were 1,311 active cases and continued to increase from April to September with the achievement of 61,321 cases. In October there was a slight decrease, with a total of 58,418 cases. However, from November there was an increase until January 2021 with a total of 175,095 active cases. The development of Covid-19 death cases at the national level tends to decrease over time. Despite experiencing a high death rate in April, May, June, July to August 2020, the decline began to occur after that. If measured through global average indicators, Indonesia's national death rate is still above the global average, which is more than 2.39%. In contrast to the death rate, the development of Indonesia's national recovery rate has continued to increase. In March, the number of recovered patients reached 81 people or 3.84%, then increased in the following months to the highest in February 2021 with a cure rate of 269,482 or 83.71% which shows Indonesia's recovery percentage is above the global average [19].

The increase in healing in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of the government and medical personnel who are always trying to improve the quality of better health services. Indonesia strives to provide qualified health workers in terms of quality of treatment accompanied by health care facilities at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels so that it also influences the increase in the percentage of cures in Indonesia. At the beginning of the Covid-19 outbreak in Wuhan, Indonesia did not have any preparations in terms of health facilities or other readiness. The Indonesian government is considered unresponsive in preparation for handling Covid-19. As a result, when the Covid-19 outbreak began to enter Indonesia, the health system was quite overwhelmed with handling the very large number of positive Covid-19 patients due to a lack of readiness by the government, both in terms of facilities and required medical personnel. Likewise, people at the beginning of the pandemic had difficulty responding to all the changes that occurred due to the very fast spread of the pandemic.

Indonesian people have difficulty adapting to the health protocol appeal. Not only that, there are also many Indonesians who still do not have awareness of the importance of health protocols due to the lack of socialization of the dangers of Covid-19 at the beginning of the pandemic. As a result, the number of positive cases in Indonesia experienced a very large spike in a matter of days.

Indonesian government has formed a Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 as an effort to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic. The Task Force was formed with the aim of increasing national resilience in the health sector, increasing synergies between institutions and local governments, anticipating escalation in the spread, and increasing readiness and ability to prevent, detect and respond to Covid-19 [19]. Since the Covid-19 pandemic entered Indonesia, all sectors in daily life have been affected, starting from health, economy, education, social and culture. The economic sector experienced a serious impact due to restrictions on community activities which resulted in a slowdown in business and the economy. The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) reported that Indonesia's economic growth in the first quarter of 2020 only grew by 2.97%, a decrease from last year's 2019 which recorded

economic growth of 5.02%, and the second quarter of 2020 experienced minus 5.32% [20]. The declining economic performance has an impact on labor conditions in Indonesia. The employment sector cannot be separated from the impact of the pandemic due to a significant slowdown in business activities. Based on data from the Ministry of Manpower (Kemnaker) on April 7, 2020, it was recorded that 39,977 formal sector companies decided to work from home activities and around 1,010,579 workers were affected by Termination of Employment (PHK) from the company. Meanwhile, in the informal sector the number of companies and workers affected were 34,453 companies and 189,452 workers.

The problems above have received the attention of the Indonesian government by taking steps to provide a large-scale fiscal stimulus package called the National Economic Recovery Program (PEN) [21]. The government has budgeted Rp695.2 trillion, which is allocated to three sectors, namely health, social economy, and the business world. Then because the crisis is still ongoing, in February 2021 the Government of Indonesia again allocates a budget of Rp. 699.43 trillion to continue the PEN program. In the health sector, the government helps provide supporting facilities and equipment for medical personnel, build emergency hospitals and seek referral hospitals for Covid-19 patients. In socio-economic terms, the government has realized social protection through the Family Hope Program (PKH) and assistance programs such as direct cash assistance, basic food assistance, electricity discounts, and pre-employment programs [22]. Regarding the business sector, the Indonesian government coordinates with BI, OJK, and national banks to formulate strategies that can be carried out to support the business, business and real sectors in order to survive in the midst of a pandemic [23].

The development of Covid-19 cases in Indonesia entered the second wave with a significant increase in active cases. On July 14, 2021, positive cases of Covid-19 in Indonesia increased by 54,517 cases, which was the highest daily number during the pandemic [24]. With this addition, the cumulative total of Covid-19 cases in Indonesia reached 3,66,031 cases, with 107,096 deaths, and 3,084,702 people as of August 9, 2021 [17]. In response to these conditions, on July 3, 2021, the Government of Indonesia began implementing PPKM (Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities) to reduce the spike in active cases, which began in June 2021, experiencing a very significant increase. During PPKM, several rules are enforced which include: temporary closure of shopping centers; application of the requirements for proof of vaccination with a minimum dose of 1, 2x24 hour RT-PCR results or 1 x 24 hour antigen for every person who travels long distances or travels to and from Java and Bali; the determination of teaching and learning activities to be carried out online or online; non-essential sectors must be implemented in a Work From Home manner; food and beverage services must be delivered or take away; until places of worship, public facilities, and community activities are temporarily closed [25]. Until now, PPKM is still running and will continue to be extended until August 16, 2021.

Indonesia's efforts to suppress the acceleration of the spread of Covid-19 are carried out with a social restriction policy as a solution that can be taken without doing a total lockdown. The implementation of social restrictions in Indonesia is based on the reason that many Indonesians work in the daily sector, so that if a total lockdown is applied it will disrupt the economic security of the Indonesian people, the majority of whom have daily livelihoods. However, the government always urges and gives rules to the public to always be disciplined in implementing the 5M health protocol, namely washing hands, wearing masks, maintaining distance, staying away from crowds, and reducing mobility. Not only that, Indonesia is also actively promoting vaccination programs for the community. It is hoped that with the efforts that have been made, the number of Covid-19 infections in Indonesia can be reduced effectively and activities can run normally again.

3.3 South Korea and Indonesia Relation

South Korea and Indonesia have committed to a strategic bilateral relationship. Since 1966, the two countries have officially established bilateral relations, marked by the opening of the South Korean Consulate General office in Jakarta, which then in 1968 Indonesia

opened the Indonesian Consulate General office in Seoul. Improved relations occurred again in 1973, when there was a diplomatic visit between the foreign ministers of the two countries to discuss the issue of the Korean Peninsula conflict which at that time occurred [26]. After the establishment of diplomatic relations, the two countries expanded cooperation agreements to various sectors in the economic, socio-cultural, educational, military and defense sectors. In fact, in its implementation, cooperation is not only carried out between the central government, but between local governments with each other can also establish cooperation between the two.

South Korea is a country with fairly rapid economic progress since the 1980s. Prior to the 1960s, South Korea was a poor country with a low level of national income due to the protracted civil war with North Korea. However, after 1960 South Korea rose to become a country with a rapidly growing industrial sector. The South Korean economy has improved thanks to the role of the South Korean leader and the perseverance of the people in it who strive to build economic prosperity through the maximum use of natural resources. South Korea and Indonesia's economic cooperation covers the fields of trade, investment, and employment. South Korea is one of Indonesia's strategic trading and investment partners. Economic cooperation between the two countries can occur because of the bargaining position they have and complement each other. From the Indonesian side, this country has advantages in the field of abundant natural resources, cheap labor, and a potential market. Meanwhile, South Korea has advantages in the areas of capital, technology, and expertise. South Korea's appeal is not only in the economic field. Its cultural values are the driving force for this country to easily establish cooperation with many countries, including Indonesia. South Korea since the 1990s has been famous for its culture. Culture such as films, music, characters, and distinctive lifestyles are an attraction for other countries so that the term Korean Wave appears. Because of this cultural factor, South Korea can easily enter other countries so that cooperation can be established through cultural diplomacy.

Cooperation between South Korea and Indonesia is very dynamic and cannot be separated from the obstacles that accompany it. As during the 1998 Asian economic crisis, South Korea and Indonesia were among the two countries affected by the economic crisis. However, because the diplomatic efforts of the two countries continued to be intensified at that time between Indonesia led by president Abdurrahman Wahid and South Korean president Kim Dae-Jung, economic recovery could be realized with important agreements related to the expansion of issues in economic cooperation [26]. The decline in cooperation also occurred in the trade sector for the 2013-2017 period with a large decline of minus 10.43%. However, since the agreement to increase bilateral relations from the Strategic Partnership level to the Special Strategic Partnership in 2017, total trade again experienced an increase in 2018 by 12.58% or US\$ 18.57 billion or an increase of 12.58%. Economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea has encountered several obstacles which have caused the two countries to be more intensive in formulating a comprehensive framework for cooperation. These barriers include barriers to trade in goods, both tariffs and non-tariffs, barriers in the service market, and changes in regulations that hinder capital from being invested [27]. The Indonesia-Korea Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IK-CEPA) is here to respond to the problems of cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea. The IK-CEPA is a comprehensive free trade agreement and is more liberal than a free trade agreement. IK-CEPA is initiated by a joint study group or what is called a joint study group (JSG). JSG was formed in 2011 with the aim of studying the economic cooperation that can be carried out by South Korea and Indonesia and the advantages and challenges that may occur if a comprehensive cooperation is implemented. From that dialogue forum, various comprehensive or comprehensive cooperation plans began to be developed between Indonesia and South Korea.

Bilateral relations between South Korea and Indonesia have intensified with the presence of South Korea's New Southern Policy. The New Southern Policy is a policy that aims to improve South Korea's relations with ASEAN countries based on the spirit of shared principles and values of democracy, human rights, and an open economy. With this new

policy, South Korea is focusing its international role in the Southeast Asia region. Thus, opportunities for cooperation between South Korea and Indonesia will increasingly lead to comprehensive cooperation. One of the most significant manifestations in increasing cooperation between South Korea and Indonesia is the establishment of the IK-CEPA. IK-CEPA is a comprehensive economic cooperation agreement, which because it focuses not only on eliminating trade tariffs, but also on economic cooperation in other fields. IK-CEPA negotiations officially started on 12 July 2012 based on the results of the 2011 JSG report. The first round of IK-CEPA negotiations was held in Jakarta in 2012, which then lasted until 2014 with seven rounds of negotiations between the two countries. Initially, the IK-CEPA negotiations were planned to be completed in 2013, but it did not materialize so it was planned to be completed again in May 2014. In 2014, the IK-CEPA was still not successfully completed and eventually it was postponed until 2014-2018. Nevertheless, the two countries still stated their commitment to complete the IK-CEPA negotiations. In 2019, the IK-CEPA was again discussed by the two countries, and finally negotiations took place again. Negotiations were carried out from February to November 2019 with three rounds of negotiations, namely the eighth to tenth round of negotiations. And finally on December 18, 2020, the agreement was officially signed by the two countries.

IK-CEPA is based on three main pillars, namely increasing market access, facilitating trade and investment, and building strategic partnership capacity. This agreement covers several areas of cooperation which include economic cooperation, trade in goods, services, investment, Rules of Origin, Custom Procedures and Trade Facilitation, and Legal and Institutional Issues. IK-CEPA provides benefits to the economies of both countries. For Indonesia, IK-CEPA can help improve Indonesia's competitiveness and help attract South Korean investors to Indonesia. From the import aspect, South Korea will remove tariffs for imports from Indonesia by 97.3%, while Indonesia will remove tariffs on South Korean imports by 94%. In goods trade, South Korea will remove 95.54% of tariff posts, while Indonesia will remove 92.06% of tariff posts. The commodities covered by the elimination of tariffs from South Korea are stearic acid products, t-shirts, blockboards, lubricating oil, dried fruits, and seaweed. Meanwhile, Indonesia will remove tariffs for products such as vehicle gear boxes, paving, fireplaces or wall tiles. In services trade, South Korea and Indonesia are also committed to opening more than 100 sub-sectors and increasing the integration of several service sectors in the future. In the investment sector, IK-CEPA encourages two-way investment. It is estimated that South Korean foreign direct investment in Indonesia will increase and open opportunities for Indonesia to invest in South Korea.

IK-CEPA is a comprehensive cooperation agreement that has been initiated for a long time, namely since 2012. However, it was only realized with the signing of the two countries at the end of 2020. This is because, although South Korea's economic policy approach has changed, it wants to focus on the Asian region. Southeast as a priority area, but from the Indonesian side, this country is quite slow and less responsive in forming bilateral trade agreements outside ASEAN. The Indonesian government and the stakeholders in charge still have different views on the formation of bilateral trade agreements within Indonesia. From the government's side, the executive is optimistic that establishing a comprehensive bilateral trade agreement will provide benefits for the country, but this is different from the views of the private sector and the public who are still skeptical or pessimistic about trade agreements. Due to the unpreparedness of the government and the domestic market, IK-CEPA has stagnated for a long time to be realized. In addition, several obstacles behind the slow pace of the negotiation process are: (1) Indonesia requires investment commitments from South Korea to be included in the draft CEPA law; (2) Indonesia has not been able to accept South Korea's proposal related to reducing tariffs on several sensitive products to face direct competition with South Korean products, for example steel and iron products; and (3) Indonesia is not ready to liberalize the telecommunications sector as proposed by Korea.

The CEPA agreement only received attention during the pandemic and was signed during the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic has had a major multidimensional impact on every country, including the economic sector in South Korea and Indonesia. Indonesia and

South Korea realize the importance of strengthening comprehensive cooperation to overcome several urgent problems such as during this pandemic so that they can overcome the pandemic and accelerate economic recovery during the pandemic. This partnership cooperation is not only about intensive inter-Government interaction, but is also a collaboration between business and society in the two countries that will continue to develop. Therefore, both South Korea and Indonesia will immediately negotiate the IK-CEPA during the pandemic to find a settlement point that can be agreed upon by the two countries in the formulation of the CEPA draft so that it can be immediately ratified and implemented to improve the economy for both countries.

3.2 Research Implementation

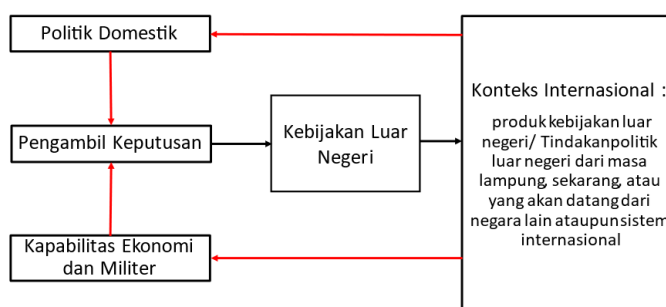
In the previous discussion, it has been explained that South Korea and Indonesia have a dynamic cooperative relationship. The success of South Korean cultural diplomacy through the Korean Wave does not necessarily lead to a smooth path for cooperation between the two countries. South Korea used the pandemic condition to repair the obstacles to cooperation between the two. South Korea's success in the emergency situation of the Covid-19 pandemic provides an opportunity for this ginseng country to manifest its solidarity with the international community through the TRUST campaign. This activity was carried out by South Korea to show empathy for its partner countries which are still unstable in overcoming the crisis situation due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The TRUST campaign is a foreign policy issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea to promote South Korea's response to the fight against Covid-19 to the international community based on the principles of transparency, openness and democracy as well as efforts to convey a message to the international community that global cooperation and solidarity are needed to restore the world. from the Covid-19 pandemic. This campaign is a public diplomacy that South Korea is trying to carry out after the massive spread of the Covid-19 virus to various countries in the world. In this diplomacy, South Korea takes advantage of its country's digital progress to be able to share information interactively and interact with the public. Then, South Korea is committed to international solidarity and cooperation in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic. This is shown by South Korea's efforts to help Indonesia in the early days of the spread of Covid-19 by sending aid for Covid-19 test kits. In addition, South Korea provides an example of a collaboration model between the government and the private sector in the emergency response program for infectious disease outbreaks as one of the keys to successfully controlling the pandemic for health, economy, and also domestic political stability [4]. . South Korea's experience in dealing with the SARS-MERS virus outbreak previously became a benchmark for this country to be ready to promote the pattern of handling Covid-19 through TRUST diplomacy in its country to the world. TRUST diplomacy is also present to improve trade barriers between South Korea and its strategic partners, including Indonesia.

The cooperative relationship between Indonesia and South Korea has existed for a long time and has a strong influence on each other, especially in the economic and trade fields. South Korea's success in being part of the world's industrialized countries has increased the bond between this Korean Wave country and Indonesia. The sustainability of the cooperation between the two countries cannot be separated from the success of the soft power diplomacy carried out in Indonesia. Soft power diplomacy has been used by South Korea since the 1990s to steal the world's attention in its export sector [1]. South Korea's success with its soft power diplomacy can be seen in Indonesia with an increase in total trade starting from 2017. In addition, the initiation of a free trade agreement between the two countries through the IK-CEPA is also proof that South Korea has succeeded in exerting influence on consumers in Indonesia through its soft power diplomacy. In the previous sub-discussion it has also been explained that in the midst of these successes there are still obstacles to cooperation between the two countries, especially at the inauguration of the IK-CEPA. Therefore, South Korea makes the momentum of its success in overcoming the Covid-19 virus outbreak as a gap to improve its country's image in the international world and take the trust of its cooperation partner countries. The use of soft power diplomacy is also based on the status

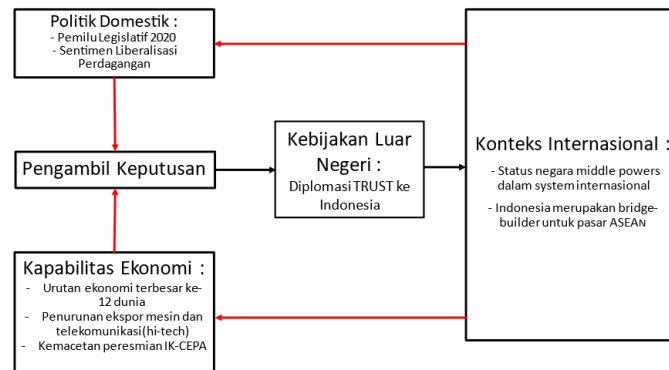
or position of South Korea in the international world as a middle power country. The definition of a middle power country itself is a country with fewer material resources than a superpower, but participates in carrying out a good form of global citizenship, plays an active role in international organizations and institutions, and participates in promoting the maintenance of world peace [1]. South Korea is still trapped in the maelstrom of the most influential countries in the world, namely Japan, China, and the United States. Countries like China and the United States themselves are already in the vortex of superpowers in global politics. China and the United States have excelled in their economies and militaries globally so that the use of hard power diplomacy or soft power diplomacy can spread their influence to other countries. Meanwhile, Japan itself still outperforms South Korea in terms of the automotive industry and technology, although it still lags behind China and the United States. Therefore, the selection of soft power diplomacy as an effort by South Korea to build its image and exert its influence on other countries is the best way in South Korea's foreign policy.

In Coplin's theory of foreign policy making, it is also explained that there are factors that influence the choice of foreign policy in response to international conditions at the time the policy was issued, such as interactions between domestic interest groups (policy influencers), economic and military capabilities, and context. international. These three things contribute to one another to see the reasons for the emergence of foreign policy in a country [10]. Coplin's model of foreign policy making can be illustrated as follows :



Picture 1. Coplin Model of Foreign Policy Process

The illustration above shows that there are factors that influence decision makers to issue a policy or to respond to events with a foreign policy. Based on the Coplin model above, it can be seen that there are several factors that influence South Korea to carry out TRUST diplomacy in Indonesia. These factors are inseparable from South Korea's domestic political conditions, South Korea's economic capability, the international context in the form of position in the international system and the response of partner countries to the image of South Korea itself.



Picture 2. Coplin Model of Foreign Policy for TRUST Diplomacy

The chart above is a depiction of the factors that influenced South Korea to choose to carry out TRUST diplomacy in Indonesia during the Covid-19 Pandemic. In terms of domestic politics, it is known that South Korea held legislative elections in April 2020. The conditions for the legislative elections changed due to the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak. However, South Korea already has lessons learned from handling previous SARS-MERS cases, so they have formed an outbreak control agency, namely the Korea Disease Control and Prevention Agency (KCDC). Elections in the midst of a pandemic can exacerbate the existing crisis situation due to the Covid-19 pandemic, especially since the South Korean elections were held in the early days of the pandemic, so the expected impact is a spike in cases and instability in domestic political conditions. If there is a spike in cases due to election preparation, election implementation, and post-election, this will worsen the Covid-19 condition in South Korea, then public sentiment will arise towards the South Korean government. In addition, the election conditions are an arena for gaining public sympathy and trust in the current government and opposition parties in South Korea. This uncertainty was one of the factors that the Moon Jae In government tried its best to control the Covid-19 situation at the beginning of the Pandemic. His government managed to contain the spread of Covid-19 in the early days of the pandemic. Moon Jae In's success cannot be separated from the existence of KCDC and its collaboration with the private sector. South Korea is considered the most responsive country in conducting testing and tracing. South Korea's success in terms of testing and tracing was recognized internationally in the early days of the pandemic. This is because South Korea already has a collaboration company for making Covid-19 testing kits and using platforms and digital media as a form of information dissemination and interaction with the public.

These control efforts form a positive image of South Korea in the eyes of the world in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic. Legislative elections at the beginning of the pandemic did not cause a spike in Covid-19 cases. The result of Moon Jae In's success in containing the spike in Covid-19 cases was an absolute victory over his party in the April 2020 election. The trust of the South Korean people themselves in their country's government has increased due to their success in handling Covid-19. Moon Jae In's government and Minjoo's party managed to win the national assembly seat with nearly 180 seats for Moon Jae In's party out of 300 seats. This victory is a major success for the Moon government because it is the highest victory since the 1990s in the South Korean legislative elections. The formation of an image of the success of the election in the midst of the Covid-19 condition has made South Korea an example for other countries that have postponed their elections due to the Covid-19 condition. The positive image created from the success of the legislative election has brought trust for South Korean partner countries to receive assistance and open cooperation with South Korea in handling Covid-19 cases. South Korea has succeeded in showing that the pandemic conditions do not completely destabilize the country's politics even though there is an election agenda in that situation. The Covid-19 condition is an opportunity for the

government to improve performance and gain the trust of the domestic and international community, including Indonesia as a partner country. Indonesia also faces conditions that are almost the same as South Korea, namely the regional head election agenda amid the Covid-19 situation. This opportunity is seen for Indonesia to be able to learn from South Korea's efforts to control the Covid-19 case but still be able to carry out elections without any political sentiments against the government. South Korea sees the momentum of the election in Indonesia during the Covid-19 period as a gap to further improve relations between the two and improve trade barriers that occur between the two countries, especially in the ratification of the IK-CEPA.

Another domestic political condition that convinced South Korean decision-making actors to choose TRUST diplomacy is that the trade liberalization agenda has become a sensitive issue for interest groups in South Korea. It is known that interest groups in South Korea are more or less influenced by import-export entrepreneurs. The South Korean government is trying to show that the trade liberalization agenda is not something that will be detrimental to South Korean trade. The ratification of trade liberalization is considered a great opportunity for South Korean companies because it will still be controlled by the South Korean government not fully released to the market. However, South Korean interest groups gave skeptical views regarding the trade liberalization agenda. This group considers that trade liberalization rules will only benefit some South Korean companies [28]. Therefore, the South Korean government is trying to show South Korean companies considerable market expansion opportunities, one of which is the ASEAN market starting from the Indonesian market as a strategic partner for South Korea. TRUST diplomacy is considered to help the government to reduce sentiment related to trade liberalization among domestic interest groups, because Indonesia has a fairly wide market and the success of increasing trade between South Korea and Indonesia in the previous cooperation can be a benchmark for these interest groups to support the government's agenda.

The section in the chart above also shows that economic capability is also one of the reasons for South Korea to carry out TRUST diplomacy in Indonesia during the Pandemic. South Korea is one of the countries with fairly rapid economic progress in recent years. This ginseng-exporting country managed to rise from the Asian economic crisis and become the 12th largest economy in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with a total of \$1.64 trillion in 2019 [1]. South Korea's ability to become a country with economic progress can be proven by the facilities provided by the ginseng country to its people in the form of internet speed, progress in media development through various platforms from television to social media and online games, as well as the provision of national health insurance and economic welfare by the state. . South Korea's easy access to modernization and the presence of a giant technology company that is well known to the world like Samsung is one of the benchmarks that this country already has a globally recognized economic capability. Thus, the implementation of TRUST diplomacy to Indonesia does not become a burden for this country to form a good image to its partners because this country has become one of the world's economic powers and is included in the category of developed countries so that this country feels it has a global responsibility towards developing countries, especially in situations of global crisis. From another economic point of view, what makes South Korea dare to take a role in helping Indonesia overcome the Covid-19 condition is the threat of a decline in exports of high-tech machinery and telecommunications products. If South Korea is not present to respond to global solidarity during this pandemic, while competitors such as Japan, China, and the United States have demonstrated capabilities in responding to international pandemic conditions, then South Korea will increasingly lose market share for its export machinery and telecommunications products. In 2019, a year before Covid-19 hit, South Korean exports had decreased over the last 10 months compared to 2018 by almost 12%. This decline is an alarm for the South Korean government to anticipate losing more market share in its superior export sector, especially during the Covid-19 condition which has caused economic instability for South Korea's export partner countries, one of which is Indonesia. TRUST diplomacy is presented to prevent South Korea from losing a large market share as

well as a significant GDP contraction due to Covid-19. As previously mentioned, South Korea's trade itself has declined due to the trade war between China and the United States and the dispute with Japan.

Indonesia is expected by South Korea to become a strategic partner that helps trade and the country's economy does not decline sharply due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Indonesia is considered by South Korea as a potential market for increasing telecommunications exports in this ginseng country because Indonesia has a number of social media users which are almost 87.13% of the Indonesian population [29]. In the previous sub-discussion, it was also stated that Indonesia and South Korea had cooperated for a long time until they decided to form an IK-CEPA framework or comprehensive partnership. This indicates that South Korea considers Indonesia as the most strategic trading partner, so it dares to offer a cooperation framework in the form of the IK-CEPA, but the inauguration of the framework experienced many obstacles so that it could only be implemented in 2019 and was realized in the early days of Covid-19 spreading in Indonesia. . Therefore, South Korea took the opportunity to assist Indonesia in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic situation through TRUST diplomacy. The TRUST diplomacy policy was chosen to form a positive image of South Korea in the eyes of Indonesia as a cooperation partner and to remove obstacles to the implementation of the IK-CEPA, because one of the obstacles to the IK-CEPA is the offer of liberalization in the telecommunications sector, while South Korea sees Indonesia as an opportunity for improvement in the telecommunication sector. decline in its telecommunications exports in the country. South Korea seeks to display a positive image for Indonesia so that it will soften to realize the IK-CEPA even in the Covid-19 condition with TRUST diplomacy to Indonesia as an effort. On the other hand, South Korea is also still able to support the decline in GDP in its country during the Covid-19 period with a contraction of around 1% of GDP in early March 2021. Therefore, TRUST diplomacy was chosen by the state to be able to control the pace of trade and the economy of this country despite being in a Covid-19 crisis situation.

In the international context in Figure 3 above, it can be seen that the status of South Korea as a middle power country also influences TRUST diplomatic policy making in Indonesia. Previously, it was mentioned that geographically, South Korea is between Japan and China, which are countries with great influence in the international system, especially China as a great power country. South Korea cannot use hard power diplomacy because its influence and material resources are not as big as China and the United States in global politics. Therefore, South Korea uses a form of soft power diplomacy to achieve its target of providing an image and gaining influence from its partner countries. Soft power diplomacy is considered the most effective for South Korea due to its success in spreading the Korean Wave. The assessment of the Soft Power 30 Index in 2019 shows that South Korea occupies the 19th best position in the index of using soft power diplomacy, because the world is well acquainted with trademarks of South Korean products such as Samsung, LG, and Hyundai [1]. This achievement provides a benchmark for South Korea to target further market expansion through the use of soft power diplomacy because South Korea has not been able to compete with the influence that the United States and China have in the global political arena. In addition to the status of middle powers, the international context that gave South Korea the impetus to carry out TRUST diplomacy in Indonesia was Indonesia's status as a bridge-builder in ASEAN. Indonesia can pave the way for South Korea to play in the ASEAN market, because Indonesia is considered a bridge-builder for ASEAN countries. This archipelagic country is considered a bridge-builder because Indonesia is quite active in expressing its voice for developing countries in the international world, then is considered a regional leader, and a supporter of democracy in the Southeast Asian region [30]. The depiction of these characters is the reason for South Korea to choose Indonesia as one of the targets of its TRUST diplomacy during the Covid-19 pandemic. The results of the discussion above have explained that the TRUST diplomacy carried out by South Korea in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic was chosen based on considerations of various factors, namely the condition of the South Korean elections in the early days of the pandemic,

sentiment towards trade liberalization rules, South Korea's economic progress in the context of global competition, competition for machinery and telecommunications exports with China, Japan and the United States, the setback in the implementation of the IK-CEPA in Indonesia, and the influence of South Korea's status as a middle power in global politics and Indonesia's status as a bridge-builder for the Southeast Asian region. These factors encourage South Korean decision-making actors to issue the TRUST campaign as their public diplomacy. The effectiveness of using soft power diplomacy in the Korean Wave case is also the reason for South Korea to use TRUST diplomacy during this pandemic. The factors above can also map out policy influencers in South Korea's foreign policy making, the most dominant being the business interests groups and also parties supporting the Moon Jae In government during the Covid-19 pandemic.

4. Conclusion

TRUST diplomacy carried out by South Korea in Indonesia did not appear immediately on the basis of international responsibility, but was influenced by several driving factors so that South Korean foreign policy makers chose this diplomacy as an effective way to steal international attention and build a positive image in the eyes of the world. Cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea is dynamic in its journey, so it cannot be denied that there is still a sense of distrust and obstacles to cooperation between the two. Soft power diplomacy is the most effective way for South Korea to shape that image and open up opportunities for increased cooperation with Indonesia. South Korea's success in handling the SARS-MERS case illustrates to the world that this country can overcome the Covid-19 situation in its country. This has been proven again at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, this country has succeeded in suppressing the rate of Covid-19 cases in the country through testing and tracing. This success built a positive image of South Korea in the eyes of the world slowly at the beginning of the pandemic, then helped this ginseng country use soft power diplomacy to its strategic partner countries so that cooperation would not decrease despite the crisis situation. The effectiveness of soft power diplomacy in spreading the Korean Wave in Indonesia is also a benchmark for South Korea to carry out similar diplomacy during the Covid-19 pandemic. The use of soft power diplomacy is also based on South Korea's status as a middle power country in the international system because middle power countries still do not have the material resources and great influence to compete with great power countries such as China and the United States.

This paper also shows that political actors and interest groups from businessmen are in control of South Korea's foreign policy making. The political actors here consist of the ruling government supporting party, namely the Minjoo party because this party has won the public's trust for the government's performance at this time, namely Moon Jae In can carry out the Covid-19 emergency response well so as not to cause political instability.

Based on the results of this study, it is suggested that foreign policy makers can consider the three factors above to achieve policies that are in accordance with the interests and needs of the country even in the midst of a crisis. Mapping of these factors is also needed to see the goals the country wants to achieve from its foreign policy and the Policy Influencers in it. This research still lacks the latest data and is open to expanding ideas to see the reasons for South Korea in terms of its national interests during the pandemic in conducting diplomacy to partner countries

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