ABSTRACT

The polemic of the China produced Sinovac Vaccine issue spreading among the public, is a form of disinformation used by political opposition to the government, to block and mess up the government’s effort to accelerate handling of Covid-19 transmission in Indonesia. The polemic results in 4 situations, namely; first, decreasing public trust in the government's commitment in eradicating the Covid-19 pandemic. Second, low level of support from the public of the Covid-19 handling programs. Third, delayed and slow economic recovery which brings down the public's economic ability due to increasing number of layoffs caused by decreases in companies’ turnover and affecting the public’s purchasing power. Fourth, the national security aspect, especially on the potential aspect regarding disintegration of the nation. Purpose of this research is to reveal the disinformation via China-made Sinovac vaccine polemic. The research applies disinformation and asymmetric warfare concepts to prove the Sinovac vaccine polemic, while also using a qualitative research approach by making the polemic issue as the object of case study. Data collection technique is done by text observation on social media which covers the Sinovac vaccine polemic. The research discovers that the disinformation effort to the Sinovac vaccine issue is a polemic to the government, that the public assess as slow in handling the spread of Covid-19.

KEYWORDS: Polemic, Sinovac Vaccine, Disinformation, Asymmetrical Warfare

INTRODUCTION

The 2019 Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) pandemic surges the world and carries significant changes in the lives of the people around the world. The changes bring a lot of forced alteration to the lives of the people. That is caused by shifting of life orders during the difficult time of pandemic, that is also greatly affecting all aspects of life, especially in the economic, social and security aspects.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has stated Covid-19 as a pandemic. On December 31, 2019, China County Office WHO reported a case of pneumonia with unknown etiology, found in Wuhan city, Hubei Province in China. On January 7th, 2020, China identified an unknown type of pneumonia which is dubbed as new type of Corona virus (coronavirus disease, Covid-19). On January 30, 2020, WHO called Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC). Increase of Covid-19 cases has been ongoing fast and spreading between countries. Until August 27, 2020, 23,752,965 positive cases confirmed and reported, globally, with 815,038 deaths (CFR 3.4%).
Bechmann (2020) in his writing identified that during the time of Covid-19 pandemic became the era where the government had to put on more work in countering the virus. Bechman explained that issues on the pandemic are arising over at European countries, due to the disinformation. Similar phenomenon is occurring in Indonesia, as seen by the emerging disinformation regarding the Covid-19 such as lockdown to vaccine refusal, starting from the causes down to the suspectedly unsave vaccine and also part of trade negotiation with the Chinese government. The disinformation which is focusing on media strategy and psychology put forward by Kannan in 2010, while explaining on how China utilized 3 warfare strategies, namely; media, psychology and legal war, especially when relating with Western countries and the United States.

The point on utilization of media and psychological-approaches speech are also
explained by Dharmapala and McAdams in their research in 2001. The disinformation happening in Indonesia during the pandemic reflects public’s lack of confidence in the government, explained by Vilmer et.al (2018) as a global phenomenon, that Indonesia is not the only country forcefully encountered with the problem. One form of the public’s mistrust is one with Covid-19 vaccine, where the Indonesian citizens are most to refuse use of Covid-19 vaccine due to security reasons. Results from the survey of the Ministry of Health together with the Indonesian Technical Advisory Group on Immunization (ITAGI) and supported by UNICEF and WHO showed public concern over the security and efficacy of the vaccine, mistrust of the vaccine, and its halal status. Most general reason in the refusal of the vaccine refers to Ministry of Health’s 2021 data relating with vaccine’s security (30%); doubt over the efficacy of the vaccine (22%); skepticism to the vaccine (13%); concerns to post vaccination side effects such as fever and joint sores/pain; and religious reasons (8%).

Table-2
Percentage of Covid-19 Vaccine Public Refusal Reasons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Public Reasons on Covid-19 Vaccine Rejection</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Vaccine Security</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Doubts over Vaccines Efficacy</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mistrust to The Vaccine</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Fear of Side Effects (fever and sores)</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Religious Reasons</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kemenkes & ITAGI, 2020

The disinformation about the vaccine which is causing a flare of vaccine rejection by the public and spreads on the internet is about the chip being planted inside the Sinovac vaccine injected to the public. One of the accounts sharing pictures of the issue is by the name of Novi Hardian on September, 16, 2020, saying, “Muslims, be aware of the vaccine programmed to be distributed by the government. By the beginning of 2021 muslim community must take stern action to refuse being inoculated, to avoid being one of target of slaughter for 7.5 billion lives.” Upload with quite similar narration is also found on Twitter. Shared by the account @DarajatKrisna on September 2, 2020, attached with a short video. The account talked about microchip implantation to the human body through injection of Covid-19 vaccine, that is intended for global mass slavery.
Disinformation on Sinovac Vaccine

Source: Screen Shot upload by Facebook account Novi Hardian

Not only in Indonesia, the same issue is also occurring in the United States of America. Reuters reported, a video from Facebook platform, about microchip implantation claim using the Corona virus vaccine syringe label, has been shared more than 8.300 times. The video mentioned that the chip will provide information about the total number of people already inoculated with the vaccine, to key important persons. The information is linked to Microsoft founder, Bill Gates, accused of being the mastermind behind production of the microchip inserted in the Corona virus vaccine.

Disinformation about Covid-19 vaccine can be perceived with the widespread of messages on Facebook in form of a 12 minute and 12 seconds long video, posted by an account with handle Jeanette Wilson. The upload got 2 thousand likes and explained about an article attained from a Twitter account with the handle @naomirwolf. It is giving information and explaining about findings and development of the Moderna vaccine to battle the virus. By the end of the video, after reading the whole article, Jeanette Wilson summarized that the Moderna vaccine is “designed to mutate human DNA”. Wilson’s message circulates and spreads in the midst of conditions where the government in various countries around the world are intensifying vaccination programs, including here, in Indonesia. After a conducted fact finding, the statement is found as a form of disinformation. It is not true that mRNA-based vaccines such as; Moderna, Pfizer, BioNTech, can change human DNA. Reported by liputan6.com, one of Indonesia’s Covid-19 volunteer doctors, dr. Muhamad Fajri Adda’i, conveyed that the mRNA-based vaccines contain protein from inactive viruses. The inactive virus then injected into the human body, and later formed antibody and immune cells to counter and fight against active viruses penetrating the body. Moreover, reported from dw.com, an article titled “Coronavirus vaccines: Fake news and myths go viral”, Paul-Ehrlich Institute, a Federal Institute for Vaccine and Biomedic, gave further explanation, that the integration of RNA into DNA is not possible due to chemical structure differences. Other than that, there is no proven
research available on mRNA reaction after a man is being vaccinated, changing the human DNA.

The skepticism to vaccination, or dubbed ‘vaccine hesitancy’, according to SAGE (Strategic Advisory Group of Expert on immunization) dari WHO is defined as a delay in reception or rejection to the vaccination, despite availability of proper services for the vaccination program. According to WHO, the hesitancy of vaccination is one of the 10 threats to global health.

In order to accelerate the handling of Covid-19 spread in Indonesia, the government of the Republic of Indonesia has set out vaccination discourse for the Indonesian public, where the people’s response to the discourse can be classified into positive and negative responses. In the Indonesian of Health Information Management Journal, Fajar Fathur Rahman and Setia Pramana (2020:100) applied grouping for public’s opinion using the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) methods to find out the most-discussed topic of talk by the public in relation with the vaccination discourse, such as discussion over the rushed controversial vaccine, halal certification of the vaccine and doubts and hesitancy of the public to the vaccine quality to be used in the program. Results of the analysis showed more of the members of the public showed a positive response to the discourse (30%), compared to the negative ones (26%). However, despite the substantiency of the positive responses, the data showed only minor/slight differences with the negative ones. This indicates a potential of hindrance in the implementation of the vaccination program.

Effect from the disinformation and Sinovac vaccine polemic issue has resulted in 4 conditions, first, degradation of public trust to the government’s commitment in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic. Second, low public support for the Covid-19 handling program. Third, a slowdown on the economic recovery aspect which is affecting the public’s economy where most people are experiencing layoffs due to the weakening of companies’ capital which then leads to pushing down the purchasing power of the people. Fourth, the security aspect which is facing the threat of nation disintegration. The people are restless and started to justify various ways to survive their life in the pandemic era, be it by committing crime with new-found modus operandis, that can absolutely lead to a nation disintegration.

The explanation showed that the Sinovac vaccine issue falls to the category of an asymmetrical warfare, between the Jokowi government against its political opponents. An asymmetrical warfare is a weaponless war but still carries the same intentions and damages to someone or certain parties. The asymmetrical warfare can be translated as a type of war involving 2 or more actors, developed through unconventional ways outside of the rules of a conventional war, where it has spectrum and broad battle field which covers astagatra or aspects such as; geography, demography, natural resources, ideology, politics, economy, social, culture, security and others.

Data from various sources showed that many of the government’s political oppositions refused the use of China-made Sinovac vaccine. The data is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>BBC.com “Reject Covid-19 Movement, will MUI &amp; religious figures' recommendations end it?” Januari, 14, 2021.</td>
<td>The Media mentioned that member of DPR commission IX overlooking health sector, Ribka Tjiptaning, in a work meeting with health minister on Januari, 12, 2021, stated that she’d rather pay fine than taking the China’s CoronaVac vaccine, Sinovac. “I refused to be vaccinated. Say, in Jakarta, my families got Rp.5 mil fine for rejecting, I’d rather pay off.” She said, ”I’ll be the 1st one to reject the vaccination. It’ll be a human right violation to force me to take it”. Governments in the 2 provinces with the lowest Covid-19 reception, namely; Aceh and West Sumatra, did not oblige vaccination and won't give sanction to those deciding to refuse the program. Among those hesitant to be vaccinated is Yulzi Muammar, a man from Banda Aceh, reasoning concerns over Adverse events Following Immunization or post vaccination side effects that will harm his health. He will only receive the jab in emergency situations only. The rejection over Sinovac vaccine also showed up on Twitter, where #TolakDivaksinSinovac became a trending topic after being tweeted tens of thousands of times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Antaranews.com <a href="https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1946748/ulama-aceh-haramkan-vaksin-covid-19-ini-faktanya">https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1946748/ulama-aceh-haramkan-vaksin-covid-19-ini-faktanya</a></td>
<td>The media mentioned that the people of Aceh rejected Covid-19 vaccine in accordance with local ulema’s decision to see it as haram, as posted on Facebook on January, 10, 2021. The account posted responses over a screen capture originated from a Whatsapp chat. The message mentioned the reason for its rejection being the statement from Acehnese ulema saying that the vaccine has more bad sides to it. “The Aceh people refuse Covid-19 vaccine due to its load of mudharat and since according to the Aceh ulemas, it is considered as haram. The central government has no authority to step in the religious haram law, it is solely within the authority of the Aceh government, not the Indonesian government. And if the central government is forcing its will, then the Aceh people are ready for war..!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kompas.com “Sinovac Vaccine is Halal, UGM Expert: No Need For Rejection Movement” Januari, 12, 2021. <a href="https://www.kompas.com/edu/read/2021/01/12/160700171/vaksin-sinovac-halal-">https://www.kompas.com/edu/read/2021/01/12/160700171/vaksin-sinovac-halal-</a></td>
<td>Detailing to the opinion of a vaccine expert from UGM who stated the Sinovac vaccine as halal, especially to the MUI’s fatwa or decision to also dubbed the Sinovac vaccine as halal. Therefore, dr. Mohamad Saifudin Hakim, M.Sc., Ph.D, a virologist from UGM, calls for the public to not bring up the non-halal issue of the Covid-19 Sinovac vaccine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study is focusing on asymmetrical warfare of the disinformation of the Sinovac vaccine which is circulating among the public spread by government political opponents. Therefore, the researchers wanted to raise the topic in the scientific journal, titled “Sinovac Vaccine Polemic Disinformation in Asymmetrical Warfare Perspective”

1. **Journal Issue Formulation**

The government’s effort in overcoming Covid-19 pandemic at home is by carrying vaccination using the Sinovac vaccine that is causing a controversy due to disinformation. Based on that certain background, the journal issue formulation in the scientific research is how the Sinovac vaccine polemic issue evolved and became an asymmetrical warfare to President Joko Widodo’s government, which is intended to thwart the government’s program in handling the Covid-19 pandemic.

The big question in the research relating with the journal’s theme “Sinovac Vaccine Polemic Disinformation in Asymmetrical Warfare Perspective is as follows:

“How to analyze treats of disinformation in the polemic of Sinovac vaccine as a asymmetrical warfare ?”

2. **Research Purposes**

Purposes of the research is to understand the Sinovac vaccine polemic in asymmetrical warfare perspective and analyze potential threats to the national defence: nation disintegration, as perceived from statements of netizens.

3. **Concepts and Theory**

In this subchapter, we will present the basic concepts and theories of thinking of this research or article. In this context, immunization, similar to vaccines, is generated by breeding bacteria or viruses in breeding media, which then turn into inactive bacteria or viruses. Vaccine is interpreted as weakened or killed forms of microbes, its toxins, or one of its surface proteins, that provides active acquired immunity to the human body from a particular infectious disease. Vaccine is injected with the purpose to give the human body the immunity it needs from a disease surging within the community, of which the medication has not been found yet. It is generally inoculated to the healthy human body (Depkes, 2020).

3.1 **Asymmetrical Warfare Concept**

Koesmawan (2020) in his writing titled “Memahami Konsep Asymmetric Warfare sebagai Perang Masa Kini” or “Understanding Asymmetric Warfare Concept as Modern War” explained that asymmetrical warfare is nothing like conventional war. It does not run on weapons. The asymmetrical war utilizes brain or military strategies which does not rely on weapons, or a significant number of troops, but more to asymmetrical position or trying to
create imbalance of position between the parts fighting in order to win the war, hence the name.

The asymmetrical warfare relies on brains and minds, figuring out how to outrun enemies without usage of weapons. According to Koesmawan (2020), tools of the trade at present are; social media, hoax, false news, expensive prices and poor transportations among others, including slander or defamation, or hate speech, one that the enemy does not aware of, that they unconsciously and unsuspectingly following the enemy’s asymmetric tactics.

### 3.2 Disinformation Concept

Disinformation is a form of information error or failure performed intentionally to harm or benefit a certain party. Misinformation or disinformation is part of hoax or false news. False news is carefully arranged based on incorrect or false facts, to resemble a good quality news in journalism which must be objective by the facts, current, while also containing values of information, as exposed by McQuail. Ambardhi simplified the definition of disinformation as a product packaging of false information. Existence of an element of intent in disinformation for political or commercial purposes, is the key to differentiate it from misinformation.

Disinformation is utilized to refer to intentional efforts (carried on regularly, most of the time) to confuse or manipulate others via transmission of false information. Meanwhile, misinformation is used to refer to misleading information made or spread without manipulative or bad intentions. Both disinformation and misinformation are a problem to the society, but disinformation itself is highly dangerous as it is usually implemented regularly and neatly, supported by good resources and strengthened by automatic technology (Ireton & Posetti, 2019:7)

Disinformation and misinformation use social network applications and messengers as the main media for its circulation, where the social network applications and messengers frequently spread regulation issues and have their own self-regulation in its application. In the 21st century, utilization of disinformation can be turned into a large-scale weapon that targets receivers of the information it sends out. Development of new and powerful technology eases the process of manipulation and content making, and social media becomes the means in amplifying the spread of hoax by the less-smart social media users (Ireton & Posetti, 2019:8).

The risk and threat of disinformation in the midst of pandemic, according to UNESCO is called disinfodemic. Disinfodemic is referring to the massive spread of hoax and disinformation about Corona. It has become the second epidemic after the Corona virus. Disinformation is a global concern, exceeding the political sector, affecting all aspects of information, including climate change, entertainment, health, and so on. In a fast-paced environment of free information on the internet and social media, anyone can become a producer of a message or content. And as a repercussion, many in the society are having a hard time to tell the right from wrong. Cynicism and scepticism are dominant. Extreme point of views, conspiracy theories, and populism are developing. Truth and intuition that were once considered credible, are now being questioned (Ireton & Posetti, 2019:21).
3.3 Vilmer Information Manipulation Concept

Researchers used Information Manipulation Theory (IMT) to slice the case for analytical discussion, in this case about the Sinovac vaccine issue polemic issue that is not aligned with the government political opponents. The purpose of IMT is to explain how information can be manipulated for a certain political purpose. The Information Manipulation Theory is a theory designed to explain how one conducts lies or how one can be lied to.

According to Vilmer (2018) there are a variety of ways to use it to manipulate information. First, by using fake news, and second is disinformation. Vilmer (2018) stated that there are 3 important points on information manipulation, which causes the information manipulation. First, information manipulation comes from the individual level. Second, special features of an information manipulation campaign. Third, information manipulation is addressed to response over the information manipulation itself.

According to Vilmer (2018) information manipulation at individual level refers to human nature which is rooted in psychology and epistemology, that is susceptibility to knowledge crisis and cognitive. Other causes occur at the collective level as information manipulation engaged with our social lives, that is a crisis of confidence toward an institution or body, press crisis, and feelings of disappointment toward the digital world.

Second, according to Vilmer (2018), are specific characteristics from the information manipulation campaign, namely; factors that are easy targets such as minority presence, internal division, external division and media ecosystem and opposing institutions. Third is the response toward information manipulation, that is the gesture in responding to emerging information manipulation.

METHODS

The research is using a qualitative approach with mainstream media text analysis method, which contains information or news related to the Sinovac vaccine polemic. Santoso describes qualitative research by observing the attitude and behavior of persons related with the issues being researched (Santoso, 2019). Final result of the qualitative research is descriptive datas in form of words or written and spoken statements from objects of the research (Bogdan dan Taylor, 1975).

The theory conducted in this research is a case study method toward the Sinovac vaccine polemic from asymmetrical warfare perspective. In short, to understand the definition of the case study one must be able to interpret the word ‘case’. Case is not always identical with negative matters, positive material with unique twist, certain specification, and intended pattern on purpose can also be considered as a case. Meaning of “on purpose” sourced to the concept of human as conscious being, in possession of ideas and notions and acts not out of stimulus but of consciousness and capable to interpret symptoms and phenomenons encountered. Therefore, understanding human reaction in the context of a case can only be conducted by perceiving what, how and why.
DISCUSSION

The movement against mass vaccination using the Sinovac vaccine produced by China is being voiced by politicians, musicians to common people in the society. In a video uploaded to several accounts on Instagram, DPR Commission IX member, Ribka Tjiptaning, conveyed that she would choose to pay a fine, rather than receiving vaccination using the Sinovac vaccine. Ribka addressed her rejection of the Sinovac vaccine while in a work meeting with the minister of health on January, 12, 2021. The video has been watched and received likes from hundreds of thousands of viewers. Ribka worries about the security of the Sinovac vaccine and is having doubts since the vaccine has not passed the 3rd phase of the clinical test. Ribka even detected some sort of business tricks in the import of the vaccine. As we all know, China has had a strong partnership with the President Jokowi era since 2014. China is alleged to have a hidden agenda within its One Belt One Road (OBOR) program. Ribka Tjiptaning’s rejection movement of the Sinovac vaccine is then followed by other regions such as Aceh and West Sumatera, that are also questioning the halal status of the vaccine.

Musician and social media enthusiast, I Gede Arti Astina or widely known to the public as Jerinx, is also voicing the similar matter. In his Instagram account @jrxid, which has more than 1 million followers, Jerinx uploaded a video showing the condition of Twice Bar in Bali, followed with a caption saying, “Social distancing! Tonight @twice_bar is impressive and everybody is positively healthy!”. The upload got 12,378 likes from its viewers. Jerinx also expressed rejection of the vaccination program by uploading “BANGUN BALI TOLAK VAKSINASI” which loosely translates to “WAKE UP BALI, REJECT VACCINATION!”, on his Instagram’s feed.

Disinformation which raised rejection of the vaccine is also voiced by netizens on the internet, relating to the allegation of a chip inserted in the Sinovac vaccine. Novi Hardian’s Facebook account on September 16, 2020, shares a picture and writes “To all Muslims, beware of the government vaccination program. By the start of 2021, all Muslims must be brave and strict to reject the vaccination, to avoid being one of the target of slaughter of 7.5 million lives.” Upload with similar content and narration is also found on Twitter. The upload is shared by account handle @DarajatKrisna on September, 2, 2020, accompanied with a short video. The account raised issue about implantation of microchip into human body via Covid-19 vaccine which is intended to achieve global slavery.

Movements in rejection of the vaccine tend to be provocative and subjective since it serves and involves personal opinion only. The Sinovac vaccine polemic has been turned into an issue of disinformation by government political opponents with intention to manipulate the information, first to thwart the government’s effort in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic. Disinformation issues spread starting from the safety of the vaccine, business tricks, microchip implantation, to the halal status of the vaccine. All while the MUI via its fatwa has decided to call the Sinovac vaccine as decent for use. Basically, the information widespread by government political opposition does not have to be revealed to the social media, since it is personal and the possibility of different results to everyone, due to different conditions of human bodies to one another. Second, information manipulation from government political oppositions is provocative, that netizens are unaware that they are complying to the information...
manipulative information engineered by government political opponents in order to gather as much mass as they could, that the public's trust to the government’s commitment to encounter Covid-19 will gradually decrease. Failure to meet vaccination targets is making it harder to achieve herd immunity, which leads to difficulties in ending the era of pandemic. The condition is turning the economy to deteriorate and causing the political and security situation to worsen, since the government is considered failing in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic. Halal-haram issue and the unsafeness of the Sinovac vaccine are the most powerful weapon to weaken the government’s position, especially for less-educated members of society that are prone to devide et impera issue. The public is the victim of the potential of a national disintegration threat.

Threat of disinformation in the midst of pandemic, is dubbed as disinfodemic according to UNESCO, the name is chosen considering a massive spread of hoax and disinformation about Corona. Disinfodemic now has become the 2nd epidemic after Corona. The methods are described as asymmetrical warfare, which is relying on the mind and thoughts to beat the enemy without weapon usage. Tools of the trade are; social media, hoax or fake news, down to intent disinformation in order to block and thwart the government's effort in countering the Covid-19 pandemic which affects the worsening economy, politics and security, which can potentially pose threat of nation disintegration.

Referring to the situation, the government is required to respond by providing education and information about vaccines to the public using simple language. And if necessary, the government can go to involve youngsters or millennials who will be more fluent in modern language to be able to reach out effectively for other youngsters and millennials.

CONCLUSION

It is summarized in this research: first, disinformation, in this case disinfodemic, is an information manipulation launched by the Anti Sinovac vaccine movement that is not proven as those that are spreading among the public. Disinformation can be broken as President Jokowi’s mass vaccination program goes. Second, the Sinovac vaccine polemic is purposely spread to thwart the government’s program to settle this Covid-19 pandemic, which leads to the decreasing trust of the people to President Joko Widodo’s government. Third, the government remained consistent with the program to settle the Covid-19 pandemic without having to be bothered with the polemic spread by the political opponents. Fourth, the government must respond by providing education and information about the vaccine in simple and easier words to understand by the public. If necessary, the government can decide to involve youngsters or the millennials who would be more fluent in recent languages and styles which will be a more effective way to reach out for the millennials out there. Fifth, efforts to puzzle and mess up the economic, politics and security situation will not prevail since the people’s confidence in government’s measures to counter the Covid-19 pandemic at home is increasing.
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