

Nationalism Over Globalization Amidst COVID-19 Pandemic and Its Impact on Indonesia's Food Security

Prioritas Nasionalisme di Atas Globalisasi di Tengah Pandemi COVID-19 dan Dampaknya Terhadap Ketahanan Pangan Indonesia

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Riwayat Artikel	Abstract
Diterima: 22 Juli 2020 Direvisi: 27 September 2020 Disetujui: 30 September 2020 doi: 10.22212/jp.v11i2.1751	<p>COVID-19 has posed new challenges to globalization. It further perpetuates the rising trend of nationalism that has been ongoing for quite some time. At the start of the pandemic, one will automatically point the finger to cross-border travelers and people who can perform a high transnational movement. This phenomenon further increases the rapid spread of the virus on a global scale and disrupts the global supply chain that comes with it. When the outbreak first emerged, most policymakers wrongly assumed that the COVID-19 pandemic would only have a brief, limited, China-specific impact. As a matter of fact, the pandemic is generating a global shock and economic slowdown, risking to turn for the worse into recession. This pandemic has strongly highlighted the many downsides of extensive international integration and thus provoked fears of foreigners. It later gave legitimacy to national restrictions on global trade and movement of people. As it turned out, COVID-19 is the catalyst needed to further enhance the rise of nationalism. This phenomenon will, eventually, have negative repercussions on Indonesia's food security.</p> <p>Keywords: Globalization; Nationalism; COVID-19; National Interest; Food Security.</p>
	<hr/> <p>Abstrak</p> <p>COVID-19 telah membawa tantangan baru bagi globalisasi. Tren nasionalisme yang memang telah berkembang di seluruh dunia kemudian diperburuk oleh pandemi COVID-19. Saat dimulainya pandemi, secara otomatis seseorang akan menyalahkan para pelancong lintas batas dan orang-orang yang memiliki kemampuan untuk melakukan pergerakan transnasional yang tinggi. Fenomena ini yang kemudian semakin meningkatkan penyebaran virus yang cepat dalam skala global dan gangguan pada rantai pasokan global. Pada awal merebaknya wabah COVID-19, sebagian besar penyusun kebijakan salah berasumsi bahwa pandemi ini hanya akan memiliki dampak singkat dan terbatas hanya terhadap Cina. Pada kenyataannya, pandemi ini telah mengakibatkan guncangan global dan perlambatan ekonomi yang berpotensi menjadi resesi global. Pandemi ini sangat menyoroti banyak kerugian dari integrasi internasional yang luas dan memicu ketakutan terhadap orang asing. Hal ini kemudian memberikan legitimasi pada pembatasan nasional terhadap perdagangan global dan pergerakan manusia. COVID-19 telah menjadi katalis yang dibutuhkan untuk lebih meningkatkan kebangkitan nasionalisme. Fenomena ini pada akhirnya akan berdampak negatif terhadap ketahanan pangan Indonesia.</p> <p>Kata kunci: Globalisasi; Nasionalisme; COVID-19; Kepentingan Nasional; Ketahanan Pangan.</p>

Introduction

It has been argued that the end of the Cold War, which is primarily explained through the collapse of the Soviet Union, is a result of the forces of globalization wearing more heavily on the Soviet's system as it was unable to effectively adapt the changes brought by globalization¹. To certain extent, globalization has created a world without border. With today's Age of Information, globalization has automatically gone into an overdrive. Advances in information and communication technology creates a new global era and redefines the meaning and sense of being connected to each other. Modern communication satellites mean that communications around the globe are possible despite differences in times and regions. The invention of World Wide Web and the internet allows someone who lives in the Netherland to read about a breaking news story in Syria in real time. Someone who wishes to travel from Jakarta to New York can do so in hours rather than in weeks or even longer as it would have been a hundred years ago. Furthermore, such revolutions create massive impact upon economies across the world as well; they become more information-based and more interdependent². In the modern era, economic success or failure at one focal point of the global web can be felt in every major world economy³.

Taking the aforementioned notions into account, some people simply do not come to term with globalization. These critics of globalization have been taking action

for the past 20 years to convey the idea of their movement⁴. They have been arguing that globalization does not bring justice as developed countries seek to harness the expansion of world markets, sometimes through the multinational companies, for their own interests⁵. The movement trend has been well underway for a long period, and recently another trend incompatible with globalization has taken place in the form of nationalism. Over the past years, rising nationalism is seen everywhere and in everything; from the election of Donald Trump as the President of the USA to Brexit. Despite sharing dynamics and integration through globalization, the fact remains that the world is too diverse. Hence, the rise of nationalism persists in many parts of the world. This is why when the media talk about nationalism today, they mean a nationalism that includes protectionism, isolationism, and xenophobia. And the latest outbreak of COVID-19 only exaggerates it.

When discussing how COVID-19 pandemic began, automatically one will point finger to cross-border travelers, including people who engage in international business, tourists, traders, and those with the capability of performing high transnational movement. Such condition has introduced the world to the recent phenomenon relating to COVID-19 and globalization: the rapid spread of the virus on a global scale and disruption of the global supply chain that comes along with it. In their effort to curb the spread of the virus, different countries started to close their access to

1 John Smolak, "Globalization and the End of Cold War", retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://medium.com/@jtsmolak/globalization-and-the-end-of-the-cold-war-41effd5690af>.

2 "National Geographic: Encyclopedic Entry, Globalization", retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/globalization/>.

3 "National Geographic".

4 Hannah Fuchs, "A brief history of the anti-globalization movement", retrieved on June 27, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/a-brief-history-of-the-anti-globalization-movement/g-39573255>.

5 Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz, William C. Smith, *Protest and Collaboration: Transnational Civil Society Networks and the Politics of Summitry and Free Trade in the Americas*, (Miami: University of Miami, 2001), 4.

the movement of people and goods. As a consequence, as more countries struggle to survive amid the slowdown in production and goods movement, more countries started to delay exports of essential supplies such as staple food and medicine to fulfil the much-needed domestic demands. Thus, many countries started to reinforce trade protectionism. As it turned out, COVID-19 is the catalyst needed to further enhance the rise of nationalism. This phenomenon will, eventually, have negative repercussions on Indonesia's food security.

Research Problem

Nationalism and globalization have often been postulated as the two defining features of the conditions of the modern world. The coexistence between these two are arguably opposing and problematic, particularly during COVID-19 pandemic. In view of these aspects, understanding the relationship between these two paradoxes and the extent of the impact that it makes on Indonesia's food security become the main purposes of this work. Thus, the scope of the study is guided by the following research questions: how does nationalism rise over globalization? Why does it happen? Furthermore, how does it bring impact to Indonesia's food security?

Research Purpose

This research aims to identify and analyze nations behavior toward other nations during COVID-19 pandemic and its impact to Indonesia's food security as the result of this particular behavior. This paper focuses mainly on the rise of nationalism over globalization as the result of the current pandemic. However, a brief summary on the rise of nationalism over globalization in the world's major powers prior to the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic will also be discussed.

Research Methodology

In order to satisfy the purpose of the research, a qualitative research in descriptive manner is chosen. By definition, qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words⁶. It is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem⁷. This method is primarily exploratory and chosen to uncover trends in thoughts, opinions, and events, as well as to dive deeper into the problem. Literature study becomes the main source of data to draw conclusion in this research.

Theoretical Framework

Nothing illustrate globalization better than McDonalds in Japan, French films being played in Minneapolis, and the existence of United Nations (UN) as representations of the world's nations. Such were the examples pointed out by Manfred Steger in his book, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*⁸. All these examples suggest that globalization allows things that once might be foreign to a culture to be an integral part of that culture over time. In addition, globalization also paves the way for access to the movement of people, goods, and services, which ultimately has an impact on global economic growth. In short, globalization is the process of increased interconnectedness among countries, most notably in the areas of economics, politics, and culture⁹.

6 John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, (London: Sage, 2014), 13.

7 Creswell, *Research Design*, 13.

8 Manfred Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 7.

9 *Ibid.*

Historically, many scholars argue that globalization first started with Christopher Columbus' voyage to the New World in 1492¹⁰. However, people had travelled to nearby and faraway places well before Columbus to exchange ideas and goods. The Silk Road, an ancient network of trade routes across China, Central Asia, and the Mediterranean used between 50 B.C.E. and 250 C.E. is reasonably the most well-known early example of globalization¹¹. Moreover, newfound technologies also played a key role in the Silk Road trade. Advances in methods in extracting metals and forging them into different products led to the creation of coins, advances in transportation, road constructions connecting major empires, and increased agricultural production resulting in more food to be traded between communities¹². These types of exchanges were then accelerated in the Age of Exploration. With more advanced technology which became the key to success in world exploration. Trade and exchanges of ideas were extended to a previously unconnected part of the world, which eventually became the milestone of the modern world globalization.

Globalization trend waned and crashed in the devastation of World War I, which was followed by post-war protectionism, the Great Depression, and finally World War II¹³. Tensions that had built up during World War II continued to grow long after the war. The Soviet Union and USA grew into competing world powers. The USSR and the Western powers competed for global dominance in a geopolitical struggle, which would shape the

world into the present day. After World War II, in the mid-1940s during the Cold War era, the USA led efforts to revive international trade and investment under negotiated ground rules, starting a second wave of globalization¹⁴, which remains ongoing, though hindered by periodic downturns and mounting political scrutiny. Arguably speaking, in addition to the economic stagnation and failure of twin reforms of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, Cold War ended primarily due to the inability of the Soviet Union's system to effectively adapt to changes brought about by the forces of economic and cultural globalization, namely an interconnected global economy and the spread of liberal values¹⁵. Globalization happens and obscures state borders through exchanges of people, goods, and services. Consequently, globalization strips the majority of world countries of the absolute control over their economy as the global economy become increasingly intertwined. Globalization also nourishes the global economy, resulting in people's ability to travel across the globe, to buy and sell things from different countries, expand businesses, and make investments beyond borders.

On the other spectrum of globalization is nationalism. While globalization represents the rising of deterritorialization, integration, and universal interconnectedness, then nationalism arguably represents the opposite: fragmentation, localization, and isolation¹⁶. Nationalism is a term generally used to describe two phenomena: the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve or sustain self-

10 "National Geographic".

11 "National Geographic".

12 Kevin O'Rourke, Jeffrey Williamson, *Once More: When did Globalization Begin?*, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

13 Peterson Institute for Global Economic, "What is Globalization?", retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://www.piie.com/microsites/globalization/what-is-globalization>.

14 Peterson Institute, "What is".

15 Anonymous, *Perestroika: Early Attempt of Reform*, retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/perestroika-and-glasnost>.

16 Natalie Sabandze, *Globalization and Nationalism: The Cases of Georgia and the Basque Country*, (Hungary: CEU Press, 2010).

determination¹⁷. Consequently, it raises questions about the concept of a nation or national identity, which is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties. Furthermore, it also raises a question whether self-determination must be understood as involving full statehood with complete authority over domestic and in any kind international affairs¹⁸.

Historically, nationalism has been used to define and explain everything from radical political and militaristic movements, such as Nazism, to strong protectionist policies to control a country's foreign policy and economy¹⁹. The word nationalism is not to be confused with patriotism; while both words had been used very much interchangeably in the past, they are very contradictory today. George Orwell²⁰ explained it best when he said that there are two different and even opposing ideas involved in nationalism and patriotism. Patriotism means devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people²¹. Nationalism, on the other hand, is inseparable from the desire for power.

17 Anonymous, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: Nationalism*, retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nationalism/>.

18 Anonymous, *Stanford Encyclopedia*.

19 Jim Kramer, *What is Nationalism: Its History and What It Means in 2018*, retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://www.thestreet.com/politics/what-is-nationalism-14642847>.

20 George Orwell (1903-1950) was an English novelist, essayist, journalist and critic. His work is characterized by lucid prose, biting social criticism, opposition to totalitarianism, and outspoken support of democratic socialism. Orwell's work remains influential in today's popular culture and in political culture. The adjective "Orwellian", describing totalitarian and authoritarian social practices, is part of the English language, like many of his neologisms such as Big Brother and Thought Police.

21 George Orwell, "Notes on Nationalism", retrieved on June 27, 2020, <https://www.orwellfoundation.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/notes-on-nationalism/>.

It was not until World War II that the word nationalism began to take on a negative connotation. Since then, the term was used frequently by the media to describe the German expansion in the 1930s²². From the perspective of epistemology, classical nationalism is the political view that sees the creation and maintenance of a fully sovereign state owned by a given ethno-national group²³. The concern of classical nationalism does not only reside on the creation of a state, but also on its maintenance and strengthening. In addition, nationalism is sometimes used to promote claims for the expansion of a state even at the cost of wars. At some point, nationalism may also promote isolationist policies for a nation's territorial and resource interests²⁴. It may be argued that nationalism's primary importance resides in sovereignty and all the associated possibilities for internal control and external exclusion of a nation²⁵. In a broader sense, nationalism uses the economic, political, and cultural spheres as a means to promote the wellbeing and superiority of a given nation over that of all others. Therefore, globalization and nationalism are often described as contradictory processes; two paradoxes co-existing in a vast changing world.

Global political and economic integration processes caused by globalization brings about broad security implications. Consequently, many analysts then broaden their idea of security to include issues of broadly defined human security. According to a report issued by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994, human security is people-centered by nature.

22 Wes O'Donnell, "Patriotism vs Nationalism: What's the Difference?", retrieved on June 26, 2020, <https://medium.com/@wesodonnell/patriotism-vs-nationalism-whats-the-difference-5e23db662a3>.

23 Anonymous, *Stanford Encyclopedia*.

24 Anonymous, *Stanford Encyclopedia*.

25 Anonymous, *Stanford Encyclopedia*.

The term is concerned with how people live in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities, and whether they live in conflict or in peace²⁶. Human security is greatly influenced by the internationalization of political-economic and socio-cultural processes brought about by globalization. This is due to the fact that globalization has both positive and negative effects. In particular, the level of economic globalization is moving at such a rapid pace that it is affecting the status quo in many countries²⁷. This is what then leads to the rise of human insecurity. Human insecurity is often defined as a condition in which an individual, a group, or a state survives the increasingly unequal power structures as a consequence of rapid socio-economic, conflict, and political changes inherent in globalization²⁸.

Before discussing further into the concept of human security, one must first understand the concept of security. The broad concept of security is virtually elusive and open to many interpretations, but one of its most noticeable characteristics in international relations theory is its association with national security²⁹. One of the broadest and

the most abstract definitions is summed up succinctly by Arnold Wolfers³⁰ that security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, while in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked³¹. In the final report of the United Nations' Commission on Human Security published in 2003, human security is defined as a way to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms as the birth-right of humanity. It also means protecting people from severe and pervasive threats and situations as well as creating political, social, environmental, economic, military, and cultural systems that collectively give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood, and dignity³².

Bearing in mind that today's world is an insecure place full of threats on many fronts – violent conflicts, natural disasters, poverty, epidemics, and economic downturns – it is important to take human security into account when maintaining the prospects for peace, stability, and sustainable development. The integral

26 UNDP, "Human Development Report 1994", retrieved on June 27, 2020, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf.

27 Earl Conteh-Morgan, "Globalization and Human Security: A Neo-Gramscian Perspective", retrieved on June 27, 2020, https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol7_2/Conteh-Morgan.htm.

28 Conteh-Morgan, "Globalization and Human Security".

29 UNOCHA Human Security Unit, "Human Security in Theory and Practice: Application Of The Human Security Concept And The United Nations Trust Fund For Human Security", retrieved on February 15, 2020, <https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/HSU/Publications%20and%20Products/Human%20Security%20Tools/Human%20Security%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20English.pdf>.

30 Arnold Wolfers (1892–1968) was a lecturer in political science at the Hochschule für Politik in Berlin. He came to the USA and taught international relations at Yale University as a visiting professor and as the Sterling Professor of International Relations at Yale. He was the founding director of the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, a position he held until he retired in 1965. He was also an advisor and consultant to numerous organizations including the National War College, the Office of Strategic Services, and the Institute of Defense Analysis. More than 50 years after his death, he remains one of the most influential experts in the field of international relations. One of his most important insights is his analysis of the quest for power and foreign policy.

31 Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", *Political Science Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 67 No. 4, 1952: 481-502.

32 UNOCHA, "Human Security".

elements of human security are represented by the image below.

One of the inseparable parts of human security, as suggested by image 1, is food security. The concept of food security originated only in the mid-1970s as a discussion of international food problems at a time of global food crisis. The initial focus of attention was mainly only on food supply problems and assuring the availability, as well as price stability of essential food supplies, at both the international and national level³³. According to a report published in 2001 by Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), food security was redefined as a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life³⁴.

Undoubtedly, it is one of the main responsibilities of any state to ensure food

33 Edward Clay, "Trade and Food Security: Conceptualizing the Linkages", retrieved on June 29, 2020, <http://www.fao.org/3/y4671e/y4671e06.htm#fn21>.

34 Clay, "Trade and Food Security".



Source: Marigranula, *Diagrams of Human Security*, retrieved from https://www.123rf.com/photo_38834068_diagram-of-human-security.html, on February 15, 2020.

Image 1. Human Security Aspects

security for its citizens. Therefore, food security becomes an essential part of a state's national interest. Hans J. Morgenthau³⁵ defined national interest as the interest of a nation as a whole, pursued as an independent entity separate from the interests of subordinate areas or groups, and also of other nations or supranational groups³⁶. There are two factors that determine national interest; one is rationally demanded and of necessity, while the other is subject to change and influenced by situations. Therefore, there are commonly two sides to the implementation of national interest. As national interest remains the main reason for countries to involve in international relations and have international cooperation with other countries, it also becomes the main reason for countries to draw itself from and, to certain extent, apply the principles of isolation and protectionism.

Perception Toward Globalization in the era of COVID-19 Pandemic

In the aftermath of world's events such as Brexit and Donald Trump's election as the President of the USA, it is evident that there is a growing movement of people that are skeptical about wider integration into the global economy and foreign cultures. The growing trend of nationalism is also

35 Hans J. Morgenthau (1904-1980) was one of the major twentieth-century figures in the study of International Relations. Morgenthau's works belong to the tradition of realism in international relations theory, and he is usually considered as one of the three leading American realists of the post-World War II period. Morgenthau made landmark contributions to international relations theory and the study of international law. Until today he remains one of the most influential experts in the field of International Relations.

36 Ken Kiyono, "A Study on the Concept of The National Interest of Hans J. Morgenthau: as The Standard of American Foreign Policy", retrieved on July 2, 2020, http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10069/27783/1/keieikeizai49_03_04.pdf.

seen in many other countries in the world, from the success of far-right parties in Italian, German, and Austrian elections in 2017 and 2018, to the decision taken by the President of Philippines Rodrigo Duterte to announce the country's withdrawal from the geopolitical interests of the USA. Nationalism in political leadership is seemingly dominating many of the current major world players. Consequently, the effects of nationalism can be felt through the political arena. Even Trump's idea of empowerment that is translated into a pseudo-platform in the guise of a catchphrase like "Make America Great Again" in reality can easily be turned into a nationalist agenda. The MAGA platform, as opposed to creating a patriotic sentiment, only perpetuates nationalist policies and helps push it into effect. News coverage of nationalism has captured the attention of global audience, focusing not only on US elections and British referendum, but also government policies in China and India, as well as in South Africa.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the global attitudes have increasingly indicated the rise of nationalist parties. The impact and dynamics of this trend does not only manifest in racially motivated violence, but also in economic conflicts. The trade war between US and China is one example. Another example is the nationalist policies of the longest-serving Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Prime Minister Abe's nationalist policies failed to boost the country's growth from economic stagnation. Japan needs to cope with the demographic challenges while encouraging business to do things differently. The widespread use of English, family-friendly workstyles, higher percentage of foreign employment and elderly workers, and emphasizing teamwork over traditional hierarchical work practices

would be the beginning of a much-needed transformation that the country fails to do³⁷.

The rising trend of nationalism is further enhanced by COVID-19 pandemic. Many argue that the pandemic has been a gift to nationalists and protectionist. COVID-19 pandemic is killing globalization and likely to have a long-term impact on the free movement of people and goods³⁸. At the beginning of its outbreak, most policymakers and investors wrongly assumed that COVID-19 pandemic would only have a brief, limited, China-specific impact. As it turned out, the pandemic is generating a global shock and economic slowdown risking to turn for the worse into recession. Until this academic paper is published, the COVID-19 vaccine is yet to be found, making the end of the pandemic still difficult to predict.

This pandemic has strongly highlighted the many downsides of extensive international integration. Governments and businesses have suddenly realized the risks of relying on complex global supply chains. Chinese people, and now Italians, Iranians, Koreans, and pretty much everyone in the world, have become widely seen as vectors of disease. The outbreak has thus provoked fears of foreigners, and later gave legitimacy to national restrictions on global trade and movement of people. It has consequently become the main reason governments of all countries to rush into imposing travel bans, more stringent visa requirements, and even export restrictions. All of this is resulting in the world economies more national and politics more nationalistic.

37 Joel R. Campbell, "Shinzo Abe's Dilemma: Caught Between Abenomics and Nationalism", retrieved on July 2, 2020, <https://medium.com/international-affairs-blog/shinzo-abes-dilemma-caught-between-abenomics-and-nationalism-186dba052ca3>.

38 Phillipe Legrain, "The Coronavirus Is Killing Globalization as We Know It", retrieved on July 2, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/12/coronavirus-killing-globalization-nationalism-protectionism-trump/>.

Protecting a Country's National Interest Through Nationalism

Initially, COVID-19 was nothing but a health crisis before it took a turn for the worse and became a social – and economic – crisis. This is due to activity restriction and the imposition of a shelter-in-place policy around the globe. People had to stay at home and self-isolate for the sake of public health. Unfortunately, this decision did not only stop transmission of the virus, it also made economic activities and business as usual come to a halt. The previously reliable complex global supply chain suddenly faced an undecided future. Thus, the COVID-19 crisis could be perceived as the mark of a tipping point that prompts many countries and businesses to remodel their supply chains and consequently invest in more resilient and often more local production and distribution schemes³⁹. Each country now starts to put their own interests before others. The survival of a country's citizens becomes a priority over maintaining international cooperation. Many also starts to apply specific national policies to protect their national interests. Banning exports in order to fulfil domestic's needs are common practices during the COVID-19 pandemic. Until a COVID-19 vaccine is discovered, the demand for essential food and medical goods will remain high while the supply is scarce.

World Customs Organization issued a list of countries that adopted temporary export restrictions on certain categories, especially COVID-19-specific medical supplies and raw materials⁴⁰. From

Albania to Russia, more countries impose limitation or prohibition of certain export commodities, with a view to both ensure the fulfilment of local needs and curb the virus transmission. Two common types of trade policies taken by countries to tackle COVID-19 crisis are export prohibition/restriction and temporary import requirement waiver/suspension⁴¹. Experts are concerned that this growing trend in export restrictions will eventually harm all countries, particularly the vulnerable ones. As an illustration, the European Union's export restrictions on medical equipment highlight the unintended costs of such policy measures for other countries, especially the more vulnerable ones with limited domestic production capacity⁴².

One may argue that much of the disruption happening now may only be temporary. However, COVID-19 crisis is likely to have a lasting impact, especially when it comes to perpetuating other trends that are already undermining globalization, which is nationalism. Furthermore, it may deal a blow to fragmented international supply chains, reduce the hypermobility of global business travelers, and provide strong political background for nationalists who favor greater protectionism and immigration controls. This is particularly evident with the imposition of new normal policy upon regular human activities, prompting strict observation of health protocol. Not only did it cause shortage of medical supplies, COVID-19 pandemic also brought disruption to the world's food supply. As COVID-19 pandemic turns into a global crisis, countries begin to take

39 Legrain, "The Coronavirus Is Killing".

40 World Custom Organizations, "List of national legislation* of countries that adopted temporary export restrictions on certain categories of critical medical supplies in response to COVID-19", retrieved on July 4, 2020, <http://www.wcoomd.org/en/topics/facilitation/activities-and-programmes/natural-disaster/list-of-countries-coronavirus.aspx>.

41 Michelle Limenta, "Rising export protectionism in time of global isolation", retrieved on July 4, 2020, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/04/28/rising-export-protectionism-in-time-of-global-isolation.html>.

42 Limenta, "Rising export protectionism".

measures to curb the pandemic. It has put a strain on the food supply chains, which is a complex web of interactions involving farmers, agricultural inputs, processing plants, shipment, retailers, distributors, and customers. The shipping industry has already reported slowdowns due to port closures, while logistics hurdles may disrupt the supply chains. Indeed, many countries are beginning to reopen while COVID-19 transmission persists in some communities in the said countries. However, the disruption has caused obstacles with the lack of food availability and fluctuations in prices of staple food.

A steady rise in countries limiting or banning food exports has triggered warnings from UN food agency leaders. The UN is concerned that this trend will potentially make critical staples such as wheat and rice more costly and harder to find. Take Vietnam, for example, as the world's third largest rice exporter that briefly banned the shipment of grain in March and then limited the shipment at 500,000 tons of rice to ensure food security amidst the COVID-19 outbreak⁴³. The same can be said about Thailand, which banned staple food export to prioritize fulfillment of the domestic need⁴⁴. Furthermore, UN data suggest a growing trend of countries keeping their staple food products for domestic consumption. For exporting countries, according to the UN, domestic reserves of grains and rice remain ample after years of relatively good harvests. However, reductions in exports could hit countries that import much of their food.

43 Anonymous, "Vietnam Rice Exports YoY", retrieved on July 5, 2020, <https://www.agriculture.com/markets/newswire/vietnam-jan-may-rice-exports-up-122-yy-to-309-mln-tonnes-customs>.

44 Anonymous, "Central Retail Sets Out Its Stores to Reflect the New Normal", retrieved on July 5, 2020, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/business/1945372>.

Imposing trade restrictions to response to the COVID-19 and ensure the fulfillment of domestic needs may later have dramatic adverse impacts on food security. The government's decision on COVID-19 crisis management through applications of different variations of the four Cs strategy, namely Cognition, Communication, Coordination, and Control, remain the predominant strategy in dealing with COVID-19⁴⁵. To minimize public health vulnerability, governments choose to reduce exposure by exercising a variety of legislative approaches from the imposition of lockdowns, domestic and international travel restrictions, to curfews and restrictions in public services, all with the aim to stop the spread of COVID-19. In addition to travel restrictions, strict imposition of international trade restrictions and movements of raw material further exacerbate the adverse impacts at a range of scales – from local to global – on both food production and trade. The image below shows list of several countries that decided to restrict export to protect their national food security during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Furthermore, constant lockdowns policy brings widespread of labor shortages and logistical barriers. A significant impact of these lockdowns in many parts of the world will be on food-related activities such as the timely food production and movement of raw agricultural and livestock products⁴⁶. Due to this fact, many countries decided to restrict food exports to meet domestic needs. The world is at the whim of a virus that shows no signs of slowing down. Therefore, protecting the country's national interest becomes the most important policy for each and every government.

45 Parmeshwar Udmale, Andy Large, "Global Food Security in The Context Of COVID-19: A Scenario-Based Exploratory Analysis", (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2020).

46 Udmale, Large, "Global Food Security".

The Rise of Nationalism Amidst COVID-19 Pandemic and Its Impact on Indonesia's Food Security

When this paper is written, the global health data have reported total COVID-19 patients of 14,768,166 people, with a death toll of 611,755⁴⁷. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the pandemic has caused 89,869 cases of infected people, among whom 4,320 people died due to the disease⁴⁸. The rapid transmission of the virus has made its deteriorating impacts spread quickly. The repercussion went far beyond the health sector and affect the economy, the hospitality industry, manufacturing, and even food security. Food crisis resulting from COVID-19 pandemic has become a serious threat to numerous countries, including Indonesia. This is further amplified by the massive social restrictions enforced throughout the country, forcing people to be 'locked down' in their homes and do their activities remotely. This phenomenon has, in this regard, disrupted certain professions

that require on-site presence of workers, such as ones in the agriculture sector, as well as the food industry and its export and import.

Based on the internal factors of a country's domestic sectors, the impact of COVID-19 pandemic on the agricultural sector covers various aspects, such as production, distribution, and consumption of food products. Furthermore, other factors may also contribute to the onset of food crisis in Indonesia, which may include declining human resources in the agricultural sector, a decrease in crop yields, to disruption in the transportation and logistics areas⁴⁹. On the other hand, the external factors to the imminent food security in Indonesia may include problems relating to supply chain in the exporting countries. Imports of agricultural products that have not been fulfilled from domestic production have also experienced problems due to changes in policies from exporting countries that seek to prioritize their production for domestic

47 CNN Indonesia, "Data Terbaru COVID-19", retrieved on July 21, 2020, <https://twitter.com/cnnindonesia/status/1282964040516419584?s=12>.

48 CNN, "Data Terbaru".

49 Natasa Adelayanti, "Covid-19 Pandemic Emerges Complexity of Food Problems", retrieved on July 6, 2020, <https://ugm.ac.id/en/news/19402-covid-19-pandemic-emerges-complexity-of-food-problems>.

Category	Country Label	Products	Day of Starting Date	Day of End Date	Share of restricted products in total country food exports (expressed in Kcal, annual basis)	Share of restricted products in total country food exports (expressed in USD, annual basis)
Actual Ban	Algeria	Semolina, flour, pulses and rice, pasta, ..	05/07/2020	06/06/20	92.60%	77.81%
	Armenia	Onions, garlic, turnips, rye, rice, buckw..	04/10/2020	06/30/20	0.46%	0.13%
	Belarus	Buckwheat, Onions, Garlic	04/01/2020	06/30/20	0.99%	0.20%
		Onions, garlic, turnips, rye, rice, buckw..	04/10/2020	06/30/20	0.60%	0.11%
	Cambodia	rice, white rice	04/05/2020	05/19/20	31.36%	43.19%
	Egypt	Pulses	03/28/2020	06/28/20	2.39%	3.32%
	Honduras	Red beans	03/31/2020	05/30/20	0.04%	0.08%
	Kazakhstan	Buckwheat, wheat, rye, including flours..	03/22/2020	04/01/20	28.06%	29.28%
		Buckwheat; White sugar; Potatoes; Oni..	04/02/2020	05/31/20	76.67%	65.76%
		Onions, garlic, turnips, rye, rice, buckw..	04/10/2020	06/30/20	2.46%	3.83%
		Potato, with the exception of seed pota..	04/14/2020	05/31/20	76.61%	65.47%
	Kyrgyzstan	Onions, garlic, turnips, rye, rice, buckw..	04/10/2020	06/30/20	1.30%	0.36%
		Wheat, flour, vegetable oil, sugar, chick..	03/23/2020	09/22/20	4.67%	1.63%
	North Mace..	wheat and meslin; wheat flour	03/20/2020	04/30/20	2.77%	0.26%
	Pakistan	food	04/29/2020	05/13/20		
		onions	03/24/2020	05/31/20		
		wheat; flour	06/10/2020	06/11/20		
	Romania	Wheat, barley, oat, maize, rice, wheat f..	04/10/2020	04/16/20	51.44%	39.19%
	Russia	Onions, garlic, turnips, rye, rice, buckw..	04/10/2020	06/30/20	1.23%	1.61%
		Processed grains	03/20/2020	06/30/20	0.31%	0.49%
Wheat and meslin; rye; barley; corn		04/01/2020	06/30/20	68.27%	48.15%	

Source: David Laborde, retrieved from <https://public.tableau.com/profile/laborde6680#!/vizhome/ExportRestrictionsTracker/FoodExportRestrictionsTracker>

Image 2. Food Export Restrictions During the COVID-19 Crisis

needs. This situation could be even worse if the COVID-19 pandemic persists even longer than expected. It is this very food shortages that will result in food price instability and in some cases even significant price hikes due to the scarcity of some products⁵⁰.

While Indonesia may still be recognized as an agrarian country with vast natural resources, the fact remains that it still imports many of its staple food items to fulfill its domestic needs. Indonesia even relies heavily on imports to meet the domestic demand of several commodities, particularly wheat, garlic, soybean, and sugar⁵¹. Imports of these products are sourced primarily from China, which supplies 100% of Indonesia's garlic import, the USA and Thailand, which supply 94.1% of soybean and 86.5% of sugar imports respectively⁵². Based on the data released by the Indonesian Ministry of Trade, Indonesia's rice stock is enough for domestic consumption

until December 2020. Nevertheless, Indonesia still continues to import this commodity to add to its own domestic reserve from Vietnam, Thailand, and Pakistan. The ratio of Indonesia's rice needs to its domestic supply and import rate is presented below.

Indonesia's rice production in the first half of 2020 is estimated at 13.2% lower than the same period last year⁵³. Lower rice harvest in the 2020's major harvest season follows the declining production trend that has been observed since 2018. In January of 2020, Indonesia's Minister of Agriculture Syahrul Yasin Limpo fixed an export target of 100,000 – 500,000 tons of rice in 2020⁵⁴. However, in recent years Indonesia has been a net importer of rice as expensive local supplies have struggled to meet the local demand for staple commodities. It remains

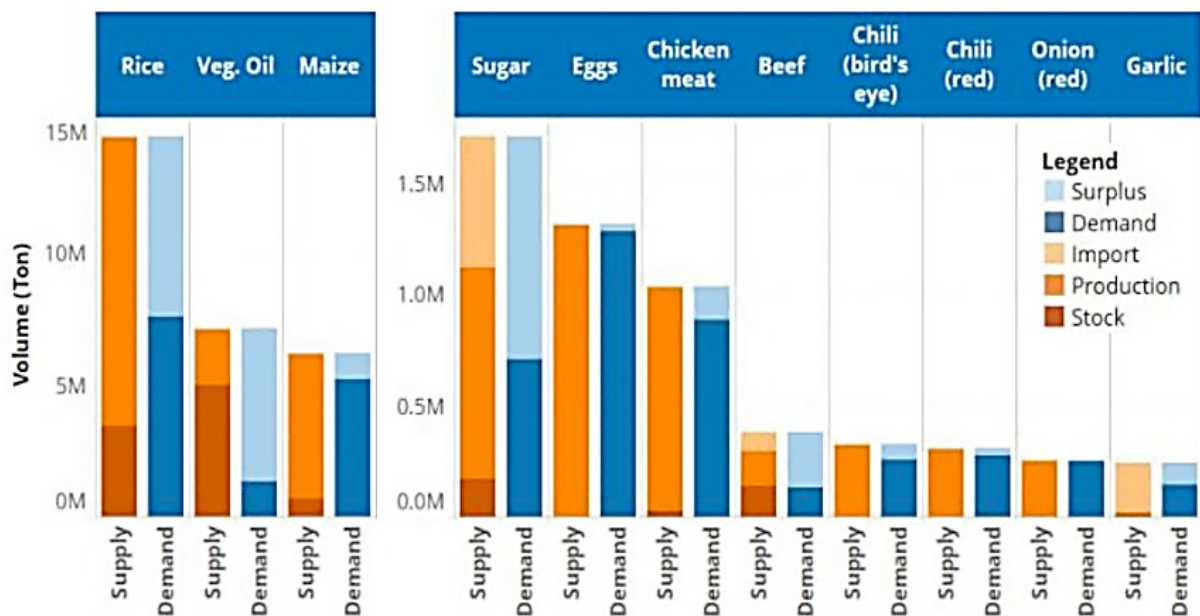
50 Adelayanti, "Covid-19 Pandemic".

51 Saidamon Bodamaev, *Indonesia: COVID-19 Economic and Food Security Implications*, (Jakarta: World Food Program, 2020), 22.

52 Bodamaev, *Indonesia: COVID-19*, 22.

53 Bodamaev, *Indonesia: COVID-19*, 22.

54 Office of Agricultural Affairs, "Attache Report: Indonesia Plans to Export Rice", retrieved on July 15, 2020, <https://www.fas.usda.gov/data/indonesia-indonesia-plans-export-rice#:~:text=Indonesia's%20new%20Minister%20of%20Agriculture,demand%20for%20the%20staple%20commodity.>



Source: Saidamon Bodamaev, *Indonesia: COVID-19 Economic and Food Security Implications*, World Food Program Indonesia 2020

Image 3. Estimated National Balance for Selected Food Commodities from April to June 2020

unclear how the proposed export volumes will be realized, particularly in consideration of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The primary risks to food security remain prevalent at domestic level: as COVID-19 crisis continues, disruptions in domestic food supply chains, other shocks affecting food production, and loss of incomes and remittances are creating strong tensions and posing food security risks in many countries including Indonesia. While disruptions on food supply chain persist, several countries have also imposed limitation on food exports to fulfill their domestic needs and maintain the desired agenda in their national interest. In Indonesia, the average domestic retail price of rice has been increasing. According to the Centre for National Strategic Food Price Information, the national medium retail price of rice in May of 2020 ranged between Rp. 11,750-12,000/kg. The Indonesian Logistics Agency attributed this price hike to COVID-19 pandemic, during which the demand for rice was on the rise for both household consumption purposes, as well as company CSR programs and government social assistance programs, while the supply was relatively limited⁵⁵.

Another food commodity that is currently limited in supply other than rice is sugar. The average price of this commodity has also risen dramatically amid the COVID-19 pandemic. In Java island regions, its average price is Rp. 19,200/kg, while outside of the Java island it reaches up to Rp. 22,500/kg. Previously, the average retail price of sugar was only Rp. 12,500/kg. The Indonesian Ministry of Trade stated that, as a result of COVID-19 pandemic, more countries have begun to temporarily close their markets to foreign trade. One of the disrupted aspects

55 Vadhia Lidyana, "Harga Beras Tinggi di Tengah Corona", retrieved on July 15, 2020, <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-4978750/harga-beras-tinggi-di-tengah-corona/1>.

of this impediment is the trade access to supplying countries that traditionally sell sugar cane to Indonesia as the raw material of table sugar⁵⁶. In some regions, this commodity was at some point became so rare that shops even put purchasing limits on this product. This was only exacerbated by panic buying that occurred as people were caught in the uncertain situation caused by the pandemic, further worsening the sugar shortage problem⁵⁷.

Indonesia is not listed as one of the biggest world exporters of agricultural and food products. Therefore, as Indonesia's exporting partner countries began to cut down their export share for domestic needs, Indonesia's food security was automatically affected by the decision. In this case, it is evident that other countries' national policies have directly brought an impact on Indonesia's national interest to ensure food security for its citizen since Indonesia has been dependent on imported staple food. This is particularly evident during COVID-19 pandemic as countries around the globe chose to prioritize and protect their national interest to survive rather than to maintain global economic cooperation. Such policy then led to many of these countries taking the nationalist approach and to a certain extent promote isolationist policies for the sake of their own interests. Consequently, it has led to the widespread push to close national borders, to keep migrants out, and to limit trade on necessities such as medical supplies,

56 Selfie Miftahul Jannah, "Di Balik Melambungnya Harga Gula saat Pandemi Corona COVID-19", retrieved on July 15, 2020, <https://tirto.id/di-balik-melambungnya-harga-gula-saat-pandemi-corona-covid-19-eMZl>.

57 Cantika Adinda Putri, "Terungkap Penyebab Gula Sempat 'Hilang' dari Toko Ritel", retrieved on July 15, 2020, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200319194845-4-146284/terungkap-penyebab-gula-sempt-hilang-dari-toko-ritel>.

medicines, and staple foods. Under these circumstances, there would be no other way to fulfil a country's domestic needs but to produce them locally.

It can be argued that such an effort will not stop globalization. Eventually, global cooperation will continue as countries begin to adapt, after which international trade will reopen, and export and import activities will resume. However, COVID-19 pandemic shows that failure in sustaining domestic needs for staple food will only make a country's food security even more vulnerable. For a country to provide food security for its citizens, it has to first ensure that staple foods are available and accessible to everyone, while also ensuring that the supply is stable and sustainable. Thus, to ensure that Indonesia can achieve its national interest in providing sustainable food security means that it needs to have a self-sufficiency program for food security. It should not rely itself too much on imports but make sure that food is available through local production and stored locally to sustain its national demand.

Building on the lessons learned from COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia has planned to develop the food estate strategy as part of its national strategic program. Furthermore, the House of Representatives also called upon the government to make food a priority in the 2021 National Budget Bill⁵⁸. The recommendation was met with approval by the government and it was translated into an agricultural land clearing project in Central Kalimantan to boost Indonesia's food production. In addition, the government also seeks to protect farmers by including Farmer Exchange Rates as one of the indicators of national development. The Farmer Exchange Rate (FER) is the ratio

58 Result of the Indonesian House Budget Committee Meeting on July 6, 2020.

between the price index of sales received by farmers and the price index paid to purchase all the required materials to plant crops. It is an indicator of a farmer's welfare level. Maintaining Farmer Exchange Rate is expected to keep farmers from losing money and improve their production, thereby contributing positively to food security in Indonesia.

Notwithstanding, Indonesia's initiative to fulfill its domestic demand for food has not been met with success due to its large population and the lack of agricultural land. Land acquisition, on the other hand, also comes with its own challenges. In fact, it is quite fair to assume that the program food estate planned by the government in Central Kalimantan region will potentially create a conflict during the land acquisition process. Many believe that the land clearing phase required for this purpose in Central Kalimantan will cause an irreparable ecological disaster for the local communities considering these are fire-prone areas⁵⁹. This is not to mention that local farmers have not been making use of modern agricultural technology for farming activities; the majority of local residents farm the conventional way. In responding to this, it is imperative that government needs to provide some training programs so farmers can farm more effectively and have more productive crops. The purpose is for farmers to yield crops regardless of seasons. This knowledge is important since a shift in the planting season has happened due to climate change. Thus, farming activities should be carried out based on science, not merely customs. Knowledge is also particularly of great importance as it will sustain primary economic activities, such as science-based

59 Randi Julian Miranda, "Cetak Sawah Baru di Kalteng, Babak Baru Bencana Ekologi?", retrieved on July 20, 2020, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2020/07/10/cetak-sawah-baru-di-kalteng-babak-baru-bencana-ekologi/>.

agricultural land management. Such activity will provide a boost for more advanced economic activities as it will be based on advancement in information technology, such as implemented by one of the world's largest food exporting countries, the USA⁶⁰.

To supplement the use of technology, there is a need to preserve local wisdoms in agriculture. One of the beneficial Indonesian local wisdoms that needs preserving in planting crops and maintaining soil fertility is the use of plant-based pesticides to control infestation of pests, such as the use of lemongrass and soursop leaf-based pesticides to get rid of caterpillars⁶¹. Such use of organic pesticide is intended so that agricultural activities do not harm soil fertility. Moreover, the latest study shows that massive attention towards local knowledge in recent times call for synergy between local and global innovations⁶². At the knowledge level, traditional society is recognized as responsive and anticipative to challenges and uncertainties at ecological dimensions. Hence, as a part of development process, agro-industrialization certainly requires bigger involvement of these local wisdoms and advanced technology savviness. The combined applications of these knowledge are expected to have positive impacts on higher food production and food security in Indonesia. For Indonesia to reclaim its agrarian state status, it would take a wholehearted determination of all the policymakers. This way, agro-industrialization of the agricultural sector can be done effectively.

60 "United States Department of Agriculture, Importance Of Agricultural Technology", retrieved on July 20, 2020, <https://nifa.usda.gov/topic/agriculture-technology>.

61 Yayat Sukayat, "Agroindustrialisasi Padi Sawah Berbasis Kearifan Lokal (Kajian Atas Budidaya Padi Di Kabupaten Tasikmalaya Dan Kabupaten Bandung)", Bandung: Universitas Padjajaran, 2017.

62 Sukayat, "Agroindustrialisasi Padi".

Moving forward, it is highly likely that the industrial sector will be further promoted to support Indonesia's development. The implication of this in secondary activities is further development in the processing of goods and services in the industry. When it happens, priorities will be given to building more factories and manufacturing sites. However, learning from the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia needs to improve its domestic food security as part of its endeavors to exercise part of its national interests. The ability to meet domestic food needs without being dependent on imports is something that must be achieved by Indonesia. As outbreaks continue to spread beyond control, restrictions will once again be imposed. Consequently, disruption of the supply chain will result in yet another food price hike. On the other hand, the number of unemployed and poor people has also increased as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, making it harder for people to even buy staple food. If this happens, Indonesia's national interest to increase domestic resilience will certainly not be achieved, and on a larger scale human security in Indonesia will also be disrupted.

Conclusion

Globalization has brought about massive impact upon economies across the globe as they become more information-based and more interdependent. Therefore, economic success or failure at one focal point of the global web can be felt in every major world economy. Globalization creates a world without border. It also allows cross-border travelers to perform high transnational movement around the world. Such condition has recently introduced the world to the current phenomenon relating to COVID-19 as the massive spread of the virus was said to be made possible by the movement of cross-

border travelers. The rapid spread of the virus on a global scale and disruption of the global supply chain eventually have negative repercussions to so many countries around the world. At the beginning of its outbreak, most policymakers and investors wrongly assumed that COVID-19 pandemic would only have a brief, limited, China-specific impact. As it happened, the pandemic is generating a global shock and economic slowdown risking to turn for the worse into recession.

Consequently, the rising trend of nationalism that has been going on for quite some time is further perpetuated by COVID-19 pandemic. As it turned out, COVID-19 is the catalyst needed to further perpetuate the rise of nationalism in order to protect a country's national interest. Many then argue that the pandemic has been a gift to nationalists and protectionist. In a way, COVID-19 pandemic is killing globalization and likely to have a long-term impact on the free movement of people and goods. Therefore, in the effort to curb the spread of the virus, different countries started to close their access to the movement of people and goods. As a result, as more countries struggle to survive amid the slowdown in production and goods movement, more countries started to delay exports of essential supplies such as staple food and medicine to fulfil the much-needed domestic demands. Thus, many countries started to reinforce trade protectionism. This phenomenon will, eventually, have negative repercussions on Indonesia's food security as Indonesia relies heavily on imports to meet its domestic demand.

The primary risks to food security remain prevalent at domestic level: as COVID-19 crisis continues, disruptions in domestic food supply chains, other shocks affecting food production, and loss of incomes and

remittances are creating strong tensions and posing food security risks in many countries, including Indonesia. While disruptions on food supply chain persist, several countries have also imposed limitation on food exports to fulfill their domestic needs and maintain the desired agenda in their national interest. In addition to that, due to COVID-19 pandemic, farmers are unable to plant crops as massive social restrictions are imposed throughout the country, forcing people to be 'locked down' in their homes and do their activities remotely. Consequently, the average domestic retail price of staple food such as rice and sugar have been increasing in Indonesia due to the limited supply. Therefore, building on the lessons learned from COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia has to improve its domestic food security as part of its endeavors to exercise part of its national interests. The ability to meet domestic food needs without being dependent on imports is something that must be achieved by Indonesia as a way to maintain Indonesia's national interest to increase domestic resilience toward food security.

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