

Indonesia's G20 Presidency: Agenda Setting and Rulemaking towards Post-Pandemic Governance

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Abstract

This descriptive qualitative research utilizes the concept of global governance to examine Indonesia's contribution towards post-pandemic governance during its G20 presidency. The authors argue that Indonesia's G20 presidency contributed towards global governance through agenda setting and rulemaking. This research has found out that in terms of agenda setting, Indonesia is capable of proposing a criteria of global health standards to anticipate future pandemics; initiate cooperation between G20 member states to digitalize the global economy for common prosperity; and promote cleaner energy sources for sustainable energy transition. In terms of rulemaking, Indonesia's G20 presidency managed to formulate the G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration. However, Indonesia faced challenges in implementation and monitoring, to ensure the G20 member states' adherence towards the G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration after Indonesia's G20 presidency is over.

Penelitian deskriptif kualitatif ini menggunakan konsep pemerintahan global untuk meneliti kontribusi presidensi G20 Indonesia terhadap tatanan global pasca pandemi Covid-19. Penulis berargumen bahwa presidensi G20 Indonesia berkontribusi terhadap pemerintahan global melalui agenda setting dan rulemaking. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa dari segi agenda setting, Indonesia mampu mengajukan kriteria standar kesehatan global untuk persiapan pandemi mendatang, menjalin kerja sama antar negara anggota G20 dalam digitalisasi ekonomi digital untuk kesejahteraan bersama,

dan mempromosikan sumber energi ramah lingkungan. Dari segi rulemaking, presidensi G20 Indonesia berhasil merumuskan G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration. Walaupun demikian, Indonesia menghadapi tantangan dalam implementation dan monitoring, untuk memastikan ketaatan negara-negara anggota G20 terhadap G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration setelah berakhirnya presidensi G20 Indonesia.

Keywords: Indonesia; G20; Agenda-setting; Rulemaking; Post-Pandemic; Global Governance.

Indonesia' G20 Presidency during the Post-Pandemic Era

This research aims to examine Indonesia's contribution towards post-pandemic governance during its G20 presidency in 2022. The aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic has resulted in several unresolved issues in international relations, such as inequality of global health standards, digitalization of the global economy, and promoting the use of sustainable energy. Initially, the World Health Organization (WHO) has reported that countries with inadequate national health information system were unable to report accurate number of Covid-19 infection cases, which hampered effective domestic response towards the pandemic. Therefore, a better global health standard is necessary to anticipate future pandemics¹. Secondly, the pandemic has also stimulated the development of digital economy for businesses worldwide, where consumers prefer to use digital applications for economic transactions, especially during lockdowns². This creates an opportunity for collaboration between governments and businesses in digital economy. Finally, Covid-19 lockdowns have also increased energy consumption worldwide, emphasizing the need to find more sustainable sources of energy to fulfill the global demand³.

The Group of Twenty (G20) is a multilateral forum of the world's most economically capable states, which was established in 1999 in response to the financial crisis. During the Covid-19 era, the G20 plays a crucial role in post-pandemic economic relief⁴. Accordingly, Indonesia has chosen global health architecture, digital transformation and sustainable energy transition as the three main issues to be addressed during its G20 Presidency in 2022, with the tagline "Recover Together, Recover Stronger"⁵. First of all, G20's global health architecture agenda enhances cooperation between G20 member states to establish an adequate global health standard in preparation for future pandemics. Secondly, G20's digital transformation agenda improves collaboration in utilizing digital platform for mutual economic prosperity. Finally, G20's sustainable energy transition agenda aims to ensure energy resources availability while switching towards the use of more environmentally friendly energy resources.

Interestingly, Indonesia's presidency in G20 demonstrates its initial opportunity to pursue leadership in a global multilateral forum. Previously,

Indonesia as a middle power and regional power in South East Asia has been experienced in leading the regional organization ASEAN, extra-regional organization East Asia Summit, as well as having an active role in the middle power forum MIKTA. However, G20 consists of twenty of the world's fastest-growing economies, including develop and developing states representing all regions in the world. Thus, Indonesia's G20 presidency in 2022 presents a new challenge for a global governance, especially in the context of achieving G20's post-pandemic targets.

G20's Global Governance in the Post-Pandemic Era

This descriptive qualitative research utilizes the concept of global governance in the context of post-pandemic international relations to examine Indonesia's contribution towards global governance during its G20 presidency. Global governance is defined as a set of values and rules created by nation states to establish peace and prosperity within the international system⁶. Meanwhile, the post pandemic era happens after the Covid-19 pandemic is over, which left unresolved international problems such as inequality of global health standards⁷, digitalization of the global economy⁸, and the need of transition towards sustainable energy⁹.

In an international system without a world government, global governance consists of four different steps¹⁰. Firstly, agenda setting and issue creating: decision makers need to influence other parties to accept mutual international challenges. Once common issues are identified, the next step is to set agendas to respond those issues. Secondly, rulemaking: discussion within international forums produce decisions which form international rules. Some rules are considered as international law when codified into treaties. States compete to insert their national interest to become mutually agreed rules. Thirdly, implementation and enforcement: even after rules are agreed upon, parties' commitment towards implementing those rules vary depending on their national interest and capacity. For example, international treaties need to be ratified by the national parliament before put into practice domestically. Finally, evaluating, monitoring and adjudication: evaluation and monitoring regarding each parties' implementation of the agreed rules, usually conducted by the designated governor or council of the international forum.

Global governance originated with the establishment of the Group of Seven (G7) in 1975 consisting seven of the world's develop economies, including France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, and the United States. The G7's purpose was to find common ground between its member states' economic policies, in order to contribute values and rules towards the world's economy. The G7 was further developed into The Group of Eight (G8) in 1997 when the Russian Federation participated in the forum¹¹.

Due to G7's inability to resolve the 1998 financial crisis, developed economies collaborated with developing economies to form the Group of Twenty (G20) in 1999. The G20 has a main purpose of ensuring balanced economic growth for both developed and developing countries. The G20 has contributed towards global governance by demonstrating leadership in international order, implementing decisions made during summits, and cooperate with other stakeholders besides its member states. Throughout its summits, the G20 has also practiced the global governance function of deliberation, direction setting and decision making¹².

Within the G20, there are developed and developing member states, which cooperated in smaller multilateral forums, such as the G7, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Türkiye and Australia). During G20 forums, G7 member states tend to contribute towards global governance by pushing forward Western-based agendas of harmonizing economic policies. Nevertheless, the G7 is cooperative in G20 despite their respective national interests¹³. Whereas BRICS member states tend to solidify economic governance to develop emerging economies' growth and balance against the G7's current Western economic dominance. On the other hand, MIKTA member states contribute towards global governance through consultation and cooperation in economic and security affairs, without trying to change the established international system. Nevertheless, G20 member states are consistent in collaborating their interests, despite the existence of pressure groups which try to insert their agenda into G20¹⁴.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, the G20 plays an important role in stimulating cooperation for post-pandemic recovery, by learning from previous G20 forums' key agendas, while adjusting to the current global challenges¹⁵. Global governance in the post-pandemic era is characterized by the need of world order for global public health and mitigation strategies; multilateral response towards transnational issues such as technology, climate and food; and the future of the global economy¹⁶. In this context, G20's role in the post-pandemic world include: building a dialogue platform to promote mutual trust between G20 leaders; strengthening the WTO and restoring its dispute appellate body; building a coping mechanism for the pandemic induced challenges; and addressing the growing trends in international trade¹⁷.

The G20 forum has a crucial role in global governance by determining the multilateral agenda setting and rulemaking which will be implemented by twenty of the world's most powerful economies in their respective regions¹⁸. Accordingly, the state holding G20 presidency could determine the forum's next agenda and rules to be discussed and agreed upon in the annual summit. Being a representative of the Southeast Asian region and developing countries, Indonesia's presidency in G20 push for post-pandemic global governance agenda, by proposing a criteria of global health standard, digital economy

cooperation, and promoting cleaner energy sources; as well as rulemaking by launching the G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration.

Indonesia's Agenda Setting in Proposing a Criteria of Global Health Standard

Indonesia's G20 presidency has three sub-agenda priorities in strengthening global health standards, including developing a global health architecture, standardizing global health travel protocols, and developing global funding in preventing, anticipating and responding future pandemics. Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi stated that during the Covid-19 pandemic, developing countries faced difficulties in accessing basic healthcare. Therefore, the global health architecture needs to ensure equal access for all countries during future health crisis.

Initially, Indonesia's global health architecture agenda doesn't only aim at recovering from the Covid-19 pandemic, but also preparing for future health crisis. On 19 July 2022, Indonesia held the Covid-19 Global Action Plan Foreign Ministerial Meeting virtually. During this meeting, Retno Marsudi stated that there are three actions which need to be done to strengthen global health architecture. Firstly, improving the distribution access towards healthcare and medical treatment, especially for developing countries. Secondly, allocating funding related to the Financial Intermediary Fund organized by the World Bank. And thirdly, proposing the formulation of Pandemic Treaty under the World Health Organization (WHO)¹⁹.

Indonesia's second priority is to develop standardized health requirement for traveling during the pandemic. Indonesian Health Minister Budi said that this travel protocols must be in line with various countries' covid policies, which include vaccine certificates, tests and testing authorities. This travel protocol has been discussed to be applied in ASEAN and European Union regions, which seeks to improve tourism and business travels during the post-pandemic era²⁰. To reach this target, Indonesia becomes a core group in formulating the Pandemic Treaty during the High-Level Meeting (HLM) on Pandemic Prevention, Preparedness, and Response (PPPR) to be held in the UN Headquarters, New York in 2023²¹.

Finally, Indonesia seeks to establish global health fund in G20 to anticipate the upcoming pandemics. At first, Indonesian Health Minister Budi doubt that the WHO will raise fund like the IMF. Therefore, various organizations including GAVI and Global Vaccine Alliance also need to participate in this global health fund. Nonetheless on 1 April 2022, Indonesia held the 3rd G20 Joint Finance and Health Task Force (JFHTF), which discussed about the plan to develop post-pandemic health facilities in cooperation with the WHO. Indonesian Minister of Macro-economics and International Finance stated that it's important for the JFHTF to fund the prevention, anticipation, and

response towards future pandemics. This forum formulates guidelines in funding and mechanism of the JFHTF²².

Through this global health architecture agenda, Indonesia has contributed towards developing countries' needs. Indonesia has donated USD 5 million for the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI) on the 2022-2026 term²³. Also, through Bio Farma, Indonesia has also cooperated with CEPI to speed up post-pandemic recovery on 19 September 2023²⁴. Indonesia has further contributed USD 50 million for the Financial Intermediary fund organized by the World Bank for future health crisis²⁵.

Indonesia's Agenda Setting in Initiating Cooperation between G20 members on Digital Economy

Digital economy has been Indonesia's international agenda even before its G20 presidency. For instance, Indonesia proposed Inclusive Digital Economy Accelerator Hub (IDEA Hub) during the G20 Summit Osaka, Japan in 2019. IDEA Hub becomes a global platform for digital business actors, where unicorn businesses share their experience towards small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Afterwards, Indonesia also proposed the formation of the Digital Economy Working Group (DEWG) during the G20 Summit Italy in 2021. DEWG highlights stronger commitment, legitimacy and institutional arrangements for discussing digital issues.

During its G20 presidency, Indonesia also became the chair in leading the DEWG, which was participated by G20 member states. There are three priority sub-agendas proposed by Indonesia during the forum, which are post covid-19 recovery and connectivity, digital skills and digital literacy, and cross-border data flow and data free flow with trust. Through the DEWG, Indonesia seeks to establish equal access towards digital connectivity by developing communities which provide digital skills training for SMEs as a post-pandemic economic relief effort²⁶.

Additionally, the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology held a digital economy exhibition on 13-17 November 2022 during the G20 Summit in Nusa Dua Convention Center Bali. This exhibition highlighted Indonesia's active participation in digital economy transformation, including e-commerce, finance and trade technology, educational technology, and healthcare technology. Simultaneously, Bank Indonesia (BI) has also held Indonesia Digital Economy and Finance Festival 2022 with the grand theme Advancing Digital Economy and Synergistic and Inclusive Ecosystem for Accelerated Recovery which displayed various products and services on post-pandemic economic relief and digitalization²⁷.

During the G20 Summit in Bali, Indonesia also held meetings with states and businesses to collaborate in digitalizing the global economy. For instance, Indonesia held a bilateral meeting with China to develop both countries' business sectors such as virtual tourism, telemedicine, telecommuting, and online learning²⁸. Indonesia also launched a second-home visa for ASEAN member states, enabling foreign workers and investors in staying for maximum of 10 years in ASEAN countries²⁹. During B20 meeting, Indonesia also discussed the target of Digitalization of small and medium enterprises by 2024. Additionally, Indonesia also proposed that the TIWG expanded to become the Trade, Investment, and Industry Working Group (TIIWG) for collective economic recovery by aligning trade, investment and industry agenda with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Indonesia's Agenda Setting in Promoting Cleaner Energy Transition

To support G20 member states in clean and renewable energy transition, Indonesia held the Energy Transition Working Group (ETWG). There are three issues discussed during the forum, namely countries' access towards clean and renewable energy resources, developing clean and renewable energy, and the cost needed for clean and renewable energy transition. This forum has also produced a roadmap to implement those three key issues³⁰. Through this forum, Indonesia hopes to bridge between develop and developing countries' interest in global clean and renewable energy transition. Therefore, Indonesia invited developing countries' representation in this forum, including Spain, African Union, ASEAN, CARICOM and Pacific Islands Forum which is concerned in combating climate change³¹.

Indonesia's commitment to clean and sustainable energy transition is therefore supported by international organizations. For example, the Indonesian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources has appointed International Energy Agency (IEA) as a strategic advisor during its G20 presidency on energy transition agenda. On the other hand, the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) support energy transition goals and mobilizing financing and investors. Besides that, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP) also support this agenda to help Indonesia and other islands and developing countries in designing an action plan for sustainable energy transition³².

Indonesia is currently the world's top coal exporter and the 8TH biggest carbon emitter. Consequently, Indonesia has established a Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) with the International Partners Group (IPG). The JETP has provided USD 20 Billion for decarbonizing Indonesia's energy sector³³. Through this policy, Indonesia hopes to reach carbon neutrality target by 2060 or sooner. This shows that besides setting agendas on sustainable energy

transition during its G20 presidency, Indonesia is also willing to implement the agenda nationally.

Indonesia's Rulemaking in Formulating the G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration

During its G20 presidency, Indonesia faced challenges in balancing between the developed and developing countries' response towards international issues. In the midst of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Western member states urged Indonesia to ban Russia's participation in the G20 Summit. On the other hand, China and developing countries refused to reject Russia's participation. Nevertheless, Indonesia has managed to invite all member states to the G20 summit, including Russia. Indonesia's G20 Summit has also marked the first meeting between Xi Jinping and Joe Biden³⁴.

Nevertheless, in terms of rulemaking, Indonesia's G20 summit has produced the Bali Leaders' Declaration. Although a declaration cannot yet be considered as an international treaty with legal force, such declaration has not been produced in previous G20 presidencies. The Bali Leaders' Declaration has become a moral basis between G20 member states, to cooperate on the three agendas of global health standard, digitalization of the global economy, and sustainable energy transition in the future. Indonesia hopes that the participants' commitment towards this declaration continues until the next G20 summit in New Delhi³⁵.

Conclusions

This research concludes that Indonesia's G20 presidency has contributed towards global governance in the post-pandemic era in two ways, namely agenda setting and rulemaking. In terms of agenda setting, Indonesia is capable of proposing a criteria of global health standards to anticipate future pandemics; initiate cooperation between G20 member states and businesses to digitalize the global economy for common prosperity; and promote cleaner energy sources for sustainable energy transition. Additionally, in terms of rulemaking, Indonesia's G20 presidency has formulated the G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration, as a moral basis for future G20 cooperation. Even so, there is no mechanism in ensuring the implementation and enforcement of the Bali Leaders' Declaration by the G20 member states. Furthermore, Indonesia is also unable to monitor, evaluate and adjudicate the G20 member states' implementation of the Bali Leaders' Declaration in the next G20 summits throughout the change of G20 presidency.

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