

Indonesia As Representative Of The Global South In G20 Presidency: Return Of Global Solidarity

Indonesia sebagai Perwakilan Dunia Selatan dalam Presidensi G20: Kembalinya Solidaritas Global

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ABSTRACT

The world is facing its biggest crisis since World War II. The COVID-19 pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine have had a devastating impact on the global economy, especially on developing countries. In this context, Indonesia has played a leading role in promoting solidarity and cooperation among developing countries. The objective of this article is to explore Indonesia's role as a representative of the Global South, achieved through South-South Cooperation and its involvement in the G20, aiming to establish solidarity as a basis for post-pandemic international cooperation. The qualitative approach is utilized for this analysis. The Covid-19 pandemic has led to a rise in isolationist policies among countries in their international dealings. The Russian invasion of Ukraine further deepened divisions in global cooperation, with countries aligning either with the Western side or the Russian side, causing significant damage to trust in international cooperation. This situation is likely to disproportionately affect the Global South. Nevertheless, the article reveals that Indonesia has made efforts to promote solidarity-based international cooperation, expanding its approach from South-South Cooperation to a larger stage, the G20. Indonesia's successful 2022 G20 Presidency is seen as an achievement in reinstating a degree of solidarity in international cooperation, particularly through the Bali Declaration.

Kata Kunci : Indonesia, Global South, G20 Presidency, Global Crisis, International Cooperation

ABSTRAK

Dunia sedang menghadapi krisis terbesar sejak Perang Dunia II. Pandemi COVID-19 dan invasi Rusia ke Ukraina telah memberikan dampak yang sangat buruk terhadap perekonomian global, terutama bagi negara-negara berkembang. Dalam konteks ini, Indonesia telah memainkan peran utama dalam mempromosikan solidaritas dan kerja sama di antara negara-negara berkembang. Tujuan dari artikel ini adalah untuk mengeksplorasi peran Indonesia sebagai perwakilan dari Global South, yang dicapai melalui Kerja Sama Selatan-Selatan dan keterlibatannya dalam G20, yang bertujuan untuk membangun solidaritas sebagai dasar kerja sama internasional pascapandemi. Pendekatan kualitatif digunakan untuk analisis ini. Pandemi Covid-19 telah menyebabkan peningkatan kebijakan isolasionis di antara negara-negara dalam hubungan internasional mereka. Invasi Rusia ke Ukraina semakin memperdalam perpecahan dalam kerja sama global, dengan negara-negara yang bersekutu dengan pihak Barat atau pihak Rusia, yang menyebabkan kerusakan signifikan pada kepercayaan dalam kerja sama internasional. Situasi ini kemungkinan besar akan berdampak secara tidak proporsional terhadap negara-negara Selatan. Namun demikian, artikel ini mengungkapkan bahwa Indonesia telah melakukan upaya untuk mempromosikan kerja sama internasional berbasis solidaritas, memperluas pendekatannya dari Kerja Sama Selatan-Selatan ke tingkat yang lebih besar, yaitu G20. Keberhasilan Indonesia menjadi Ketua G20 pada tahun 2022 dipandang sebagai sebuah pencapaian dalam mengembalikan tingkat solidaritas dalam kerja sama internasional, khususnya melalui Deklarasi Bali.

Kata Kunci : Indonesia, Dunia Selatan, Presidensi G20, Krisis Global, Kerja Sama Internasional

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1. INTRODUCTION

At present, the world is facing its most significant crisis since World War II. The global order is plagued by a series of challenges, with the COVID-19 pandemic, which began in 2019, persisting as a major health crisis even into the current year. Even after the decline of covid case and World Health Organization(WHO) downgraded its status from global emergency, the COVID-19 still became global health threats (CBC, 2023; Hensley, 2023). The global health security of nations has been significantly disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic. The inability of countries to effectively handle the pandemic has far-reaching economic consequences worldwide. As a response, many countries have implemented lockdown policies, leading to the closure of economic production within their borders.

The global shutdown of economic production in various countries has led to disruptions in the global supply chain, causing difficulties in distributing goods worldwide. These challenges have led to a rise in commodity prices on a global scale, resulting in a slowdown in the economic performance of countries worldwide, commonly referred to as the global recession during the Covid-19 pandemic (Maital & Barzani, 2020).

The pandemic has wreaked havoc on the existing structure of international collaboration. Previously, all countries had promised to work together to address global concerns under the implementation of the 2030 Agenda's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Cooperation in terms of financial and knowledge transfer was required among undeveloped, developing, and developed countries. However, the finance strategy to fulfill the 2030 Agenda was hampered because usual donor countries had to reassess their expenditures as a result of the pandemic. This resulted in both domestic and international political well as economic uncertainty. Furthermore, countries' commitment to contribute to the achievement of the SDGs has remained relatively low (Hermawan, 2020).

Adding to the complexity, the global crisis caused by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic faced a new challenge with the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This exacerbated worldwide collaboration. Ukraine and Russia play critical roles in the global supply chain, with Ukraine supplying wheat and Russia containing significant oil and gas reserves. Both countries are major actors in commodity trading, such as sunflower seed oil, nickel, and corn (Ngoc et al., 2022).

As a response to the invasion, other countries, particularly in the West, imposed sanctions on Russia, which in turn retaliated. These measures expanded the impact of the war, leading to further disruptions in supply chains and additional inflationary increases (Orhan, 2022; Ozili, 2022). Unfortunately, these sanctions proved ineffective in stopping the war and instead exacerbated global uncertainty (Zulfa, Arisanto, & Mahadana, 2022).

The combination of these crises has taken a toll on the global south, where the idiom "when it rains, it pours" aptly applies. The direct impact of rising commodity prices has affected the economic growth of the countries involved, hindering their efforts toward sustainable development and exacerbating existing inequalities in international cooperation (Allam, Bibri, & Sharpe, 2022).

One approach to tackle these issues is by enhancing international cooperation. The G20 serves as a global platform and regime for international financial collaboration, stemming from an initiative that originated from the G7 agreement. In 1999, during a meeting of G7 finance ministers, they opted to come up with an informal framework to dialogue among strategically important economies. This led to the inclusion of financial ministers and central bank governors from these countries, giving rise to the G20 forum as we know it today. The forum's formation was prompted by the Asian financial crisis, which emphasized the need for dialogue between developing and developed nations to foster stability in the global economic system (CNN Indonesia, 2022).

The G20's significant control over the global economy makes it a reliable forum with a capability to exercise its claims by influence the direction of global economic policy. Its membership includes a diverse range of countries, both developed and developing, from the north and south. This is supported by the G20's ability to bring together the heads of the IMF and the World Bank, enabling the agreements reached in this forum to be swiftly implemented in global economic governance policies (Hermawan, 2012).

On the other hand, the Indonesian government has played a role as a donor country in the South-South Cooperation (SSC) forum, collaborating with other developing nations. Indonesia, with its free and active foreign policy approach, is committed to shaping policy collaboration and coordination among SSC member countries to achieve a robust, dynamic, and sustainable global economic system (Aisyah, Ardiawan, & Bachtiar, 2021).

As one of the developing countries, Indonesia adheres to the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which mandates an increased role in international development cooperation. Through South-South Cooperation (SSC), Indonesia's contributions primarily involve providing services and technical assistance rather than financial aid. This approach aims to minimize negative impacts, such as skill gaps in recipient communities and reducing the risk of dependency on financial assistance from other countries (Dzikri, 2020).

I contend that Indonesia's focus on sustainable development has the potential to foster global solidarity. By promoting this approach within the diverse G20 forum, Indonesia can play a crucial role in strengthening international cooperation. This redefined spirit of cooperation prioritizes common interests and sustainable development, ensuring that the collaboration landscape introduced by the Global South endures in the long term. Such solidarity are hoped to be a pillar in facing global crises. For this purpose, this article formulates the question "how is Indonesia's role in the Global South able to encourage the idea of solidarity in global cooperation?". In this article, I will examine Indonesia's role through its participation in G20 and South-South Cooperation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Indonesia's Conception in Global Affairs

Indonesia, an archipelago historically colonized by various great powers like the VOC, the Dutch Empire, and the Japanese Empire, is a multi-ethnic nation with distinct characteristics and regions. The nation-building process in Indonesia involves integrating diverse ethnic groups and regions under a common national identity, unified through the concept of Pancasila within a unitary state structure. The priority in this nation-building process is to focus on welfare and improve the quality of life (Goodman & Peng, 1996; Waghid, 2009; Kpressa, Béland, & Lecours, 2011; Saad, 2012).

The relationship between power, identity, interests, and norms in Indonesia is complex and not easily captured by a single paradigm (Bartley, 2011; Situmorang, Trilaksono, & Japutra, 2019; Hadiz & Robison, 2013; Wicaksana, 2018). This article aims to place Indonesia within the context of being a developing country or part of the global south, which influences Indonesia's conception to global affairs today. Since gaining its independence, Indonesia has sought to play a significant role in the global world by participating in establishing a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice (Fitriani, 2022).

Indonesia has accomplished this by actively engaging in forums in which it regards itself as a vital actor and stabilizing influence, such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the G20. However, this does not mean that Indonesia wishes to dominate

policymaking; rather, it seeks to play a dignified central position. It is critical for Indonesia's understanding of international relations to emphasize its relatively pragmatic approach as a mediator, particularly in developing connections with countries outside of these forums (Sebastian & Lanti, 2009).

The interaction between international relations actors in achieving national interests has always been the basis for action. In the modern era of global competition, all countries are trying their best to improve their position in increasingly competitive global interactions, include Indonesia. To fulfill the need for this interaction, Indonesia has develop it's own foreign policy. The implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy is not far from the national constitution, namely Pancasila, the Constitution 1945 and its derivative rules. Indonesia's foreign policy is based on principle of free and active (Sukma, 1995) and some further expand it into proactive and cooperative model (Fathun & Gideon, 2023). Thus, Indonesia's foreign policy are directed for peaceful coexistence where all countries can pursue their national interests in world affairs (Umar, 2023).

The principle of free and active foreign policy can be traced back to Indonesian first Vice-President, Mohammad Hatta in his famous 1948 speech which formulates three principles: the linkage between foreign policy and domestic politics, a rational and realistic approach to foreign policy, and specific conceptions of national interest as a foreign policy objective. With the changing of global geopolitical context in the 21st century, Hatta's "rowing between two reefs" has become important guide for Indonesia in its international role. In fact, the principles has been used continuously from Sukarno to Joko Widodo with different style (Laode & Gideon, 2023). Here, as in Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar's work where he revisited Hatta's speech, Indonesia need to recontextualized such principles with the current global situation. He emphasize, there is need to comprehensively assess Indonesia's participation in any international cooperation that involves great politics and analyze the long-term implications (Laksmana & Alexandra, 2022). Indonesia can be said to interpret its foreign policy as a form of persuasive policy implementation. Therefore, Indonesia's view of international relations is to seek mutually beneficial friends among international relations actors.

B. Global South as Paradigm

In general, the phrase "Global South" is associated with terms such as "third world" and "periphery," which refer to countries with a lesser level of prosperity than those in the northern part of the world (Winanti, 2021). In academic studies, the term 'the Global South' is used to construct a country's identity, stressing geopolitical power ties rather than reflecting development levels. This concept emphasizes inequity in global political economy connections and the persisting North-South relationship after the colonial era, asking for improvements through the New International Economic Order (NIEO), which is associated with the anti-colonial spirit of the Bandung Conference. The NIEO's demand for better global political economy governance, prioritizing the interests of the Global South, gained traction during the 1973 oil crisis.

Unlike conception of global south in the past, globalization has contributed to economic growth in developing countries, empowering them for greater and sustainable economic cooperation with other developing nations. To ensure continued South-South Cooperation (SSC) development, several conditions are necessary, including a new conceptual framework to understand SSC under evolving contexts, addressing suspicions in developing countries toward leading countries in the South, committing to national institutions, providing adequate financing and international support, and having leaders with global vision and South-South Cooperation commitment; for nnual SSC reports; for support within the UN System and other international organizations (Gray & Gills, 2016).

The Global South's primary objective is emancipation through deconstructing the historically established core-periphery divide as well as ending the centuries-long perpetuation of power and wealth accumulation in the Western capitalist structure. This is accomplished through establishing binding institutional structures, legal systems, and redistributive procedures that apply to all countries.

From within the global capitalist system, the re-emerging South seeks to obtain a voice and redefine the international hierarchy (Golub, 2013).

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) demonstrate emancipation. The SDGs represent a transformative vision that gives an umbrella for appropriately tackling essential development challenges in methods that the MDGs cannot do. For the first time, the SDGs, articulated and backed by the Global South, define development as a universal goal, upending the long-standing division between donor and recipient countries (Caballero, 2019).

Through negotiation and consensus building, the effective adoption of the SDGs as the global agenda for 2030 is an emancipatory initiative from the global south to break free from the prison of being a peripheral country. This is further exemplified by the SDGs' "no one left behind" attitude and spirit, which prohibits any discrimination of state status in SDG implementation, promoting inclusion in their implementation. South-South Cooperation (SSC) was also established by the Global South. SSC is a sort of development cooperation in which the values of solidarity, equality, and mutual benefit are promoted. As a result, the South's proposed development and collaboration will be interpreted as sustainable in this article.

3. METHOD

This research article employs a qualitative research approach to examine Indonesia's involvement in G20 cooperation and South-South cooperation. The study revolves around two central concepts: the Indonesian Approach to International Relations and the Global South Paradigm. While there are varying perspectives on how Indonesia perceives and engages in global affairs, the author focuses on Hatta's formulation of 'free' and 'active' as the guiding principles for Indonesia's engagement in international relations.

The concept of 'free' and 'active' was initially introduced to describe Indonesia's strategic positioning between two major powers during the Cold War. Even for current situation, it is used in the context of United States-China rivalry. However, the author try extends these principles to emphasize Indonesia's identity as a significant actor in global politics, particularly as a member of the Global South. By embracing the Global South paradigm, the research narrows its focus to investigate Indonesia's role and activeness as a southern country in international cooperation, particularly within the contexts of G20 and South-South Cooperation.

To achieve its objectives, the research primarily relies on a literature study based on secondary data sources. These sources include books, journal articles, news articles, and other relevant materials. By utilizing existing scholarly works and reputable publications, the research aims to provide a comprehensive description and exploration of Indonesia's positioning as a global south in international cooperation, specifically within the G20 and South-South forums.

The G20, comprising major economies, is a crucial platform for global economic governance, and Indonesia's participation in this forum allows it to engage with developed nations and shape international economic policies. On the other hand, South-South cooperation involves collaboration among developing countries to address common challenges and promote mutual development. Indonesia's involvement in this realm further highlights its commitment to advocating for the interests of the Global South.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. *Effectiveness of G20*

The failure of the G7 to find solutions to the world's economic problems at the time led to the establishment of the G20. At the initiative of G7 members to bring together rich and developing countries to address challenges, particularly those affecting Asia, Russia, and Latin America, the G20 was established in 1999. The mission of the G20 is to achieve strong global growth, strong, sustainable, balanced, and inclusive global growth.

The G20 regime's effectiveness was put to the test during two global crises: the 2008 financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic. During the 2008 financial crisis, there was a significant shift in the G20's sustainability in managing global economic governance. Notably that since 2008, the G20 summit has been held by heads of government, a notable elevation from previous meetings that were mostly only at the ministerial level. This change reinforces the G20's importance as a regime responsible for global economic governance.

The G20's reaction towards the 2008 financial crisis was widely considered successful as it addressed significant concerns that surfaced during that time (Utami, 2016). The establishment of the Financial Stability Board (FSB) as an extension of the Financial Stability Forum (FSF) to reform the IMF exemplifies this effectiveness. Following the 2008 financial crisis, the G20 published three communiqués: the Washington communiqué, the London communiqué, and the Pittsburgh communiqué. These communiqués outlined five principles that will serve as the framework for the G20's approach to global crisis management, while also reiterating the G20's commitment to avoiding protectionism. The principles include increasing openness and accountability, improving appropriate regulation, promoting financial market integrity, fostering international cooperation, and reforming International Financial Institutions (Taufik et al., 2018).

Although the G20's handling of the 2008 crisis was good, the author would like to note the reform of financial institutions. This reform should create a commitment to make the world's financial institutions beneficial to developing countries. The author argues that the G20, which claims to be the key to the direction of global economic governance policies, needs to pay attention to developing countries and poor countries. This is because the impact of agreements made in this regime is not only on G20 member countries, but also non-member countries (Hermawan, 2012).

In handling the COVID-19 crisis, the author argues that the G20 has been effective in creating global economic governance. Although countries carry out inward-looking policies, this can be said to be reasonable in times of crisis as long as countries continue to make efforts to stay connected to each other. Then, the G20 has consistently carried out international measures in dealing with the crisis (Astuti, 2020). This shows the existence of the G20 as a regime that harmonizes national interests with the behavior patterns of countries in creating a climate of cooperation has been effective.

B. *Indonesia Within G20*

Indonesia perceives the G20 as an economic diplomatic tool to help it achieve its goals. So far, Indonesia's dedication and sincerity can be shown in its commitment to developing economic growth policies at the G20. Since taking office, President Joko Widodo has never missed a G20 summit. This demonstrates Joko Widodo's view of the G20 as a strategic platform for achieving Indonesia's national objectives (Astuti & Fathun, 2020).

Furthermore, the G20 can boost state revenue optimization and strengthen the government's fiscal perspective. Infrastructure development became a significant priority item during the G20, attracting the attention of President Joko Widodo. Infrastructure development is regarded as critical to promoting economic growth, alleviating poverty, and creating jobs (Larasati & Natasya, 2017). This demonstrates

the significance of the G20 to Indonesia. The G20 has a significant impact not only on the worldwide economy but also on the Indonesian economy (Putri, 2020).

Recognizing role of Indonesia who is the leader in the ASEAN region supports Indonesian capability to participate on a global scale, particularly the G20 (The Jakarta Post, 2021). In 2008, Indonesia played a major role in the G20 by proposing the General Expenditure Support Fund (GESF). The GESF facilitates access to liquidity financing from international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The primary goal of this idea is to aid infrastructure development, particularly in underdeveloped countries. At the G20 summit in Los Cabos in 2012, Indonesia expanded on this suggestion by developing the Financial Inclusion Peer Learning Program (Utami et al., 2015).

In 2010, Indonesia backed the reconstruction of the IMF through the Seoul Consensus, so that voting power is distributed in favor of developing nations. At the 2018 G20 conference in Buenos Aires, Indonesia unveiled three long-term investment strategies. (1) stable and secure public policies, (2) image building, and (3) management of political risks that emerge regularly in developing countries. In this context, Indonesia envisioned IDEA Hub as a digital business platform that will assist MSMEs at the 2019 G20 meeting in Osaka (Astuti & Fathun, 2020). Focusing at Indonesia's involvement in the G20, I suggest that the duty of bringing the economic interests of southern countries into the G20 falls on Indonesia.

C. Indonesia's Efforts to Build Solidarity in the Global South

Indonesia's influence cannot be isolated from the spirit of the Global South. As confirmed by the Bandung Conference in 1955, Indonesia has actively acted as a center of collaboration among the global south since its independence. The spirit of the Bandung Conference has grown so engrained in Indonesian foreign policy that it occasionally seems continuous. SSC has been incorporated in Indonesia's National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) since 2010, with the goal of strengthening Indonesia's position in international development cooperation forums (Abdurachman & Prakoso, 2017). The spirit of the Bandung Conference is being reinforced in Indonesia through alliance formation with other countries in the global south.

Indonesia utilizes South-South Cooperation (SSC) to advance its foreign interests and expand diplomatic relations in international affairs. SSC holds significant strategic importance for Indonesia's foreign policy, aligning with the mandate of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. It has proven instrumental in safeguarding state sovereignty by countering threats like the internationalization of domestic separatism issues. Moreover, Indonesia recognizes the growing relevance of SSC as a 'win-win solution' that enhances global welfare. The country views SSC as a mutually beneficial form of cooperation, benefiting not only Indonesia but also its partner countries. Indonesia's emphasis on capacity-building programs rather than direct financial assistance reflects its vision for the development of the global south, promoting self-reliance and reducing dependence on foreign donors. By prioritizing programs that steer clear of direct financial assistance, Indonesia demonstrates its commitment to establishing sustainable initiatives (Pujayanti, 2016).

The southern countries are always severely affected by the global crises. As a result, the SSC's unity must be enhanced. To boost development cooperation among southern countries, the Global South must band together. SSC offers solidarity-based solutions, which are crucial in supporting developing countries in increasing collective resilience and encouraging more sustainable and equitable economic growth. This solidarity must be strengthened by bolder collaboration among southern countries. In the current era, SSC should be enhanced on the basis of 'interest-based Third World Solidarity' (Winanti & Alvian, 2021). It is critical for the global south to express solidarity in changing global governance in order to achieve long-term and sustainable collaboration (UNCTAD, 2022). This solidarity-based cooperation must be established in order to shift from the previous conception of power hierarchy.

Southern countries implement South-South Cooperation (SSC) in diverse ways within their policies. However, these approaches can generally be categorized into two patterns. The first pattern involves substantial investments in development, exemplified by initiatives like China's Belt and Road Initiative, as well as programs from India and Brazil that channel significant foreign funds (Dye, 2022). The second pattern, followed by countries like Indonesia, focuses on relatively smaller amounts of funding but emphasizes capacity building. In this scenario, I propose that Indonesia should be taking a leadership position in boosting SSC solidarity, embracing a *de facto* role as the leader of the global south. SSC has become an essential component of Indonesian foreign politics, with the country already establishing over 700 programmes in the form of workshops and training sessions (Pujayanti, 2016).

Although India, Brazil, and China appear to be more promising in terms of political and economic strength, Indonesia has been more consistent in fostering cooperative solidarity in the global south. Brazil's challenge as the global south's leader has always been in its domestic political turbulence, especially in recent years. The growth of deep populism in Brazil, as well as conflicts with regional partners such as Cuba as well as Brazil's withdrawal from the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), further demonstrate the country's political instability in international politics (Roy, 2022).

India and China are in a similar predicament. Despite the fact that both nations are significant contributors for the economic development in the global south, the border dispute between India and China has become a common issue in regional dynamics (Biswas, 2022). If one of them takes the lead, the disagreements between the two countries will almost surely make it harder to establish stronger unity and solidarity.

On the other hand, Indonesia has no substantial domestic, regional, or international difficulties concerning the formation of global south cooperation. Since the formation of the global south, Indonesia has continually developed a better South-South Cooperation framework through National Medium-Term Development Planning (RPJMN). Under the aegis of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Indonesia has even built mechanisms for greater institutionalization through the South-South Cooperation Coordination Team (SSCCT) and developed a South-South Cooperation Master Plan and Blueprint. MoFA also created a standard operational procedure (SOP) for the assessment mechanism of capacity-building initiatives, which Indonesia uses to determine the efficacy of its foreign aid (Rozy, 2020).

The willingness of Indonesia reinforces the prior claim that Indonesia should assume the role of South-South Cooperation leader. Indonesia can encourage the mechanism's strengthening through intra-SSC coordination, which strives to establish consensus and stimulate knowledge exchange, institutional strengthening, and the sharing of good governance practices (De Renzio & Seifert, 2014). While there is no magic solution to global problems, strong solidarity across the global south can provide a valuable framework for dealing with a wide range of global concerns, particularly considering the effects of the global crisis on global south countries.

Indonesia recognizes that a single country's efforts alone cannot address global issues. To combat it, there must be a global effort. One effort Indonesia can make is to develop integrated policies that call for reforms in international financial institutions, for instance transforming International Monetary Fund quotas to become more 'friendly' to economic growth among developing countries and urging the IMF to stop applying 'one size fits all' policies (Putri, 2022).

D. Indonesia's G20 2022 Presidency

The situation of the global south promotes a yearning for resistance to inequality and an alternative power structure. The present situation is considered as the product of power dynamics that ignore variations in the global south's access to and influence over international political economy resources.

The global south's political economy emphasizes the significance of implementing development strategies within global power relations. Indonesia is a G20 developing country that is always advocating for the good of those in the developing world in the pursuit of global stability and sustainability. The history of Indonesia's role in the G20 may be seen on occasion, giving reason to hope that Indonesia will host the G20 in 2022 (Imannulloh & Rijal, 2022).

As a result of the COVID-19 epidemic, the world is in the midst of a multi-sectoral crisis. The G20 is regarded to be capable of encouraging global recovery as a forum that brings together the world's political and economic powers. "Recover Together, Recover Stronger" is the theme of Indonesia's G20 presidency in 2022 (Kemlu RI, 2022). The subject is consistent with Indonesia's desire for global solidarity. The G20 presidency of Indonesia can promote international cooperation in the face of global issues.

The G20 Bali Leaders Declaration agreed on five main points, including the encouragement of rapid response in macroeconomic policy implementation, the protection of macroeconomic and financial stability, the promotion of food and energy security and market stability, investment commitment to developing countries, and the acceleration of SDGs (Tempo, 2022). Furthermore, with the establishment of the Pandemic Fund, which provides a financial structure for dealing with looming pandemics, Indonesia's G20 Presidency has succeeded in tempting the international community to envision a world with equitable growth (Antara News, 2022).

The diplomatic efforts of the Indonesian government were successful in persuading the other G20 nations that Indonesia is a reliable partner seeking to resolve issues. As G20 President, Indonesia has demonstrated its ability to guide the other G20 members in tackling global issues, fostering groundbreaking international cooperation, and maintaining the G20's integrity. The 52 points of the Bali G20 Leaders Declaration, which were developed through negotiation, demonstrate this (Antara News, 2022). This underlines once further Indonesia's dedication to furthering the interests of southern nations.

5. CONCLUSION

The onset of the world crisis has shown how urgently nations must work together. Unfortunately, hierarchical-materialistic cooperation, like that between the North and the South, is easily constrained because the North will occasionally halt aid to suit its own needs.

In this article, I argue that Indonesia stands a better chance than other nations of leading the global south. The adoption of non-hierarchical methods and stability are important differentiators. Through the implementation of coordinated policies among southern nations and the reform of global financial organizations like the IMF, Indonesia has made progress. Potentially, this could promote a spirit of solidarity in global cooperation.

An even larger international conference, the G20, is where Indonesia also expresses its solidarity. In addition to being affected by a pandemic, Indonesia who has held the G20 presidency under unusual circumstances that make it difficult for negotiations to proceed. These circumstances include the fact that Russia has invaded Ukraine. Here, Indonesia has been successful in establishing solidarity as the cornerstone of global cooperation through the Bali Declaration, which got the world to agree to solve common problems.

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