

INDONESIAN PRESIDENCY AT THE G20 FORUM (Review of International Political Economy Perspectives)

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Abstract: This paper analyses the Indonesian Presidency at the G20 forum. The question is how Indonesia can hold a meeting in a situation where member countries conflict due to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In addition, the tug-of-war interests of major G20 member countries. Nevertheless, the G20 Presidency reaffirmed Indonesia's leadership in diplomacy and economy in the region as the only ASEAN country member of the G20. In addition, it is also a building image of Indonesia's economic resilience to its main crisis during the Covid-19 pandemic. This research uses the perspective of international political economy because of the influence of politics on meetings that are purely economic forums. The qualitative approach in this study focuses on analysis based on a series of meetings starting from Working Groups, Ministerial Meetings until later in November 2022. The Indonesian government mobilized all track diplomacy starting from track 1, G to G countries, and public diplomacy to the city level to succeed in the G20 Summit in Bali. The conclusion found that the interrelationship between the economic and political fields cannot be separated in implementing a country's diplomacy in bilateral and multilateral relations.

Keywords: G20 presidency, international political economy, multi-track diplomacy

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INTRODUCTION

The G20 meeting in Bali in November 2022 will be a phenomenal meeting because it takes place at a time when the international world is attended by countries in conflict; Russia's invasion of Ukraine and America's new era of strategic competition vis China (Saputra & Ali, 2021). Quoting the results of the Rand Corporation study (Bank Indonesia, 2022).

The bilateral competitions with Russia and China have many elements—military, economic, and geopolitical (Dikarev, 2020). But, particularly with respect to China, they represent most fundamentally an effort to shape the dominant rules, norms, and institutions of the international system. This suggests, among other things, that the United States could remain the predominant military power yet see its standing in the competition lag if it loses influence over the international order. Ensuring U.S. competitive advantage demands greater attention to non-military aspects of the contest, especially the domains of information and economic statecraft (Reilly, 2021).

This statement illustrates that America will continue to implement a foreign policy that dominates the international world order with military force while ensuring US competitive advantage. Non-military aspects, particularly the information domain and state economic governance(Biden Jr, 2020). Competition between America and China, especially in the economic field, is increasingly fierce with the American-China Trade War that began in 2018 in the era of Donald Trump. In addition, mutual accusations regarding information leakage through the Tik Tok application and barriers to chip import exports from China to America(Williams & Center, 2020).

In the midst of a complicated situation of the U.S. vs. China competition, coupled with Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the G20 summit is even more heated. In the immediate aftermath of the invasion, the US and its allies imposed sanctions on Russia. While the Chinese alliance Russia generates indirect Chinese support for the Russia-Ukraine conflict by rejecting Russia's actions as an invasion and making statements "there would be 'no limits' and 'no wavering' in their friendship." (CNN, February 2022; The New York Times, March 2022b).

Indonesia's G20 Presidency

G20 or Group of Twenty is an international economic cooperation forum formed in 1999 at the desire of G7 member countries (the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan) which were considered unsuccessful in finding solutions to the global financial crisis in 1998-1999. At that time several parties invited developing countries and developed countries to discuss and find solutions to the global financial crisis(Al-Fadhat, 2022).

Referring to its history, the G20 was originally a meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors. In its development, it has expanded with discussions in various fields of development. Since 2008, the G20 has also begun to present Heads of State in summit meetings. On November 14-15, 2008, U.S. President George W. Bush invited leaders of G20 countries to the G20 Summit for the first time. The meeting was held to coordinate negotiations in dealing with the impact of the financial crisis that was currently occurring in the United States(Hajnal, 2019).

On that occasion, the leaders of the G20 countries agreed to hold a follow-up meeting. On 1-2 April 2009, London hosted the second G20 Summit (Presidency) under the coordination of British Prime Minister Gordon Brown. The third G20 summit was held again in Pittsburgh on September 24-25, 2009, under the coordination of United States President Barack Obama(Farr, 2022).

It then continued at the fourth G20 Summit held in Toronto on June 26-27, 2010 under the coordination of Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper. In the same year, the Seoul Summit also held a meeting with Korean President Lee Myung-Bak as its leader on November 11-12, 2010. Since then, the G20 has become an increasingly prestigious global forum. Then the next summit was held consecutively in Cannes, France (2011); Los Cabos, Mexico (2012); St. Petersburg, Russia (2013); Brisbane, Australia (2014); Antalya,

Turkey (2015); Hangzhou, China (2016); Hamburg, Germany (2017); Buenos Aires, Argentina (2018); Osaka, Japan (2019); Rome, Italy (2020)(Slaughter, 2019).

The G20 multilateral forum does not have a permanent secretariat or chair, but rather a presidency function held by one of its member countries alternately, for one year. The G20 represents the world's economic and political power, with its members accounting for 80% of world GDP, 75% of global exports, and 60% of the global population. The G20 is an international forum that focuses on policy coordination in the economic and development fields. The G20 Forum is one of the forums that can influence and determine the direction of world economic policy(Den Elzen et al., 2019).

Indonesia itself is considered as a member of the G20 because of its role as an initiator in forming the ASEAN regional economic organization. In handling the 1998 economic crisis, Indonesia was considered to be able to overcome these conditions well. From this, Indonesia is the only ASEAN country that is a member of the G20 forum which also plays a role in the recovery of world health and economy. Indonesia's membership in the G20 forum is also a bridge for the economic interests of other ASEAN countries.

Indonesia's G20 Presidency in 2022 is the first to join the G20 since the international forum was formed in 1999. Indonesia is considered an emerging economy with enormous economic potential in the Asian region. In this regard, Indonesia is ranked 10th in the list of Purchasing Power Parity among G20 members. Indonesia is also considered a New Established Emerging Market with a GDP above US \$ 1 trillion.

Indonesia's G20 Presidency 2020 has the theme "Recover Together, Recover Stronger". This theme was chosen by Indonesia, considering the world that is still under pressure due to the COVID-19 pandemic, so a joint and inclusive effort is needed to find solutions or solutions to world recovery(Simatupang & Panggabean, 2022). The Indonesian Presidency focuses on three priority sectors that are considered to be key to a strong and sustainable recovery, namely First, Strengthening the global health architecture. Reflecting on the ongoing pandemic, the global health architecture will be strengthened. Not only to overcome the current pandemic, but also to prepare the world to have better responsiveness and capacity to face other health crises in the future.

Second, Digital transformation. Digital transformation is one of the main solutions in driving the economy during the pandemic, and has become one of the new sources of economic growth. For this reason, the Indonesian Presidency will focus on improving digital skills and digital literacy to ensure inclusive digital transformation enjoyed by all countries.

Third, Energy transition. To ensure a sustainable and green future and address climate change in real terms, the Indonesian Presidency encourages the energy transition to new and renewable energy by prioritizing energy security, accessibility and affordability.

The Indonesian Presidency also invites guest countries and international organizations (invitees) to participate based on the principle of inclusivity. President Joko Widodo emphasized that inclusivity is a priority of Indonesia's leadership in the G20, to realize "leave no one behind". The intended vision is that the G20 Presidency can benefit all parties, including developing countries, small island states, and vulnerable groups, and not only for the benefit of G20 members themselves.

In its implementation, Indonesia also pays great attention to developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, including small island countries in the Pacific and the Caribbean. Reflection on the spirit of inclusiveness provides a broader representation to the G20. In

its implementation, there are 9 (nine) invited countries to the G20 Presidency of Indonesia, namely Spain, Chair of the African Union, Chair of the African Union Development Agency-NEPAD (AU-NEPAD), Chair of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Netherlands, Singapore, United Arab Emirates, Chair of The Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and Chair of the Pacific Island Forum (PIF).

In addition, there are also 10 invited international organizations, viz Asian Development Bank (ADB), Financial Stability Board (FSB), International Labour Organization (ILO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Islamic Development Bank (IsDB), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank, World Health Organization (WHO), World Trade Organization (WTO), dan United Nations (UN) (Berger et al., 2019).

In the G20 there are two pillars of discussion, namely the financial pillar called the Finance Track; the second is the Sherpa Track pillar which discusses non-financial economic and development issues. Each pillar in question has working groups called Working Groups.

In every discussion of the G20 forum, there are two main economic issues, namely the Finance Track and Sherpa Track. The Finance Track comprises financial issues such as fiscal, monetary and real policies, infrastructure investment, financial regulation, financial inclusion and international taxation. While the Sherpa Track discusses issues other than finance such as the digital economy, sustainable energy, trade, investment, environment, socio-culture, and so on. Especially in the discussion of Sherpa Track, three types of meetings were held with the aim of making the discussion more detailed and focused.

The three types of meetings are working groups, engagement groups, and ministerial meetings. In addition to the two tracks above, there are also Engagement Groups, which are 10 community groups of various professionals, which raise various topics of discussion. Each Engagement Group has an important role to play in the global recovery, especially through concrete ideas and targeted policy recommendations for G20 leaders. Indonesia's G20 Presidency scheduled more than 180 main series of activities, including Engagement Groups meetings, Working Groups Meetings, Deputies/Sherpa Level Meetings, Ministerial Meetings, to Heads of State Meetings (Summits) in Bali. The series of activities of the Indonesian Presidency are spread across more than 20 cities in Indonesia. The 1st Sherpa Meeting in Jakarta on December 7-8, 2021 became the inaugural meeting of Indonesia's G20 Presidency.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach. The Indonesian Presidency starting December 2021 consists of a series of meetings both at the Working Groups, Ministerial and Deputies Meeting levels until finally leading to the G20 Summit in November 2022. The data taken mainly through library research obtained from various sources through the results of previous studies, official websites, and official publications from related institutions, both national and international related to the Indonesian Presidency at the G20 Summit. In addition, web sources and interviews are published through you tube.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Indonesia's diplomacy at the G20 Presidency **has 2** major challenges, multi-dimensional crises and rivalries, namely first, in the midst of the Covid pandemic where economic growth is still slow. Second, Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Both of these can be obstacles to the Indonesian Presidency if the government does not get alternative policies so that the summit meeting will succeed successfully.

A peaceful world is the foundation for global cooperation, without security guarantees global cooperation will be difficult to run smoothly. Therefore, the top priority of multilaterals cooperation is the peace agenda and stopping wars.

The priority pillars of the G20 presidency include first, increasing productivity for economic recovery. Second, building a resilient post-pandemic world economy. Third, ensure inclusive and sustainable growth. Fourth, create a conducive environment and partnership with stakeholders. Fifth, global collective leadership to strengthen solidarity. Sixth, agreement on world peace and constructive measures to stop the war.

Indonesia is a peace-loving country as stated in the preamble to the 45th Constitution, this is evidenced by the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement during the Asian-African Conference with the Bandung Declaration. In addition, as one of the founders of the Association of South East Asian Nation (ASEAN) organization of countries in the Southeast Asian region.

Spectrum debate

Referring to its history, the G20 is a forum for economic cooperation among developed countries as shown in the following picture.



From the picture, it can be seen that the G20 seeks to provide solutions to resolve the 2008 monetary crisis.

The Covid-19 pandemic has forced countries to formulate a global economic recovery agenda, support each other to recover together and grow stronger and more sustainable. The pandemic has made each country rethink the importance of stability and sustainability of energy supply to meet the strategic needs and efforts of the global community to get through the crisis, especially in developing and developed countries.

The picture above also shows the active response of the G20 in an effort to find a solution to the pandemic by holding the G20 Extraordinary Leader Summit in March and November 2020 in Saudi Arabia. The result of this meeting was commitment "to use all available policy tools to maintain market stability," we commit to ensure that the energy sector continues to make a full, effective contribution to overcoming COVID-19 and powering the subsequent global recovery. We commit to work together in the spirit of solidarity on immediate, concrete actions to address these issues in a time of unprecedented international emergency.

The G20 Rome also focused on recovering from the covid 19 pandemic by producing a Leaders Declaration consisting of 61 paragraphs and covering 26 issues describing economic challenges.

In the G20 Presidency, Indonesia wants the G20 to lead the world, in working together to overcome climate change and manage the environment sustainably with concrete actions,

However, Russia's invasion of Ukraine made G20 countries reformulate the global recovery agenda that was stagnant due to the covid 19 pandemic. G20 member countries are divided into two groups with Western countries under the leadership of the US supporting Ukraine, while China maintains close ties with Russia.

The breakup of G20 members in 2 main groups in Russia's invasion of Ukraine will be one of the obstacles in formulating the G20 Declaration at the summit later. This split has an impact not only on European countries but also on negotiations among G20 members. Indonesia is trying to balance relations among major powers in advocating several agendas, especially those related to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Indonesia was among 141 countries that condemned Russia's attack on Ukraine during the UN General Assembly Resolution vote on March 4, 2022.

This year, we have also witnessed the war in Ukraine further adversely impact the global economy. There was a discussion on the issue. We reiterated our national positions as expressed in other fora, including the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly, which, in Resolution No. ES-11/1 dated 2 March 2022, as adopted by majority vote (141 votes for, 5 against, 35 abstentions, 12 absent) deplores in the strongest terms the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine and demands its complete and unconditional withdrawal from the territory of Ukraine. Most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine and stressed it is causing immense human suffering and exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy - constraining growth, increasing inflation, disrupting supply chains, heightening energy and food insecurity, and elevating financial stability risks. There were other views and different assessments of the situation and sanctions. Recognizing that the G20 is not the forum to resolve security issues, we acknowledge that security issues can have significant consequences for the global economy.

The above quote states that economics and politics (defence, security) are inseparable. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has brought about a new phenomenon that there is intense competition in an economic cooperation forum, and the long-term implications of the war remain unclear.

Jokowi's visit to Russia and Ukraine can actually be a momentum for increasing Indonesia's role in the international world as a peace-loving country. Indonesia can offer proposals to both Russia and Ukraine to stop the war, especially if it is linked to the G20 summit in November 2022. Among the public, there is hope that the G20 Meeting can result in a commitment from the Russian Federation to end the war with Ukraine. But unfortunately it did not happen because "maybe" Russia has not received a definite commitment from Ukraine not to become a member of NATO, which many observers have. is the main reason Russia attacked Ukraine with security considerations of its country which is directly adjacent to Ukraine (Ambassador Aiyub, 2022).

Refer to conflict resolution, "It is essential to uphold international law and the multilateral system that safeguards peace and stability. This includes defending all the Purposes and Principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and adhering to international humanitarian law, including the protection of civilians and infrastructure in armed conflicts. The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is inadmissible. The peaceful resolution of conflicts, efforts to address crises, as well as diplomacy and dialogue, are vital. Today's era must not be of war."

The resolution of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine cannot be done optimally through the UN in relation to Russia which is also the UN Security Council. "The Russia-Ukraine conflict not only threatens international peace and security order but also challenges Indonesia's G20 presidency as Russian Vladimir Putin gets invited to attend the summit".

Referring to game theory, Russia should not come to the G20 summit because of the following:

1. It is not worth a leader to leave his country at war.
2. If some members boycott G20 meetings in protest at Russian involvement, the group will be greatly weakened.
3. Controversy over Russian participation could blight the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Thailand and the East Asia Summit in Cambodia
4. ASEAN will continue to be divided over the Ukraine situation.

Oxford Analytica (2022), "Russia issue will complicate Indonesia's G20 plans", [Expert Briefings](#)

However, at the G20 Presidency, Indonesia deployed all diplomatic tracks, starting from track 1; Government. Track 3 – Business, or Peace-making through Commerce. This is the field of business through the provision of economic opportunities, international friendship. Track 4 – Private Citizen, or Peace-making through Personal Involvement. This includes the various ways that individual citizens become involved in peace and development activities through citizen diplomacy, exchange programs, private voluntary organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and special interest groups. Track 9 – Communications and the Media, or Peace-making through Information. This is the realm of the voice of the people: how public opinion gets shaped and expressed by the media-print, film, video, radio, electronic systems, the arts. The system requires all tracks to eventually work together to build a peace process that will last.

DISCUSSION

Benefits of G20 Presidency for Indonesia

With various activities throughout the year, there are certainly many strategic benefits from the G20 Presidency. This potential can be measured from aspects of economy, foreign policy, and social development. First, it is expected that the G20 Presidency will have a direct impact on the economy, through increasing the country's foreign exchange receipts. More than 20 thousand international delegates are expected to attend the meeting to be held in various regions in Indonesia.

Previous experience in the Presidencies of Turkey, Argentina, China and Japan has shown a positive impact on the country. It was recorded that the number of visits by international delegations reached more than 13 thousand. It is also estimated that each G20 summit generates income of more than \$ 100 million or Rp1.4 trillion to host countries.

Second, in the political field, as Chair of the G20, Indonesia can encourage cooperation and initiate concrete results in the three priority sectors, which are strategic for recovery. This is a momentum for Indonesia to gain credibility or world trust, in leading the global recovery. In diplomacy and foreign policy, credibility is a very valuable capital.

Third, in the field of sustainable economic and social development. The G20 Presidency is a momentum to show that 'Indonesia is open for business'. There will be various showcases or events that showcase the progress of Indonesia's development, and investment potential in Indonesia.

It is expected that this has the opportunity to create a multiplier effect for the regional economy because it contributes to the tourism, accomodation (hospitality), transportation, and creative economy sectors, as well as local MSMEs.

Bilateral US and China

Building an emotional connection

The foreign ministers had very good relations, especially from the Indonesian Foreign Minister Republic Indonesia's G20 Presidency not only has an impact on multilaterals but must be into the Indonesian economy itself The visit to Russia and Ukraine by bringing peace missions through the stability of food security commodities is considered by Malitz & Sriyai (2022) to be meaningful and historic. Jokowi showed humanitarian sympathy for the suffering of the Ukrainian people due to Russia's war aggression. Rahakundini (2022) said that the visit showed that Jokowi did not side with one of the countries in conflict, but sided with the decision of the non-alignment movement. Engel in Dharmaputra (2023) a former Australian diplomat, assessed that Jokowi's visit to Russia and Ukraine was not intended for a peace mission, but rather to secure food and energy supplies for his interests as a legacy in the last period.

World trust in Indonesia in the G20 meeting needs to be appreciated in a political-economic perspective. Because the strategic agenda can affect the politics and economy of Indonesia as a developing country that can move up from success as a summit organizer to success as a world leader who elaborates and solves world problems.

G20 Contribution To The Covid-19 Pandemic

Indonesia together with member countries contribute vaccines and aid funds for affected countries.

According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi in a virtual meeting of the COVID-19 Global Action Plan Foreign Ministerial Meeting on July 19, 2022. There are three things that need to be done to strengthen the global health architecture, namely: 1) The distribution of public health needs, where access to medical solutions, especially in developing countries, is still very difficult to reach. Then 2) Pandemic Preparedness Financing, which is related to the Financial Intermediary Fund during the G20 Presidency to help other countries affected by COVID-19 and health emergencies. Finally, 3) Global health governance with World Health Health (WHO) in control of creating the Pandemic Treaty.

In one of the presidency agendas, namely the G20 Digital Working Group (DEWG) "Achieving a Resilient Recover: Working Together for More Inclusive, Empowering, and Digital Sustainable Transformation" on April 15, 2022, Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Airlangga Hartanto, who also serves as Chairman of Sherpa, said that digitalization can play a fast role in accelerating recovery and connectivity. The condition of Indonesian people who are 80% technologically literate and apply it in daily life is expected to make people more productive as economic actors. However, the issue of data leakage in the country should be a more concern for the Indonesian government, especially for Kominfo. According to Databoks, there has been a spike in data leaks reaching 143% in the second quarter of 2022. A total of 1.04 million accounts suffered a user data leak recorded by cybersecurity firm Surfshark. This case is certainly a barrier for Indonesia in the future in meeting its overall digital transformation target.

Then for Indonesia's third target in the G20 Presidency, namely Energy Transition, in the G20 Energy Transition Working Group Workshop held on August 29 in Bali, Indonesia invited other developed and developing countries to immediately switch from non-renewable fossil energy, to clean energy. The ministerial meeting discussed recommendations for short-term solutions to stabilize the global gas market amid the world crisis.

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Among the public, there is hope that the G20 Meeting can result in a commitment from the Russian Federation to end the war with Ukraine. But unfortunately it did not happen because "maybe" Russia has not received a definite commitment from Ukraine not to become a member of NATO, which many observers have. is the main reason Russia invaded Ukraine in consideration of the security of its country which borders Ukraine.

Rejecting the use of nuclear weapons." The use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons is unacceptable. Peaceful conflict resolution, crisis resolution efforts, as well as diplomacy and dialogue, are essential. Today there must be no war."

The issue of food crisis.

"We support international efforts to keep food supply chains functioning under the challenges of circumstances. We are committed to addressing food insecurity by ensuring accessibility, affordability, and sustainability of food and food products to those in need, particularly in developing and least developed countries."

This year, we have also witnessed the war in Ukraine further adversely impact the global economy. There was a discussion on the issue. We reiterated our national positions as expressed in other fora, including the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly, which, in Resolution No. ES-11/1 dated 2 March 2022, as adopted by majority vote (141 votes for, 5 against, 35 abstentions, 12 absent) deplores in the strongest terms the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine and demands its complete and unconditional withdrawal from the territory of Ukraine. Most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine and stressed it is causing immense human suffering and exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy - constraining growth, increasing inflation, disrupting supply chains, heightening energy and food insecurity, and elevating financial stability risks. There were other views and different assessments of the situation and sanctions. Recognizing that the G20 is not the forum to resolve security issues, we acknowledge that security issues can have significant consequences for the global economy

CONCLUSION

In accordance with the theme of Indonesia's G20 Presidency with "Recover Together, Recover Stronger", the series of meetings starting from December 1, 2021 until the summit in November 2022 is expected to formulate global economic recovery policies to recover together based on the three major issues raised, namely global health architecture, digital economic transformation, and energy transition.

Based on the data obtained, it can be concluded that the results of the various forums carried out are still limited to work plans where all countries will eventually agree on the topics proposed. Russia's invasion of Ukraine proves that economic forum talks will not be separated from the political agenda.

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