

G-20 SUMMIT 2022 LESSON LEARNED: THE DEFENSE DIPLOMACY LENSES

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ABSTRACT:

As the president of G-20 in 2022, Indonesia held the Summit of 19 countries plus one region, representing 80% of the world's GDP, 75% of global exports, and 60% of the global population. Indonesia's interests in G-20 Bali were on strategic and direct appeal. The strategic benefits were (a) taking G 20 as a strategic forum to discuss global issues: global health, financial stability, and climate change, (b) showcasing Indonesia's economic recovery efforts during the Covid-19 pandemic, and (c) showcasing Indonesia's role as a meeting leader that will support the formation of global policies. The immediate benefits were (a) an increase in foreign exchange from delegation visits to Indonesia, (b) a revival of the hospitality sector, (c) support for the increase in domestic consumption, (d) optimising the role of MSMEs, and (e) increase employment absorption. Using the defence diplomacy lens instrument, the research found that the Summit has reached a profound performance, as the total commission is reaching 3,89 from 4.00. The economic interest of the nation has been delivered at the score of 3.66, which means the level of defence diplomacy has almost reached the 4th level –the regulator—which puts Indonesia as a very high-impact country. The political interest was delivered at the score of 2.00, which means the performance level was facilitator, the ow impact country. The general interest was shown at a 3.00 score, which means the negotiator, which means that Indonesia might have been a high-impact country.

Keywords: G-20, Performance, Defense Diplomacy

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia had a monumental opportunity to present itself as the world's most admired country, as the country had successfully organised her presidency on G-20 for one year, from December 1, 2021, to November 30, 2022.¹ The 19 countries plus one region representing 80% of the world's GDP, 75% of global exports, and 60% of the global population --namely Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, People's Republic of China (PRC), France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, and the European Union—had been carried out by Indonesia's promoted global theme "Recover Together, Recover Stronger." This a theme that was delivered from the under-pressured world due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which required joint and inclusive efforts to find a way out or solutions for recovery. The three priority sectors as the key to a strong and sustainable recovery were strengthening of global health architecture, digital transformation, and energy transition, and produced 52 points of agreement of G20 heads of state.

According to the Ministry of Finance's release², Indonesia's interests in G-20 Bali were strategic and direct interest. The strategic benefits were (a) taking G 20 as a strategic forum to discuss global issues: global health, financial stability, and climate change, (b) showcasing Indonesia's economic recovery efforts during the Covid-19 pandemic, and (c) showcasing Indonesia's role as a meeting leader that will support the formation of global policies. The immediate benefits were (a) an increase in foreign exchange from delegation visits to Indonesia, (b) a revival of the hospitality sector, (c) support in the increase in domestic consumption,

¹ <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/3288/berita/indonesia-promotes-spirit-to-recover-together-in-the-2022-g20-presidency>

² <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/kpknl-jakarta3/baca-artikel/14750/Manfaat-Presidensi-G20-Bagi-Indonesia.html>

(d) an optimisation of the role of MSMEs, and (e) an increase in employment absorption.

The question is whether Indonesia's national interests were met in the meeting; were those interests represented the interests of the nation as the public interests of the people rather than government interests?

METHOD

As the paper aims to find the effective achievement of the conducted global meeting, the issue is how to measure it, as taught by Peter F. Drucker (Prusak, 2010): "What gets measured gets managed." The measurement instrument is developed from the "lenses" of defence diplomacy (Simamora, 2013), which combined and developed from foreign policy effectiveness measurement (Nugroho, 2021; Nugroho, 2023). According to Simamora, the objectives to be measured by defence diplomacy are:

1. Representation
2. Deterrent effect
3. Negotiating and bargaining
4. Increasing capability
5. Increasing credibility
6. Decreasing opponent's stakes
7. Information gathering or intelligence
8. Public opinion formation
9. Promote international law
10. Confidence-building measures/trust building
11. Expanding/expansion

Nugroho (2021: 322-3) promote three level of foreign policy performance, they are consecutive):

1. Diplomat(e): advisor, mediator, facilitator
2. Negotiator: Asking for the own nation/public interests
3. Regulator: controlling the other actor, process and result

The researchers develop a measurement model based on those two models while considering the idea of Beaufre (1965) on the deterrence effect, Papp (1988) on politics and perception in international relations, Carter & Perry (1999) on preventive defence, the deterrence mode in the post-cold-war era, and Jayakumar (2011) on a small country that able to punch the bigger ones. The defence diplomacy model of lenses that would be employed to the object is³:

1. Level one performance: follower, entertainer, or representative, following only the inter-state commitment, regardless of whether the objective would be harmful to the nation or not. The agenda is how to please the welcoming guests and make them comfortable.
2. Level two performance: facilitator, advisor, mediator, trust builder, promoter, public opinion former.
3. Level three performance: negotiator, bargainer, nation's interests toward other or interstate interests. It is able to decrease opponent stakes while increasing capability as well as credibility.
4. Level four performance: regulator, determining what should be done by others of interstate communities. It includes executing profoundly the need for expansion of the nation and "punching" the bigger ones.

The instrument follows the score model of modified Likert, as the "middle score" has been removed to make the valuation stronger. Therefore, the instrument is delivering as such:

Table 1. Instrument for Measuring Performance

Level	Scored as	Capability	Profile
1	Follower	Following others	Very low-impact country
2	Facilitator	Helping others	Low impact country
3	Negotiator	Promoting own interest	High impact country

³ Exercised and developed by the author's team

4	Regulator	Controlling others to follow their own interest	Very high impact country
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Sources: exercised and developed by the author's team

ANALYSIS

There is no clear political objective of Indonesia according to the G-20 meeting in Bali 2023. It might be taken that the event is more an economics and social rather than politics. However, the meeting was in the middle of the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine, in which Russia entered the border of Ukraine due to the entrance of Ukraine into NATO, which was assumed to endanger Russian territory in the long run. Implicitly, Indonesia made a serious attempt to end the conflict, in which President Jokowi had to travel to Moscow and Kiev to meet both leaders. It might be underlined that the Indonesia government had an interest to become facilitator, advisor, mediator, trust builder, promoter, and public opinion former between the two countries. The effort had failed; therefore, the G-20 Bali meeting was noted as a globally important meeting that can't avoid the elephant in the room: the Ukraine War⁴. Therefore, according to the political interest of the government to promote peace between the two countries, the effort has been delivered to the second level of the measurement. However, the performance was still at the first level. It was not a failure at all, as the following meeting in India. Still, there is no consensus on the war in Ukraine among G-30 Foreign Ministers⁵. However, the concern of the issue was raised as point number three of the agreement:

"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 March 2 2022, as adopted by majority vote (141 votes for, 5 against, 35

⁴ <https://thedi diplomat.com/2022/11/g20-cant-avoid-the-elephant-in-the-room-ukraine-war/>

⁵ <https://www.voanews.com/a/modi-urges-cooperation-to-resolve-global-issues-at-g20-talks-6986316.html>

*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. Recognising that the G20 is not the forum to resolve security issues, we acknowledge that security issues can have significant consequences for the global economy."*⁶.

The economic performance at the strategic level, first objective was taking G 20 as a strategic forum to discuss global issues: global health, financial stability, and climate change. Indonesia had claimed that the "G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration" was agreed upon, which consisted of 52 paragraphs and emphasised several strategic commitments, including the formation of a Pandemic Fund, Resilience and Sustainability Trust (RST), and a commitment to tackling the climate crisis⁷. Indeed, the performance has been achieved and declared by G-20 State Leaders⁸.

"19. We remain committed to promoting a healthy and sustainable recovery, which builds towards achieving and sustaining Universal Health Coverage under the SDGs... We reaffirm our commitment to strengthen global health governance, with the leading and coordination role of WHO and support from other international organisations..."

"29. To support our collective ambition to recover together and recover stronger, we commit to well-calibrated, well-planned, and well-communicated policies to support sustainable recovery, with due consideration to country-specific circumstances... We will continue to enhance macro policy cooperation, preserve financial

⁶ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/11/16/g20-bali-leaders-declaration/>; https://www.g20.org/content/dam/gtwenty/gtwenty_new/about_g20/previous-summit-documents/2022-bali/G20%20Bali%20Leaders%27%20Declaration,%2015-16%20November%202022.pdf

⁷ <https://setkab.go.id/keberhasilan-keketuaan-indonesia-pada-forum-g20/>

⁸ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/11/16/g20-bali-leaders-declaration/>; https://www.g20.org/content/dam/gtwenty/gtwenty_new/about_g20/previous-summit-documents/2022-bali/G20%20Bali%20Leaders%27%20Declaration,%2015-16%20November%202022.pdf

stability and long-term fiscal sustainability, and safeguard against downside risks and negative spillovers...³⁴. In the face of a more challenging global economic and financial outlook, we underline the need to reinforce global financial system resilience and ask the Financial Stability Board (FSB) and IMF to continue their monitoring efforts. We commit to sustaining global financial stability, including through continued coordination of policy measures and implementation of international standards."

"13. Mindful of our leadership role, we reaffirm our steadfast commitments in pursuit of the objective of UNFCCC to tackle climate change by strengthening the full and effective implementation of the Paris Agreement and its temperature goal, reflecting equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities in light of different national circumstances."

The achievement was formed at the second level of performance. However, there were findings that some of the performances were reaching the third level of performance, as such:

"The ratification of the Annex G20 Action for Strong and Inclusive Recovery, which contains a list of concrete deliverables in the form of 226 multilateral projects/programs/initiatives and 140 bilateral projects with a total value of USD 71.49 billion. The list of concrete cooperation projects above is the first time this has happened in the implementation of the G20. In addition to the achievements at the Summit, there are also several other concrete deliverables that have been produced during Indonesia's chairmanship of the G20 forum: (1) Formation of the Energy Transition Mechanism (ETM) Country Platform in Indonesia; Bali Common Principles in Accelerating Clean Energy Transitions (Bali COMPACT); and the Asia Initiative Bali Declaration; (2) Debt restructuring program for poor and developing countries through the Common Framework for Debt Treatment; increasing the funding capacity of Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs); and strengthening financial resilience and the Global Financial Safety Net (GFN)."

The second strategic interest of Indonesia was making the Bali G-20 meeting to showcase Indonesia's economic recovery efforts during the Covid-19 pandemic, and it was stated achieved⁹. The achievement was

⁹ <https://indonesiabaik.id/public/uploads/post/5579/G20pedia-english.pdf>

formed at the second level of performance. The third strategic interest of Indonesia was making the Bali G-20 meeting to showcase Indonesia's role as a meeting leader that will support the formation of global policies, and it was stated achieved¹⁰.

The achievement was formed at the third level of performance. The immediate interest was, firstly, to increase foreign exchange from delegation visits to Indonesia, and it was stated achieved, as there were several investment commitments that were also produced through the G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration, among others:

- a. The Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment (PGII) of US\$600 billion from the US Government, and the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) of US\$20 billion from the Group of Seven (G7).
- b. Investment commitments from Japan, the UK and South Korea for the development of Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) in Jakarta and cooperation with Türkiye for the construction of the Trans-Sumatera toll road.
- c. Cooperation with Saudi Arabia in 1) procurement of hydrogen and ammonia supply projects and 2) supply of electricity, steam and water power plants at the Grass Root Refinery and Petrochemical (GRR&P) project in Tuban, East Java.
- d. Cooperation with the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to help accelerate the termination of PLTU Cirebon-1 with a capacity of 660 megawatts.

The achievement was formed at the fourth level of performance. The second immediate interest was to revive the hospitality sector, and it was stated achieved. According to the Governor of Bali, I Wayan Koster, the number of domestic tourists who came to Bali from January 2022 to

¹⁰ <https://indonesiabaik.id/public/uploads/post/5579/G20pedia-english.pdf>

December 28, 2022, reached 3.9 million people or 37.1 per cent of the normal situation in 2019. Meanwhile, foreign tourist arrivals were 2.3 million people or 36.5 per cent of the situation normally in 2019.¹¹ According to the Bali Regional Office of the Central Bank, the Summit had contributed 1% of Bali Province PDRB.

The achievement was formed at the fourth level of performance. The third immediate interest was to support the increase in domestic consumption, and it was stated that Indonesia's chairmanship of the G20 forum has had a positive impact on the national economy. The holding of the Summit contributed around US\$533 million or around Rp7.4 trillion to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), including an increase in domestic consumption of up to Rp1.7 trillion. The achievement was formed at the fourth level of performance.

The fourth immediate interest was to optimising the role of MSMEs, and it was stated achieved as it accelerated the revenue for the MSME¹² as well as the business cooperation opportunity¹³. MSME players, especially Craft and Food and beverage products, have received an increase in orders of 70%¹⁴. The achievement was formed at the fourth level of performance. The fifth immediate interest was to increase employment absorption, and it was stated achieved as the Summit absorbed a workforce of 33 thousand people¹⁵. The achievement was formed at the fourth level of performance. According to the main interest of the Indonesia government of promoting the global theme "Recover

¹¹ <https://www.kompas.id/baca/nusantara/2023/01/03/bali-menatap-era-baru-pariwisata>;

¹² <https://en.antaranews.com/news/210697/g20-in-indonesia-to-offer-rp17-trillion-benefits-to-msme-sector>;

¹³ <https://en.antaranews.com/news/243337/b20-fgd-in-bali-presents-opportunity-for-msme-cooperation-minister>

¹⁴ <https://www.pertamina.com/en/news-room/news-release/g20-potentially-provides-up-to-70-turnover-increase-msmes-overwhelmed-with-orders>

¹⁵ <https://setkab.go.id/keberhasilan-keketuaan-indonesia-pada-forum-g20/>

Together, Recover Stronger," has been achieved¹⁶. The achievement was formed at the third level of performance.

In sum, the performance level of the G-20 Bali meeting by defence diplomacy lenses is being exercised as below:

Table 2. Performance Level: Defense Diplomacy Lenses

Agenda	Issue	Level	Performance
Politics	War in Ukraine	2 nd	1 st
Economy			
Strategic	Taking G 20 is a strategic forum to discuss global issues: global health, financial stability, climate change	2 rd	2 rd
	showcasing Indonesia's economic recovery efforts during the Covid-19 pandemic	2 nd	2 nd
	showcasing Indonesia's role as a meeting leader that will support the formation of global policies	3 rd	3 rd
Immediate	increase foreign exchange from delegation visits to Indonesia	4 th	4 th
	revive the hospitality sector	4 th	4 th
	support the increase in domestic consumption	4 th	4 th
	optimising the role of MSMEs	4 th	4 th
	increase employment absorption	4 th	4 th
General	Recover Together, Recover Stronger	3 rd	3 rd

However, the objective of "taking G 20 is a strategic forum to discuss global issues: global health, financial stability, climate change" should become the political interest rather than economic interest at the strategic level. There was also the objective of "showcasing Indonesia's role as a meeting leader that will support the formation of global policies".

¹⁶ <https://setkab.go.id/keberhasilan-keketuaan-indonesia-pada-forum-g20/>

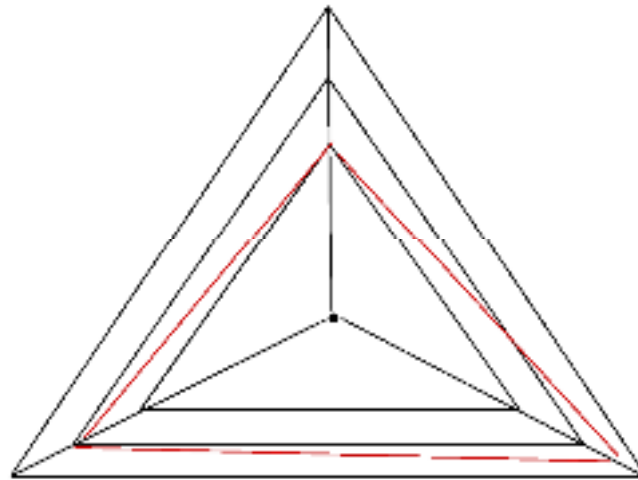
The objective of "showcasing Indonesia's economic recovery efforts during the COVID-19 pandemic" was not a strategic actual interest but a global report that might be a lesson learned for the global communities.

Therefore, there is no adequate strategic economic interest documented by the Government, as the promoted indicators were weaker than they should have been. Therefore, the performance format is below:

Table 3: Final G-20 Performance Measurement

Agenda	Issue	Level	Performance
Politics	War in Ukraine	2 nd	1 st
	Taking G 20 is a strategic forum to discuss global issues: global health, financial stability, climate change	2 rd	2 rd
	showcasing Indonesia's role as a meeting leader that will support the formation of global policies	3 rd	3 rd
Average			2
Economy	showcasing Indonesia's economic recovery efforts during the Covid-19 pandemic	2 nd	2 nd
	increase foreign exchange from delegation visits to Indonesia	4 th	4 th
	revive the hospitality sector	4 th	4 th
	support the increase in domestic consumption	4 th	4 th
	optimising the role of MSMEs	4 th	4 th
	increase employment absorption	4 th	4 th
Average			3.66
General	Recover Together, Recover Stronger	3 rd	3 rd
Average			3

Figure 2. Map of G-20 Performance



The immediate economic interests were profoundly delivered as there was a significant total amount of economic value of the Summit contribution, and it represented the interest of the public. It was a strong capability of the Government and business actors of Indonesia to control, regulate, and determine what should be done by others of interstate communities, including executing the need for economic expansion of the nation.

However, the economic interests were delivered at the direct, short-term, and micro. The indirect, long-term, and macro, as well as the strategic interests and deliverables, need to be achieved regarding the international and interstate investment and loan agreement, especially regarding the highly strategic project as the new capital city and high-speed-train of Jakarta-Bandung and also the possibility of debt relief from international financial agency of the IMF and the World Bank, and presumably a new consortium of countries that would support Indonesia economic acceleration as IGGI/CGI in the 1980-1990s.

CONCLUSION

The G-20 Summit, in which Indonesia was the Presidency, has reached a profound performance using the defence diplomacy lenses instrument, as the total performance is reaching 3,89 from 4.00. The economic interest of the nation has been delivered at the score of 3.66, which means the level of defence diplomacy has almost reached the 4th level –the regulator—which puts Indonesia as a very high-impact country. The political interest was delivered at the score of 2.00, which means the performance level was a facilitator and the impact country. The general interest was delivered at a 3.00 score, which means the negotiator, which means that Indonesia might delivered as the high impact country.

There are three lessons learned. First, to manage a policy's performance, there is a need for a measurement instrument. The authors have developed a seminal instrument based on the defence policy approach that might be effective in measuring policy performance in many sectors. Second, the instrument, namely the "defence policy lens," had a significant contribution to measuring the performance of the G-20 Sumit in Indonesia. Therefore, the practical use of the instrument might be beneficial for the government to evaluate their policies third, even though there was a profound performance of the government policy as the Presidency of the G-20. Still, there were some corrections and improvements that needed to be made to make the performance actually profound.

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