



The Role of Indonesia's G20 Presidency in Shaping Global Health Architecture After the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic is a complex global problem because almost all countries in the world are not prepared to deal with it. This problem needs to be responded quickly through international cooperation forums. Therefore, this study aims to determine Indonesia's role through the G20 presidency in shaping resilient global health architecture for now and the future. This research uses descriptive-qualitative method with secondary data collection, from books, journal articles, reports of related institutions, and internet articles. Robert Keohane's theory of multilateralism and the concept of health diplomacy are the analytical tools used in this research. Indonesia's leadership in the G20 provides opportunity for Indonesia to bridge the gap in promoting equitable global vaccine access between countries in the northern and southern hemispheres through research collaboration. Furthermore, Indonesia also plays a role in encouraging harmonization of global health regulations and establishing the Pandemic Fund. This agreement provides opportunity for Indonesia to accommodate the interests of developing countries and demonstrate its opportunity for global leadership. Conversely, this agreement faced with uneven country capabilities and concerns that this commitment will not continue in the next

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presidency because it clashes with domestic interests of each country.

Key Words: Covid-19, G20 presidency, Indonesia, Global health architecture, Global leadership

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INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic is a point where countries around the world must join hands against a new virus that endangers the safety of human life. Coronavirus has reportedly been detected since late December 2019 in China, but China is still closing itself. Until 10 March 2020, WHO reported that the number of cases of patients infected with Covid-19 had reached 1,113,710 cases. The largest number of patients were in China, Italy, followed by South Korea and Iran (Lisbet, 2020). The World Health Organization (WHO) then announced to the whole world that Covid-19 had become a global pandemic on 11 March 2020. After the announcement was officially released, there were various extreme responses from almost all countries in the world (Astuti, 2020). In addition, according to Rhenald Kasali, 80 percent of countries in the world do not seem ready to face the COVID-19 pandemic, even if Indonesia does not seem ready (Ulya & Setiawan, 2020). According to Dr. Tedros, Director General of WHO, the Covid-19 pandemic can touch all sectors of people's lives, not just the health sector. The severity experienced throughout the world stems from the ease of transmission and spread of Covid-19.

In the face of a major global challenge of this kind, especially with extreme state responses, international cooperation is the main way that needs to be pursued to mitigate the impact of the spread of COVID-19 for countries around the world. In the Bernes et al (2020) report, there are criticisms and suggestions for international cooperation, one of which is to increase the capacity of national governments and multilateral systems, especially in anticipating and dealing with pandemics that are likely to emerge in the future by conducting comprehensive reforms. Unfortunately, the G20 is reportedly paralyzed in responding to this issue. Even Saudi Arabia, which holds the leadership of the G20 in 2020, does not seem to show good leadership to overcome this problem (Astuti, 2020).

Despite these criticisms, the G20 reportedly remains concerned about the Covid-19 pandemic. The G20 stated that it is ready to take strategic measures through both monetary and fiscal to provide economic support and financial system resilience (Astuti, 2020). However, there is still a need for cooperation to mitigate all global economic risks, so there needs to be solidarity from various international organizations such as the IMF, OECD, WHO, and the World Bank in overcoming this problem.

However, in the development of the pandemic, there is another important note for global governance, namely the inequality of vaccines among world countries.

Globally, it is reported that vaccine allocation is uneven, as many as 64.4% of people from developed countries have received a complete vaccine. In contrast to low-income countries, only 14.7% of the population has been vaccinated (Mathieu et al., 2020). According to Hamzah et al. (2022), this is influenced by the very limited supply of vaccines that are difficult to access in poor countries such as those experienced by countries on the Sub-Saharan African continent.

Seeing this increasingly complex situation, at the G20 Sherpa meeting, Indonesia as the G20 Co-Sherpa encouraged cooperative efforts to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. The G20 also needs to participate in efforts to encourage the fair and affordable distribution of the Covid-19 vaccine, support the flexibility of the TRIPS or (Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights) agreement, and increase the increase in the production capacity of developing countries through development efforts, as well as being willing to open technology transfer from developed countries to developing countries (Kementerian Luar Negeri, 2021). Furthermore, during the Italy G20 leadership, Italy also agreed to continue to help supply Covid-19 vaccines to underdeveloped and developing countries around the world (Sidik, 2021).

Although various efforts have been made by the G20, there is still a lot of work for the G20 to make corrections to the mistakes in the global health architecture that look intentional, because they intersect with the global pharmaceutical industry. In addition, entering Indonesia's leadership in the G20, there is an emphasis on global collaboration in the distribution of the COVID-19 vaccine. This has been echoed loudly enough to receive support from Joe Biden and other related organizations.

Seeing the strong enthusiasm shown by Indonesia in reforming the global health architecture at the G20 chairmanship through global collaboration is an interesting thing to discuss. Given that the pandemic may reoccur in the future, it is necessary to discuss a strong global architecture that is not vulnerable to collapse due to the negligence of global governance itself. Departing from this, this research aims to further analyze how Indonesia's chairmanship efforts in the G20 in the global health architecture reform agenda. Furthermore, this research also emphasizes how Indonesia's G20 decision can be implemented by looking at what challenges and opportunities might be obtained in building a resilient global health architecture.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory of Multilateralism

In the global context after the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia's role in the G20 has become increasingly crucial. As a country that is active in international forums, Indonesia has an important role in encouraging multilateral cooperation to form a stronger and more effective global health architecture. Indonesia understands that the global health challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic cannot be addressed unilaterally and require strong cooperation between countries. Therefore, through the G20 forum, Indonesia seeks to encourage multilateral cooperation in creating a stronger and more effective global health architecture after COVID-19.

To analyze Indonesia's role in this context, the author uses the theory of multilateralism as an analytical knife in this research. Keohane in 'Multilateralism: An Agenda for Research', explains that multilateralism refers to cooperation among three or more countries in a group that coordinates their national policies, either through ad hoc arrangements or through institutions. Institutions here are a set of official and unofficial rules that direct roles and actions, organize activities, and shape mutual expectations (Keohane, 1990). In this context, Indonesia is collaborating with 18 other countries and the European Union to shape a stronger and more effective global health architecture post COVID-19. This reflects Keohane's principle of multilateralism, where Indonesia works together with other countries in this forum to achieve common goals.

In addition to Keohane's definition, John Gerard Ruggie explains in 'Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution', that multilateralism is simply an institution that implements common behavior. Ruggie explains that there are two normative principles of multilateralism, namely indivisibility, which means that there is no separation between members of the collective—if a problem occurs in one country, it will have implications for other members. This principle is also reflected in the Most Favoured Nations (MFN) norm, which emphasizes the absence of isolation or discrimination between member states. The second principle is reciprocity or equal benefits (diffuse reciprocity). This principle asserts that all parties involved in multilateral cooperation should benefit equally, although perhaps not directly or immediately (Ruggie, 1992). Traditionally, multilateralism has also been viewed as state-centric, which emphasizes the coordination of state policies based on common principles of behavior. As such, multilateralism now

plays an important role in global governance, especially amidst the emergence of new powers and norms, which challenge established concepts such as polarity and interstate interactions (Smouts, 1999).

In the Indonesian context, multilateralism exhibits several distinctive characteristics, such as the principle of non-intervention, emphasis on cooperation, totality, inclusiveness, and respect for the principles of the international legal order. In Indonesia's Presidency of the G20 forum, Indonesia emphasized three main sectors, including digital transformation, sustainable energy transition, and global health architecture. Through this, Indonesia has highlighted the crucial role and encouraged multilateralism in shaping the post-COVID-19 global health framework. Indonesia encourages international cooperation to accelerate recovery from the pandemic, maintaining the values of solidarity, accountability, and equality (G20 Indonesia, 2022).

As such, this research uses the theory of multilateralism as an analytical tool. The theory of multilateralism provides a strong framework and not only allows the author to understand how multilateral cooperation functions, but also how countries such as Indonesia can use international forums such as the G20 to push for common goals. In this case, that goal is the establishment of a stronger and more effective global health architecture post COVID-19.

The Concept of Health Diplomacy

Contemporary international relations including diplomacy have undergone fundamental changes, the diplomacy paradigm which originally focused only on issues of high politics with hard power related to war and peace, then shifted to issues of low politics. This is due to dynamic global politics and the development of issues in International Relations that are increasingly widespread as a result of globalization. Health, which was originally considered the domain of domestic policy, with the inherent responsibility of the state to ensure the health of its citizens, has also shifted with the increasing interconnection of actors in IR, making it one of the global problems that can be resolved through international cooperation.

According to Kickbusch (2011), the inclusion of health in several foreign policy designs is because this sector has become three global agendas, including: (1) Security, health which is a non-traditional threat, often haunts the global community with pandemics, there are also humanitarian conflicts, natural disasters, and other health emergencies. (2) Economy, this is closely related to economic

activities that must be supported by good global health conditions, and in practice, the global health goods and services market is very promising. (3) Social justice, in this context strengthening health is part of human rights, and advocacy efforts regarding access to medicines and primary health care, as well as encouraging developed countries or the global north to invest in various global health initiatives must continue to be voiced.

In addition, globalization and technological developments in practice have led to interconnectedness, where interactions between people in the economic, political, socio-cultural, environmental, and even health fields can occur so quickly. Despite its positive impact, this condition also allows for negative impacts such as the risk of spreading viruses and other infectious diseases (Nur Az Zahra et al., 2023). In addition, climate change which is getting more extreme over time also allows for massive pathogen evolution, giving rise to new diseases (Laksono et al., 2018).

Health threats in the form of infectious diseases arising from the rapid movement of people and the concentration of population in certain areas, require countries and the international community to respond quickly by initiating collaboration for measurable control, to realise health security. This can only happen when the dissemination and distribution of vaccines and other medicines are sufficiently available with equitable access. But in fact, the gap in access to vaccines continues to occur and seems to be maintained by developed countries, as a result of which the vaccine needs of developing countries or the global south, which has a large population, cannot be met promptly. This contradicts the results of research showing that countries in the southern hemisphere such as China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Southeast Asia, Central America, and Central Africa are hotspots for pandemics (Laksono et al., 2018).

Global health issues were put to the ultimate test when the Covid-19 outbreak emerged in Wuhan, China, and spread to almost all parts of the world. The WHO argued that all countries at the time were stuttering and unprepared to handle the pandemic. To break the deadlock and come up with a sophisticated solution to end the pandemic, health diplomacy is present and important for every country to implement immediately, because it is closely related to coordination between state and non-state actors to provide a quick and appropriate response in an effort to stop the spread and reduce the health and economic impacts of the pandemic (Karačić Zanetti et al., 2023).

According to Kickbusch et al. (2013), health diplomacy itself is an effort to shape global policies in the health sector through a multi-level diplomacy process. With this, it can be elaborated that health diplomacy is the integration of the health sector into foreign policy through institutional features, ideas, and characteristics of the problem, to improve the understanding of the position of health in international relations. Furthermore, the incorporation of public health issues and diplomatic relations through international cooperation is necessary to save humanity from health threats (Karačić Zanetti et al., 2023; Ruckert et al., 2022).

Through the practice of health diplomacy, countries, and other actors will coordinate with each other regarding policy formulation and action in the global health order. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic has also shown that health diplomacy is very important, where countries can identify common interests and collaborate on human security (health), public health promotion, disease control, and equal access to vaccines and medicines, as well as other important pharmaceutical technologies. Ultimately, health diplomacy will bring countries into a form of cooperation that presents solutions to end pandemics or other health crises.

In the context of health diplomacy, Indonesia has actively participated in handling the pandemic through multilateral forums such as the G20, WHO, WTO, OIC, and FPGH. The G20 forum as a forum for 20 countries with major world economic powers is also not spared from discussing health issues. For the first time, during the 2017 German G20 Presidency, health ministers agreed on the 'Declaration of the G20 Health Ministers Together Today for a Healthy Tomorrow'. This declaration has indirectly placed the G20's share in solving global health problems. Involving health in the G20 as an economic forum is the right step because global health threats such as the Covid-19 pandemic will have a detrimental impact on the global economy (Laksono et al., 2018).

The G20's commitment to health is also demonstrated through Indonesia's 2022 Presidency. After accepting the G20 presidency from Italy (2021 Presidency), Indonesia feels a sense of responsibility to lead the world towards recovery and avoid the prolonged impact of the pandemic. Therefore, Indonesia emphasizes the reform of the global health architecture. Furthermore, Indonesia also continues to encourage inclusive global health governance by emphasizing the issue of vaccine equality and building world preparedness for the next pandemic.

METHOD

In this research, the author uses a descriptive qualitative research method. By using this method, the author seeks to explore and analyze in depth the role of Indonesia in its capacity as G20 Presidency in 2022 in shaping the global health architecture after the Covid-19 pandemic. Furthermore, this method also seeks to validate the opportunities and challenges in implementing the agreement in the 2022 G20 Summit, especially in the health sector.

In the process of collecting data in this study, the author used secondary data instruments through several data sources such as official documents, journal articles, research reports, website articles, videos and other reliable sources related to the research topic. This secondary data is considered relevant to our research because this data can help the author in understanding the context of the research topic in depth through qualitative data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The G20 as a Forum for Multilateralism that Promotes North-South Cooperation

The Group of Twenty (G20) is a multilateral cooperation forum entity that has significance in the framework of global economic and financial cooperation. From the G20 membership map (Figure 1), we can see that the G20 member countries dominate and represent about 85% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 80% of world trade, and 60% of the world's population or about two-thirds of the global population. This makes it a very influential forum in determining the direction of global economic and development policies. The G20 has the ability to open up inclusive and sustainable interaction, communication and cooperation. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of the G20 is becoming increasingly important, especially in shaping the global health architecture. Indonesia's presidency of the G20 demonstrates the country's commitment to promoting multilateralism in addressing global health challenges (Pada et al., 2021).



Figure 1. Map of G20 Membership
Source: (DW, 2020)

With a membership that spans North and South—developed and developing countries—the G20 is a forum for multilateralism that encourages co-operation between the regions. Developed countries are represented by the Group of Seven (G7), which consists of developed and wealthy countries—the United States, France, Germany, Canada, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Japan—with the European Union as the representation of developing countries, which later increased until the formation of the G20. On the other hand, developing countries are represented by India, Brazil, South Africa, Indonesia, and others. The focus of the G20 is on key aspects that spur economic growth, including investment, competition, job creation, and trade, with the common goal of achieving 2% additional growth in GDP by 2018. As a multilateral coordination platform, the G20 plays a pivotal role in global economic governance, evolving from The Library Group (Ji, 2022).

Some scholars interpret the G20 as representing a new form of global governance. It is characterized by a more integrated, inclusive, informal, and flexible mechanism for responding to global issues. In addition, the G20 also exceeds the conventional divisions between west and east, or north and south, and encourages multilateral cooperation in responding to increasingly complex and dynamic global challenges (Poppy, S. Winanti., & Wawan, M. (Eds), 2023). However, it should be emphasized that with its informal and flexible mechanism, the G20 has become a forum for multilateralism that is not institutionally structured and is not equipped with an accountability mechanism, which has implications for the frequent emergence of a series of analyses regarding the lack of effectiveness of cooperation in the G20 in line with the evaluation of the consistency of the implementation of the Summit and the basic stability of membership in the G20 (Astuti, 2020).

In the article by Eichbaum et al. (2021), it is stated that the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted challenges and opportunities concerning global health partnerships, emphasizing the importance of resilience and adaptability in collaborative efforts from various parties. Multilateral organizations such as the G20 play an important role in encouraging cooperation between countries in the north and south in various contexts including global health partnerships. The G20 as a multilateral platform can facilitate cooperation and coordination between various regions in an effort to overcome increasingly complex global challenges.

In this context, one important aspect of cooperation within the G20 is global solidarity in addressing global health challenges. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that no country can face this crisis independently. This correlates with the theory used in conducting this research, namely the theory of multilateralism with one of its normative principles of indivisibility—if a problem occurs in one country, it will have implications for other members. Therefore, the G20 serves as a platform to promote inclusive and equitable collaboration between northern and southern countries in distributing health resources, including vaccines, medicines, and medical equipment. As such, the G20 plays a key role in building the global solidarity needed to face global challenges including other global health challenges post-pandemic.

The Role of Indonesia's 2022 G20 Presidency in the Health Sector

Indonesia's presidency of the G20 in 2022 is both an opportunity and a challenge. At that time, the world, which had not fully recovered from the COVID-19 pandemic, was again faced with the humanitarian tragedy of Russia's invasion of Ukraine which certainly affected the negotiation process at the G20, although basically, the G20 is a forum for countries with large economic capacity, but often political motives are still in every G20 summit. Russia's invasion of Ukraine is one of the big challenges for Indonesia. Amid rising global political tension, Indonesia still has to ensure that the G20 forum runs smoothly by bridging the gap in each member's response to the Russian invasion as much as possible.

In its capacity as the G20 presidency, Indonesia has the opportunity to develop an agenda setting that has the urgency to be able to respond to contemporary global problems. In addition, Indonesia must also be able to balance the interests of the global south and global north countries in the G20 while still prioritizing its national interests. 'Recover Together, Recover Stronger' is the theme carried by Indonesia,

with the hope that the G20 under Indonesia can become a forum to accelerate global recovery after the pandemic.

The three strategic issues carried out include: (i) Strengthening the Global Health architecture, this issue was raised because Indonesia wants the world to be ready to face possible health crises in the future. (ii) Digital transformation, by prioritizing digital inclusiveness for all countries. (iii) Energy transition, this issue is not new in the G20 event, but Indonesia again raises this issue because of its urgency for the global community, with the hope of creating energy security with affordable access (Kementerian Luar Negeri, 2022).

In the issue of strengthening the global health architecture, Indonesia as one of the forces of the global south is expected to be able to present an agreement on a more inclusive transformation of global health governance (Poppy, S. Winanti., & Wawan, M. (Eds), 2023). Vaccination equity is one example of a sub-agenda advocated by Indonesia, where the foreign minister, Retno Marsudi, is in favour of overriding vaccine patents in favour of increased vaccine production. This was one of the solutions debated at the previous G20 event. Through this presidency, Indonesia hopes that there will be multilateral dialogue to support the agendas of the World Health Organization (WHO) as a global governance stakeholder in the health sector.

Equitable access to vaccines between the global south and the global north is an important issue that is always discussed at the G20 Summit during and after the Covid-19 pandemic. The World Health Organization (WHO) reports that there has been an imbalance in vaccination achievements at the end of 2021, at least 70% of the population in global north countries have received vaccinations, this is in contrast to 98 other countries where only around 40% of the population has received vaccinations (WHO, 2021). Ironically, smaller numbers occur in poor countries in Africa, for example, Chad's population has only received vaccines 0.42%, Congo 0, 06%, and Burundi 0.00025% (Rum & Nandyatama, 2022). This disparity is a serious problem in the fight against the pandemic, as late or no vaccination for large populations in the global south will create communities that are vulnerable to infection. At the same time, the OECD also reported that public willingness and lack of health facilities, as well as the ability to produce or obtain vaccines, are the main problems.

Improving the ability of the global south to obtain vaccines is a particular focus of the G20 and the health diplomacy of each country plays a key role. At the G20 negotiation forum and the Global Health Summit in Rome Italy, there was a clash

of opinions between the global south and the global north in presenting solutions to make vaccines widely available. Global south countries, such as South Africa, Brazil, India, and China argue that temporary patent vaccines or the exclusion of vaccines as intellectual property rights as stipulated in the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) Agreement has an urgency to increase vaccine production capacity in developing countries (Rum & Nandyatama, 2022). Furthermore, the global south also wishes to form a collaboration ecosystem through VTDs Manufacturing and Research hubs to overcome these problems (Trisnantoro, 2022).

In practice, the global south's efforts have been challenged by the global north, which is where the bulk of vaccine production is located. The global north, represented by the European Union, argues that temporary patent vaccines are not the right solution, because the main problem lies in the availability of raw materials, and to bring sufficient raw material capacity takes a long time (Nature, 2021). Another reason behind the EU's position is the politics of vaccine nationalism, where they consider vaccine patents need to be protected so as not to give rise to competitors that might emerge due to the temporary patent vaccine scheme, because through this scheme competitors can easily own the expensive technology that the global north has invested in for a long time (Rum & Nandyatama, 2022).

Indonesia's position during its membership in the G20 has always emphasised that there must be equality between the global south and the global north. Furthermore, as the G20 Presidency, Indonesia feels it has the responsibility to advocate for the voices of global south countries that are left behind in terms of handling the pandemic. Indonesia considers that the granting of temporary patent vaccines in conditions of health and economic crisis must be done immediately because this concerns the future of human life and efforts to protect global vaccine corporations must be put aside. In its capacity as Presidency of the G20, Indonesia also continues to commit and advocate for the transfer and development of vaccine technology through 'the Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator' and COVAX. What is also very important to do is that Indonesia must revitalise its relationship with fellow global south in the negotiations of the global health architecture (Rum & Nandyatama, 2022).

In terms of more complex global health system imbalances, Indonesia continues to maximize its health diplomacy capabilities to make the G20 a multilateral forum capable of bringing about changes in terms of post-pandemic global health architecture to prepare for future health emergencies. According to President Joko

Widodo, the world must be better prepared because it will save lives and economies. Furthermore, he also emphasized that the global health architecture must be built with a sense of solidarity and justice, and the empowerment of global south countries must be done to bring cutting-edge solutions (Kementerian Kesehatan, 2022). This is in line with Kickbusch's opinion, which emphasizes that the definition of global health architecture lies in the joint efforts and work between several actors to address global health issues.

In its proposal, Indonesia proposed 3 main points, including: (i) emphasizing the need for harmonization of global policies and instruments related to global health protocols that will ensure safe and standardized cross-border interconnectivity, (ii) data sharing in terms of genomic materials (iii) and equitable distribution of global resources in future pandemics and other health crises, including vaccine and drug manufacturing centers (Wilopo, 2022). Furthermore, the Indonesian Minister of Health, Budi Gunadi Sadikin, also emphasized that the three priority health issues, which include building a global health resilience system, harmonizing global health protocol standards, and developing study and manufacturing centers for the prevention, preparation, and response to future health crises, are one of Indonesia's comprehensive steps to achieve global recovery after the pandemic (Kementerian Kesehatan, 2022).

Agreements in the health sector in Indonesia's G20 Presidency

The G20 is a cooperation group that declares itself as a multilateral forum in the economic field and a discussion forum for world leaders. This is approved by long-established organizations or global governance. It can be seen by the presence of representatives from WHO, World Bank, WTO, IMF, FSB, OECD, ILO, and others, at every G20 Summit. Not infrequently the agreements produced by the G20 will later be adopted by other international organizations, to solve contemporary global problems.

In global issues in the health sector, especially the Covid-19 Pandemic, the Council on Foreign Relations launched a report entitled Challenges of Global Governance Amid the Covid-19 Pandemic which discusses how international cooperation is used effectively to resolve the impact of the pandemic (Bernes et al., 2020). This is done through increasing the capacity of the multilateral system and national governments to deal with the ongoing pandemic and anticipate future pandemics.

Of course, this has undergone several processes that are not easy, the G20 itself is considered paralysed in responding to the pandemic. In fact, the United States considers that this pandemic problem is a problem of the United States against China with its economic rise and all its threats, and also the WHO which is considered to be in favour of China. Saudi Arabia, which held the G20 presidency at the time the pandemic began to spread, is considered to have insufficient leadership capacity to overcome a problem that was not expected to have this much impact (Astuti, 2020).

In this complicated problem, more intense cooperation between member countries is needed, because no matter what the circumstances, international cooperation is still needed (Bernes et al., 2020). Given that this pandemic is not only happening in China or several Asian countries, but also in almost the entire world, and has become a global challenge in itself. At the G20 Meeting in 2020, precisely in February, Finance Ministers and Central Banks produced Realising Opportunities of the 21st Century for All. At that time, Covid-19 had not yet been declared a pandemic, and the meeting still focused on efforts to accelerate and develop the domestic capital market.

Covid-19, which is considered quite dangerous and continues to spread, finally made the G20 finance ministers and central bank governors issue an official statement related to Covid-19 in March 2020. This was done to support measures in tackling Covid-19, including to prevent transmission to treatment and recovery for those affected. In addition, the G20 Sherpas and Saudi Arabia, which is still the leader of the G20 in 2020, also responded, saying that to face and cope with the pandemic, the G20 will work closely with WHO to monitor and share relevant information including vaccine development.

Not only focusing on health, the G20 also endeavours to protect the global economy, which will surely take a hit during a pandemic. Through cooperation with the World Bank and other international financial institutions, 1 trillion USD was released to help developing countries or the global south (Astuti, 2020). In addition, in April 2020, the acceleration of development, production, and access to the COVID-19 vaccine (Access to Covid-19 Tools Accelerator) as stated by WHO was also initiated. This received a good response from Saudi Arabia, which participated in the launch of the ACT Accelerator initiative.

In Indonesia's 2022 G20 Presidency, the issue of health and equality continues to be a concern, and Indonesia is also highlighting the issue. In the Global Action Plan

Foreign Ministerial Meeting on 19 July 2022, Indonesian representatives emphasized the need to resolve inequalities in the face of health crises through permanent mechanisms, as well as the importance of political will from each country to achieve effective medical solutions. The G20 Health Working Group (HWG), led by the Indonesian Minister of Health, affirmed its commitment to continue collaborating with the principles of solidarity, accountability, and equality (Indonesia.go.id, 2022).

At least in three issues covering the development of a global health resilience system, harmonization of global health protocol standards, and the development of study centers and vaccine manufacturing, several agreements have been reached, including the inauguration of the Global Health Fund mechanism in which Indonesia has collaborated with the World Bank, WHO, and developed countries. This mechanism was inaugurated by President Joko Widodo in a series of G20 Summit activities. The Global Health Fund mechanism also includes the Pandemic Fund, which is expected to anticipate and handle future pandemics. According to analyses conducted by the World Bank and WHO, it is estimated that the mechanism will require a budget of around US\$31.1 billion each year. When the mechanism was agreed upon, US\$1.4 billion had been raised from a number of countries such as Australia, Canada, the European Commission, France, Germany, China, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Singapore, United Kingdom, Spain, United States, United Arab Emirates, as well as three philanthropic institutions, namely The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, and the Wellcome Trust (Kementrian Kesehatan, 2022). Then, to harmonize global health protocol standards, G20 Indonesia has approved the use of Quick Response (QR) Codes with standards set by WHO, which will be widely implemented around the world. This agreement reflects the global response to the economic impact felt during the pandemic, especially in the tourism sector, due to restrictions on international mobility (Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi, 2022).

In the latest Issue on the development of vaccine and drug research and manufacturing centers, all G20 health ministers have agreed to conduct a gap analysis and mapping of existing and emerging research, development and manufacturing networks. The first step of this agreement is to expand research and manufacturing capacity for vaccines, therapeutics, and diagnostics (VTDs). At least seven of the 20 G20 countries, including Argentina, Brazil, India, Saudi Arabia,

Turkey, South Africa, and of course Indonesia, have expressed interest in becoming implementers of this agreement (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika, 2022).

Opportunities and Challenges in Implementing the Outcome

Agreement

Under Indonesia's presidency in 2022 the G20 began to emphasize the issue of inclusiveness where all member countries hope that Indonesia will be able to encourage all joint efforts in achieving an inclusive recovery. To achieve this, Indonesia seeks to direct the G20 to become a motor of ecosystem development that encourages collaboration and innovation (Pada et al., 2021). In the focus of the G20 presidency, Indonesia identified 4 key deliverables that have the potential to achieve recovery, one of which is the reform of the global health architecture.

In reforming the global health infrastructure, Indonesia and the G20 members have made various efforts, both newly launched and implemented through the spirit of collaboration. Various efforts such as equitable distribution of vaccines, initiation of a World Bank for health, transfer of technology and health resources, and strengthening and harmonization of health protocols have received mixed responses. According to Timur & Sundari (2023), the steps taken by Indonesia during the G20 presidency have been orientated outside the government and have been able to encourage other countries to change global health governance. However, there are still criticisms regarding the seemingly difficult realization and ineffective implementation of some programs (Shanti, 2022).

According to Timur dan Sundari (2023), global health architecture was the most important agenda during Indonesia's G20 presidency with an average score of 66.7%. However, in the context of building global health infrastructure, Indonesia also creates a role that provides opportunities and challenges. In understanding how far Indonesia's G20 presidency reforms the global health infrastructure, it is necessary to see what are the opportunities and challenges in its implementation.

In attempting to reform the global health infrastructure, Indonesia has several opportunities. One of them is that Indonesia's position as president of the G20 has a great opportunity to accommodate the issues of developing and underdeveloped countries (Helmys & Irawan, 2023). Especially in matters of bridging vaccine needs and global vaccine equality, especially in the African region in the G20 working forum (Hamzah et al., 2022). According to data from Africa CDC (2021), countries

in the African region have the lowest access to Covid-19 vaccination in the world. Less than 9% of the African population has received the first dose of vaccine and only about 5.5% have been fully vaccinated. This then becomes an opportunity for Indonesia to play a role as a bridge builder in reforming global health infrastructure.

As long as human civilisation lasts, the pandemic phenomenon does not only occur once in its journey. Before the Covid-19 pandemic occurred, the world had been hit by various disease outbreaks that became a catastrophe while being able to kill thousands and even millions of people in the world (Hasibuan, 2022). Reflecting on history, the chances of a new pandemic emerging in the future are very large. Therefore, concern for global health infrastructure reform is very important for the Indonesian presidency of the G20. By making efforts to reform the global health infrastructure, there is an opportunity to pass on a good global health system to future generations. At the same time, there is an opportunity to mitigate pandemics that may arise in the future (Harsono, 2022; Pada et al., 2021).

However, it cannot be denied that there are still several challenges faced by the Indonesian presidency at the G20 forum in reforming the global health infrastructure. The G20 event in 2022 has a major achievement in the establishment of a pandemic fund that aims to face future challenges. However, the pandemic fund still has challenges regarding sustainability as well as financial contributions. According to the article (Killian, 2022), the amount of funds raised is US\$10.5 billion per year, which still seems far from the global target. In addition, the problem of the model of using funds that is only grant-based, but does not have a loan scheme makes donors less interested because donors usually want to get something in return for their contribution. This can then become a challenge in the sustainability of the pandemic fund in carrying out current and future global health infrastructure reform efforts.

On the other hand, Indonesia and the G20 members have made various efforts in responding to public health emergencies with various global breakthroughs to achieve uniformity in the implementation of global health protocols (Pada et al., 2021). A foundation that has been planted in carrying out global health reforms, the G20 faces a challenge of the possibility of unsustainability of global health infrastructure reforms by the countries holding the next presidency. One of them is the effort to build a global health bank, which is considered to require a lot of funds, a large division of roles and responsibilities, and is required to seek large support from various parties in the world (Shanti, 2022; Pada et al., 2021).

Finally, efforts to reform a resilient global health infrastructure need to start from the most basic steps, namely strengthening the health systems of each member country. However, in realizing this step, there are challenges that need to be considered, namely the imbalance in the resource capacity of each country in its implementation. According to data from the Global Health Security Index, there are still imbalances in the ability of almost all countries in the world to deal with a pandemic. In this data, it can be concluded that no country has been able to get a score of 80-100, even Indonesia only got a score of 40-60 in 2021.

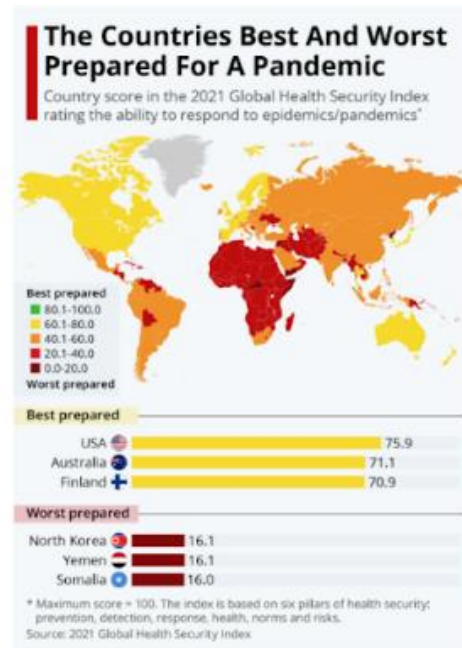


Figure 2. The Countries Best and Worst Prepared for A Pandemic
Source: (Statista.com, 2021)

CONCLUSIONS

Recover Together, Recover Stronger as a big vision of Indonesia's presidency at the G20 to produce an agreement that has a positive impact on global health and the economy in the future. Indonesia also voiced the aspirations of developing countries so that they could be heard and even adopted in pandemic management at the global level, especially regarding the inequality between the global south and the global north in pandemic management. Several agreements that were successfully approved at the G20 Summit in Bali included the establishment of the

Global Health Fund mechanism, including the Pandemic Fund which is expected to be able to prepare for handling pandemics in the future. In addition, a global health protocol harmonization mechanism has also been agreed upon, to ensure economic recovery, especially in the tourism sector. And finally in efforts to distribute and equalize vaccines and other medicines through technology transfer and equalization of other health resources. The existing agreement also raises opportunities and challenges in its implementation. The main challenge is how global health resource inequality continues to occur, as well as how to maintain a balance between domestic interests and compliance with the agreement. In addition, Indonesia's role as G20 presidency also opens opportunities for Indonesia's leadership in international forums, which directly affects the world's perception of Indonesia's capabilities and commitment.

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