



Indonesia's Foreign Policy in Organizing G20 Presidency in 2022

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ABSTRACT: In 2022, Indonesia will have the opportunity for the G-20 Presidency under the leadership of President Joko Widodo. Judging from Indonesia's potential and the prospects of the G-20, this study will look at what kind of foreign policy Indonesia implements in organizing the G-20. Researchers use Rosenau's adaptive theory that foreign policy occurs due to changes in external, internal, and leadership of leaders in a particular country. The study uses qualitative methods with secondary sources from books, journals, official websites, and official documents. The research results from this article show that Indonesia's foreign policy in the G-20 Presidency is preservative Adaptation, meaning that the policy has been determined by external and internal changes and the leadership of the President at that time. External factors include the effects of COVID-19, climate change, and the Russia-Ukraine war. The internal factors are structural reform, digital transformation, and employment law policies. Finally, President Joko Widodo's leadership focuses on developing and improving the Indonesian economy.

Keywords: Foreign Policy; G20; Indonesia



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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries in the Southeast Asian region that can be said to be an emerging economy. In 2021, Indonesia's GDP has reached 1,186.09 billion US dollars and managed to rank first in the Southeast Asian region ([Angelia, 2022](#)). Compared to ASEAN's total GDP of 3,343.36 billion US dollars, Indonesia reached one-third. In addition, Indonesia's exports reached US\$22.38 billion, down 2.04 percent in the same year. So, Indonesia certainly has strong potential in the global economy geopolitically and geoeconomically. Geopolitically, Indonesia is a country surrounded by the sea, so the country's territory is strategic and is often passed by international trade ships ([Djumala et al., 2023](#)). Then geo-economically, Indonesia is known as a country rich in natural resources ranging from mining that produces oil and gas, agriculture that produces fruits and vegetables, to rivers and seas that have abundant and diverse fish potential ([Djumala et al., 2023](#)). This is also strengthened by Indonesia's location on the equator, which will affect the fertility of the soil itself.

In addition to being superior in geography and economy, Indonesia also excels in its population level. In 2023, Indonesia's population will reach 280 million people, which is very large because it is almost 3.51% of the world's population ([Worldometer, 2023](#)). This phenomenon also occurs in the digital world, where Indonesia has reached 215 million people or 78.19 percent of the total population (Yati, 2023). The number of social users is also ranked fourth in the world. In addition, due to the large population, Indonesia will receive a demographic bonus. The benefits obtained are increasing state income that can be saved and invested, increasing economic growth, women's role in the workforce, and investment ([S. Dewi et al., 2018](#)). The Indonesian market will be very profitable for all parties because it has a large population. Because of its power, Indonesia is worthy of being recruited for a global meeting called the G-20, which was carried out by the G-7 developed countries in early 1999.

The G-20 is a forum for developed and developing countries to discuss the world economy. Examples include fiscal and monetary policy, investment and infrastructure development, financial inclusion, financial rules and regulations, and taxes of G20 countries. The issue is referred to as *the finance track* and is carried out by the minister of finance to the central governor of each G-20 member. In addition to discussing the economy, the G-20 forum also discussed aspects supporting the world economy. The following elements are considered: eradication of corruption, health, culture, agriculture, employment, environment, tourism, foreign affairs, digital economy, sustainable energy, trade, investment, industry, development, and women's empowerment. All of these aspects are categorized as *the Sherpa Track*, where the topic of conversation comes from the economy and other broad elements. So, the G-20 is a forum aimed at discussing the global situation and conditions from economic and other aspects (G20pedia Indonesia, 2022).

The multinational forum plays a vital role in Indonesia's economic growth and triggering challenges. Through the G20, Indonesia can open opportunities for foreign investment in the country, expand international financial networks, and accelerate Indonesia's national economic growth ([Putri, 2020](#)). In addition, Indonesia's influence is increasingly considered so that it can become an essential player in global issues. Behind the glittering opportunity to become a member of the G-20, Indonesia certainly has challenges ([Larasasati & Natasya, 2017](#)). The first is that Indonesia must be *up to date* to understand the global issues that are happening so that it can provide practical solutions, and the second is to coordinate internal policies between government agencies and stakeholders ([Larasasati & Natasya, 2017](#)).

A brief history of the G-20 is that its formation began with a monetary crisis in Asia. In the late 1990s, Thailand experienced a sharp depreciation of the Baht currency, spreading to other countries such as Malaysia, South Korea, the Philippines, and Indonesia. The leading causes of the monetary crisis are a weak financial sector, the onset of financial panic, and currency devaluation. The economic crisis did not only arise in Asia, but developed countries were also affected. Because Asian countries are in a situation that will reduce the purchasing power of goods, developed countries are affected by a decrease in consumption, investment, and capital flow to these countries. So indirectly, trade and prices of goods have decreased by 30% since mid-1997. Therefore, the G-7 countries feel that they should also invite developing countries into a new forum called the G-20 to improve cooperation and talk about macroeconomics and other matters ([Mahmudy, 1998](#)).

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After establishing good relations between Indonesia and the G-20, at the G-20 Summit, Italy announced that Indonesia would be mandated as the country to host the next annual G-20 event ([Azanella, 2021](#)). This was warmly welcomed by President Joko Widodo, Indonesia's president, and other officials who attended. Given the positive impact of the G-20 forum, Indonesia is very enthusiastic about holding the G-20 presidency in Indonesia. The G-20 summit can start in December 2021 and end in 2022. This study will analyze Indonesia's foreign policy in carrying out the G-20 presidency in 2022.

Several previous researchers have researched research on foreign policy with the G20 Presidency. ([Azmi & Bintang, 2024](#); [Farhansyah, 2024](#); [Hutabarat, 2022](#); [M. Y. Saputra & Setiawan, 2024](#)). There are similarities from the research, including discussing Indonesia's foreign policy in the G20 presidency. However, conceptually, they also added the principle of bebas – aktif (independent and active), national interests, and *Siyasah Kharrijiyyah*. The result of the previous study is that Indonesia plays the role of a mediator to create peace amid the Russia-Ukraine problem and practices the principle of being free and active. Nevertheless, Indonesia has also navigated its national interests in the G20 Presidency to mediate conflicts, realize the energy transition, realize the global health architecture, and realize digital and economic transformation. These efforts align with the concept of *Siyasah Kharrijiyyah*, namely Indonesia develops relations between countries based on the principle of peace. In previous studies, several researchers have discussed Indonesia's foreign policy during the G20 presidency, but no one has used adaptation theory as one of the theories.

Thus, the problem raised concerns about how Indonesia's foreign policy will organize G20 activities in 2022. To answer this formulation, the researcher uses the foreign policy concept and adaptive theory from Rosenau. This research is hoped to provide new treasures for the science of international relations, especially in studying foreign policy and the G20 in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study uses qualitative research methods. So, the research has processed the data into a series of words that are incorporated into a sentence or non-numerical ([Creswell, 2013](#)). The unit of analysis in this study is Indonesia's foreign policy and the G20. Secondary data sources include journal articles, books, official news, and government websites. The technique used to collect data is a literature study, namely collecting data from writings that have been published in general. The scope of this study is 2021 - 2022. The data processing technique is to use the Miles and Huberman model ([in Sugiyono, 2013](#)) which consists of reducing data, associating data with a frame of mind (*display data*), and providing conclusions from what has been previously associated (conclusion drawing). To validate the data, the researcher conducted a joint check with other researchers and cross-checked with the data obtained previously.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Foreign Policy

Conceptually, foreign policy is a set of values and actions issued by policymakers to promote a policy change or solve a problem. Changes and problems that arise can be in the form of changes in attitudes or actions from other countries or other non-governmental actors such as NGOs, MNCs, TNCs, epistemic communities, and individuals. (Holsti, 1995).

Holsti said that there are 4 (four) goals of foreign policy, namely to achieve security, autonomy, welfare, and status and dignity. If a country wants to achieve one goal, it indirectly reduces the others (Holsti, 1995). For example, if the state wants to improve its security, the country will reduce its financial budget so that its economy will decline. On the other hand, if a country experiences an economic crisis and seeks assistance from different countries, it will establish cooperative relations with other countries and indirectly reduce its autonomy. Therefore, countries with their foreign policies will be careful in identifying and trying to maximize a goal to be achieved. The state government can carry out a plan and originate priorities and goals to maximize specific values or achieve and maintain its goals.

In this study, state policies will focus on welfare aspects. This means that the state must ensure the welfare of its citizens so that they can live and develop well under their authority. If focusing on welfare or the economy, the state will focus on tariff benchmarks, trade, investment, and foreign aid. Holsti mentioned several strategies that the state could carry out to improve the welfare of its citizens by fulfilling the economy using war (autarchy), a country that has complete control of the economy so that it will cause a zero-sum impact (mercantilism), seeking free trade, forming coalitions with other countries (*economic coalition*), regulating the production of a commodity and becoming a monopoly center of producers (*cartels*), conducting *free trade* in regional areas and handing over national control to third parties (*regional trade agreements*), and protecting certain commodities (*the new protectionism*) (Holsti, 1995). According to Rosenau, foreign policy has its levels. (Rosenau, 1980), namely:

1. Foreign policy as a set of orientations;
2. Foreign policy as a set of commitments and plans for action;
3. Foreign policy as a form of behavior or action.

After knowing things about foreign policy, some instruments can be used to achieve the goal, namely diplomacy, propaganda, economics, economic influence, intervention, and weapons (Rosenau, 1980).

The Adaptive Theory

According to Rosenau (1974), foreign policy results from changes in the external and internal environment (structural changes). A country's foreign policy actions at a particular time are the sum of the independent variables: external and structural (internal) changes. Here is the short formula.

$$PT = LT + ET + ST$$

PT = Foreign policy at a particular time

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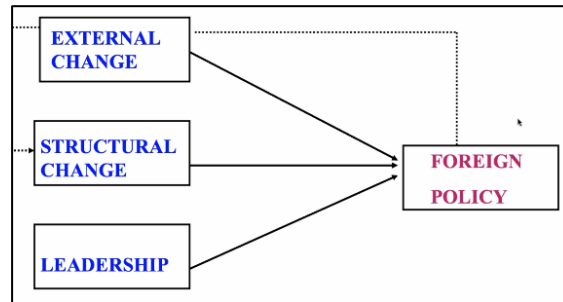
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ET = External Change

ST = Structural Change (internal)

LT = Leadership aspect of a country's political elite at any given time

This formula will produce a framework of thought from Rosenau (1974). Here is the framework.

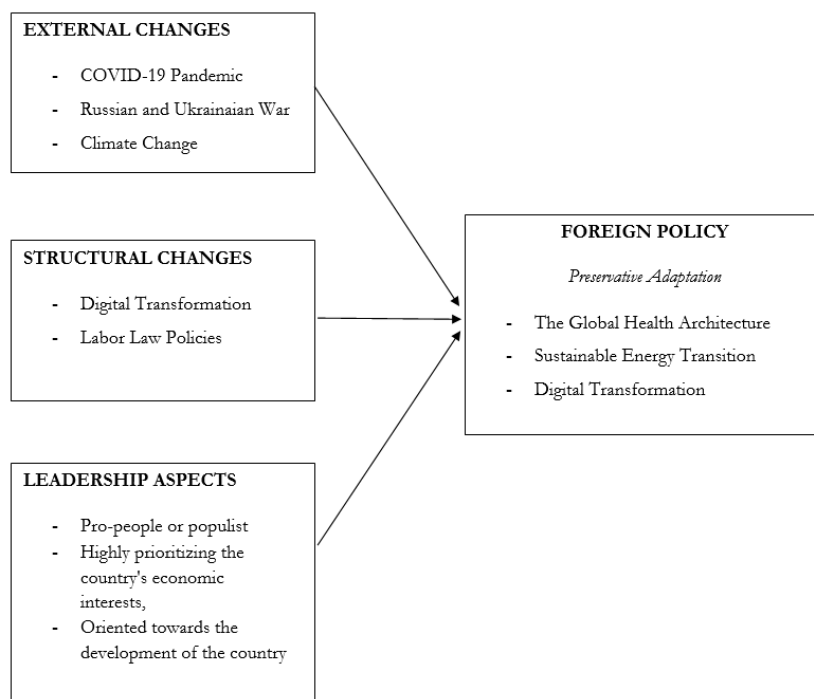


Source: (Rosenau 1974)

From this figure, foreign policy occurs due to changes in a country's leader's external, structural (internal), and leadership. After discovering what changes occur and the influence of leadership, we will find the pattern of adaptation made by the state through its foreign policy. However, Rosenau states that each foreign policy adaptation pattern has different implications for foreign policy change and sustainability. Four possibilities can occur, namely:

- 1) Preservative Adaptation: A foreign policy that responds to external and internal demands and changes,
- 2) Acquiescent Adaptation: A foreign policy that responds to external demands and changes.
- 3) Intransigent Adaptation: Foreign policy that responds to domestic (internal) demands and changes.
- 4) Promotive Adaptation: Foreign policy that does not respond to internal and external demands and changes.

Thus, a framework has been adjusted to the chosen theory. Three aspects are studied: external change, structural change, and leadership aspects. After knowing the concerns, the results of Indonesia's foreign policy patterns will be known.



External Changes

Several external changes occurred when Indonesia held the G-20 presidency. The issues are the COVID-19 pandemic, which has almost had an impact on all aspects of humanity, the war between Russia and Ukraine, which has affected food and energy around the world, and climate change, which has been felt in several Asian countries and the world.

The first issue is the COVID-19 pandemic, which is one of the diseases that can spread quickly if you do not use face shields or masks. (WHO, 2021). The virus will attack the respiratory system so that people who are affected and infected will experience breathing problems, leading to death. According to the BBC (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic has reached more than 940,000 deaths. With the danger posed by continuing to be in direct contact, the world begins to reduce outside activities and reduce direct contact with others. This is done so as not to contract the deadly disease. The impact is that many countries are experiencing declines in various sectors, such as economic, social, environmental, and energy declines (Mofijur et al., 2021). Examples of economic decline are the occurrence of trade protections carried out by various developed and developing countries. (J, 2020) the decline of the agricultural sector starting from the decrease in food supply chains and the number of companies that go out of business (Paksi et al., 2023), the increase in the unemployment rate (Rusman, 2021), and the government issuing many policies to limit interaction will result in a decrease in a country's GDP (Gagnon et al., 2023). Therefore, the COVID-19 pandemic has created a new behavior in global interaction, namely by reducing interaction both in society and trade, such as exports and imports, so that it will hinder economic flows from one country to another. Indonesia, which sees this phenomenon, is considering including the recovery agenda from the COVID-19 pandemic in its foreign policy when it holds the G-20 presidency.

The second is the emergence of the war between Russia and Ukraine, which began in 2021. The war is no longer a new thing among IP researchers because previously, there were problems with Crimea's ownership status ([Chairunnisa & Firyal Athaaya, 2022](#)). Initially, the Ukrainian government was pro-Russia, but it is different from the current one that leans towards the West, namely the United States, Europe, and NATO. Because it did not want to be disturbed by the presence of NATO, Russia showed its temperament by gathering its troops on the Ukrainian border, and finally, the war has been fought until now ([Sef, 2022](#)). The impact of the war is no joke, starting from the food sector ([Bhadra et al., 2023](#)), health ([Dzhus & Golovach, 2023](#)), economy ([Bakrie et al., 2022](#); [Emelia et al., 2022](#); [Rose et al., 2023](#)), technology ([Albakjaji & Almarzoqi, 2023](#)), and energy scarcity in several countries, especially countries that rely on oil and natural gas (A, 2023) Russia is one of the participants in the G20, and the existence of the war will impact the strained relations between Russia and Western countries. Therefore, Indonesia is a developing country dedicated to being a non-aligned country, and the existence of external conflicts will challenge how it positions itself when holding the G-20 event in 2022.

Finally, climate change has become one of the leading global agendas. Based on the 2015 Paris Agreement, all developed and developing countries must commit to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, keeping the global temperature increase below 2°C above pre-industrial levels, and limiting the temperature increase to 1.5°C (UNFCCC, 2016). For this commitment to be realized, each country must make Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC), which contains the country's efforts and commitments to reducing greenhouse gas emissions and adapting to climate change. NDCs are prepared and submitted every five years and published in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Although there has been such an agreement, its implementation is still not massive. Thus, a more specific Glasgow Climate Pact 2021 agreement was created to accelerate global action to tackle global warming with Net Zero Emissions and strengthen adaptation and financial support from developed countries to developing countries. Through the pact, countries agreed to reduce the use of coal power and subsidies on fossil fuels. Thus, the agenda regarding climate change is essential for countries worldwide. ([UNFCCC & UK Government, 2021](#)).

However, Indonesia faces a dilemma when facing pressure from the international community. Indonesia is one of the largest coal exporters in the world and still uses power plants that use fossil fuels such as coal, petroleum, and natural gas. ([Kurniawan et al., 2020](#)). If countries start to stop buying coal, Indonesia's income will decrease. Then, if Indonesia follows the world to reduce fossil fuels, significant funding is needed to build new or renewable energy to replace it. The impact resulting from these activities certainly has the potential to cause global warming, with a projected CO₂ concentration above 400 ppm in 1990 – 2050 ([Eko Cahyono et al., 2022](#)). These projections are very dangerous from an environmental point of view. However, Indonesia is a developing country that certainly needs more funding and adequate technology. Based on research, Indonesia can implement the agreed NDC target, and the result will certainly be a decrease in carbon emissions. ([den Elzen et al., 2019](#)), but cost-wise, there will be higher marginal damage in 2050 ([Al-Amin et al., 2020](#)) So, the transition from fossil fuels to renewables will be slower in this country than in other countries. (van Soest et al., 2021) Therefore, developed countries need to commit more intensively to providing financial support to Indonesia in realizing a renewable energy transition. ([Chairiawan, 2019](#)).

In addition, the agreement between countries to reduce emissions has affected international trade. Indonesia often experiences trade barriers, one of which is a problem with non-tariff barriers in the form of environmental issues. Developed countries pay great attention to the ecological aspects of their activities. For example, timber that is not through illegal logging ([Sari & Nirmala, 2020](#)), business ventures that must pay attention to environmental sustainability ([R. Dewi, 2013](#); [Kumala, 2017](#)). All of this is done so that the earth can be saved from carbon dioxide emissions and global warming ([Yiwananda & Nugrahani, 2021](#)). So what happens is that developed countries tend to prohibit the import of goods from Indonesia, such as banning the import of palm oil. Thus, it is also challenging for Indonesia to include environmental sustainability in its foreign policy.

Structural Changes

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesia is also affected. Many MSMEs have gone out of business, many people have been fired because the company cannot pay, and many more. This happens because of the policy not to be close to each other, and people prefer to stay home rather than have to snack or interact outside. So, conventional businesses tend to be disadvantaged in this regard. However, as the frequency of people at home is increasing, so has the number of social media users and the tendency of people to do anything digitally. For example, shopping ([Amri, 2020](#)) Online through e-commerce or from other social media. In addition to not having to interact directly, digital can make it easier for people to get the goods they need ([Ayu & Lahmi, 2020](#)).

With these internal changes, the local government began to enforce policies to digitize all government activities. Examples are paying taxes online, opening the latest information about government performance through the website, registering to create and renew passports, and others. This initiation is a form of reform in the bureaucratic system called digital transformation reform ([Firdaus et al., 2021](#)). This means that the government, all officials, and other staff must be agile to adapt to existing problems and make it an opportunity to improve a bright, comfortable, and productive work ethic. Kissinger ([in Holsti, 1995](#)) It mentioned that this is a category of bureaucratic-pragmatic style, which means that policies are made in response to situations outside the region. Problems are solved by hard work and diplomatic negotiations with each other, as well as a strong division of labor and emphasis on specialization.

In addition to reforms in digital transformation, Indonesia is also working to increase control over health and the economy. The government has allocated Rp 414 trillion in health control to run the National Economic Recovery Program or PEN. Meanwhile, in the economy, many things have been done. Such as establishing accommodative monetary policies, increasing investment aimed at 246 export-oriented and high-tech businesses, and prioritizing the environment as stated in Presidential Regulation No. 98 of 2021, which is about implementing an economic assessment mechanism for greenhouse gases that aims to discipline entrepreneurs to reduce their carbon by providing taxes ([Limanseto, 2022](#)).

In attracting foreign investment, reforms are also carried out regarding legal policies, such as the creation of the Job Creation Law No. 11 of 2020, which took effect on November 2, 2020. To strengthen the existence of the law, there are 45 government regulations and 4 presidential

regulations for the technical implementation of the law ([A. Saputra, 2021](#)). In addition, there are also social assistance, family hope programs, salary subsidies, pre-employment cards, and others to strive to accelerate economic growth and create jobs. However, Al-Fadhat (2022) stated that the government should also pay attention to civil rights, especially women's rights, indigenous workers, and negative environmental impacts. Because Indonesia tends to be authoritarian when achieving its economic interests, therefore, Indonesia has made a series of efforts to grow the country's economy. Still, the state must also pay attention to other aspects of establishing a domestic policy that will be applied to foreign investors.

Leadership Aspects

After knowing about external and internal changes, a country's foreign policy must also pay attention to the leadership element over time. In 2021, Indonesia was proposed as the following country to hold the G-20 presidency in 2022, when the Indonesian leader was led by a president named Joko Widodo. He is the 7th president, leading Indonesia for two terms in 2014 and 2019. ([President of the Republic of Indonesia 2019](#)). Joko Widodo, often called Jokowi, is a president whose background is a timber businessman for export abroad. ([Limarta 2022](#)). Therefore, the president is already skilled in conducting international business and interacting with foreign clients.

When focusing on politics, he has a pro-people image that will improve the welfare of the Indonesian people by accelerating the people's economy and improving infrastructure. (Andika 2016). The activities that are always carried out are "blusukan" or meaning meeting the people directly to hear the aspirations and complaints of the community ([Zulkarnain and Harris 2017](#)). ([Zulkarnain and Harris 2017](#)). This greatly influenced Joko Widodo's leadership style in the global arena. President Joko Widodo is more oriented towards domestic fulfillment than the previous presidential era, such as improving infrastructure, exporting Indonesian commodities, guarding the sea and islands at the border, etc. This is done so that Indonesia's interests can be achieved, namely improving the country's welfare or economy and security from external problems.

In his next term, President Joko Widodo, while focusing on domestic issues, also became aware of problems in the world. As explained earlier, the war between Russia and Ukraine impacted the food and energy sectors, and Indonesia began to feel this. The President then visited the two countries and tried to engage in diplomacy to defuse the situation. ([Reditya 2022](#)). Collaboration is one of the keys he always conveys on every agenda because chaos and, even worse, losses will occur without partnership. This aligns with his business experience, which states that rather than fighting a war, it is better to do business to make profits and provide positive things to society. In addition to these problems, the COVID-19 pandemic has also greatly affected Indonesia. So, the emerging leadership style was very populist and straightforward and interacted directly with the community. The government is trying to create a Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) policy, which includes closing schools and workplaces, limiting religious activities, and limiting activities in public places or facilities. In addition, services to the people are the main thing, especially in health, education, labor productivity, and others. ([Harahap 2023](#)).

In addition, President Joko Widodo emphasized building infrastructure and focusing on developing and improving human resources. This is done so that Indonesia can compete with other countries in various aspects. Examples of activities are providing Smart Indonesia Cards (KIP), college KIP, Merdeka Campus, Digital Literacy, and spaces provided by the government as a forum for increasing community creativity. (Setiyadi 2023). Therefore, it can be seen that the orientation of Indonesian leaders is to build the country from within and bridge it with adequate infrastructure. Through the explanation above, Joko Widodo's leadership style is as follows: pro-people or populist, highly prioritizing the country's economic interests and oriented towards the development of the country.

Indonesia's Foreign Policy Pattern in Organizing the G-20 Presidency

Through a series of previous explanations, it can be said that in organizing the G-20 forum, Indonesia's foreign policy will be oriented toward preservative adaptation. This means that the activities created are a response that occurs outside and inside the country. This can be seen from the theme, "Recover Together, Recover Stronger," which means that cooperation can solve problems in the world. Then, three issues are raised: global health architecture, sustainable energy transition, and digital transformation.

Indonesia takes the issue of global health architecture because of external and internal needs. Many countries are experiencing the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, so it will be very relevant to discuss this topic. The main things that must be addressed are the distribution of vaccines and improvements to the global health defense system. So that people can recover and successfully reduce the number of people infected by the disease. The purpose of taking this issue is to commit to building the resilience of the global health system, which requires mobilizing essential health and financial resources, harmonizing global health protocol standards, and expanding global manufacturing centers. Indonesia can promote sustainable health on a worldwide and domestic scale by taking the topic.

Next is the issue of sustainable energy transition. Protection of the environment has begun to be mobilized in this era, especially from outside Indonesia, such as Europe, which echoes being more aware of the increasingly pronounced climate change. As a developing country still relying on fossil resources, Indonesia will produce emissions and negatively impact the environment. Therefore, through this talk, the thoughts of the G20 countries can be channeled. Indonesia is also concerned with the environment but needs adequate tools to generate renewable energy. So Indonesia has the Net Zero Emission principle, which will reduce fossil energy with carbon tax & trading, co-firing PLTU with renewable energy, and retirement PLTU. Then, because the country is oriented towards the economy, investment is needed to develop the country. President Joko Widodo emphasized that Indonesia will begin to focus on the green economy because the benefits outweigh the losses (Sutrisno 2022). Besides being able to do business, it can protect the environment for children in the future. If Indonesia starts to focus on this issue, it will also get green investment from other countries. The agenda launched is the use of new renewable energy, electric vehicles in the transportation sector, Utilization of carbon capture & storage (CCS), increasing the use of electricity in households, the potential of hydro energy, issuing green sukuk, and so on.

Finally, there is the issue of digital transformation. According to researchers, this issue is closely related to strong domestic needs. By discussing the problem in the G-20, Indonesia will increase its IT-related cooperation in the digital economy. Carrying out digital transformation will increase new jobs in 2024 and Indonesia's GDP. This means that digitally skilled human resources are needed to achieve this goal. In addition, Indonesia also discussed priorities discussed in the working group, namely connectivity and recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic, digital literacy capabilities and recovery, and cross-border data flows (G20pedia Indonesia 2022). Through this discussion, the G20 countries can work together to increase capacity building in digital and improve the digital economy. Because previously, many MSMEs benefited from the presence of digital.

In addition to discussing issues, when Indonesia is the host, it does not distinguish between the guests present. This can be seen from Indonesia's still inviting the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, to attend Indonesia because it is still a member of the G-20. Meanwhile, Indonesia also supports providing humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Although Russia did not come in the end, Indonesia has shown global concern and continues to promote cooperation. Because the Indonesian president has a characteristic that prioritizes economic progress over war, he can do this and still implement the G20 properly. Through the three issues presented, it was evident that Indonesia's foreign policy when hosting the G20 is preservative adaptation, which is very sensitive and considers external and internal matters into an activity or action.

CONCLUSION

From the research that has been conducted, it can be concluded that Indonesia's foreign policy in holding the G20 Presidency in 2022 is preservative adaptive, which means that the policy pays attention to external and internal changes and is influenced by aspects of the President's leadership at that time. External changes are the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and the war between Russia and Ukraine. Furthermore, there are internal changes, namely digital transformation and labor law policies, and finally, from the perspective of the president's leadership, which tends to be pro-people, prioritizing the economy and nation-building. So, in organizing the G20, Indonesia can better respond to domestic and foreign demand by holding 3 major agendas: global health architecture, sustainable energy transition, and digital transformation.

Based on this study's findings, conducting a more in-depth follow-up study of Indonesia's foreign policy and its relationship with the G20 is recommended. Further research should be more specific in studying the policy, such as using quantitative or mixed methods to see how effective the policy is. In addition, research can also deepen the influence and impact of the G20 on the sustainability of the Indonesian state in other countries. This study only looks at Indonesia's foreign policy pattern in organizing the G20.

The research results will help the Indonesian government adapt to external and internal changes and decide on themes that benefit many parties. The practical advice that can be conveyed is that the government needs to pay attention to its environmental policies to be more responsive to external demands and improve technology and law to meet internal needs better.

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