

The G20 Summit in Bali: Preparation, Development and Mexican Participation

*La Cumbre del G20 en Bali: preparación,
desarrollo y participación mexicana*

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Abstract

This article presents a brief account of the preparations for and conduct of the G20 Leaders' Summit in Bali, Indonesia, in November 2022. The authors explain the core issues discussed there, including the war in Ukraine, climate change, development, strengthening the health architecture, and food and energy security, as well as Mexico's participation and the main thematic areas it promoted, while assessing the key outcomes of the summit.

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Resumen

Este artículo contiene un breve recuento sobre el proceso de preparación y la manera en que se desarrolló la Cumbre de Líderes del G20 celebrada en Bali, Indonesia, en noviembre de 2022. Los autores explican tanto los principales temas que se allí se trataron, entre otros, la guerra en Ucrania, el cambio climático, el desarrollo, el fortalecimiento de la arquitectura de salud y la seguridad alimentaria y energética, como la participación de México y las principales áreas temáticas que este país impulsó, además de evaluar los principales resultados alcanzados en la cumbre.

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Keywords

G20, Bali Summit, Russia-Ukraine War, Bali Declaration, climate change, poverty, free trade, digital transformation

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Palabras clave

G20, Cumbre de Bali, Guerra Rusia-Ucrania, Declaración de Bali, cambio climático, pobreza, libre comercio, transformación digital

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Introduction

Despite predictions of imminent failure in the face of polarisation resulting from Russia's invasion of Ukraine,¹ the 17th G20 Leaders' Summit in Bali, Indonesia, in November 2022 was not only successful, but also contributed to strengthening the Group's role as the forum par excellence for formulating guidelines in the face of international financial crises and their effects on the global economy.² The commitments reached in Bali, on issues such as the war in Ukraine, climate change and development financing, strengthening the health architecture and food and energy security, among others, strengthen the role of the G20 as a space for convergence between

¹ Yves Tiberghien, "Disrupted Order: G20 Global Governance at a Time of Geopolitical Crisis", in *Global Summitry E-Journal*, special edition 2021-2022, summer 2021-winter 2022, pp. 83-96, at <https://globalsummitryproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Global-Summitry-Special-Issue-e-Journal-FallWinter-2021-2022-Updated-Version.pdf> (date of access: November 23, 2022); David J. Lynch and Emily Rauhala, "Divided over Ukraine War, G-20 Summit Struggles on Economic Agenda", *The Washington Post*, November 13, 2022, at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2022/11/13/biden-g20-xi-ukraine-war/> (date of access: November 23, 2022).

² G20 Research Group, "The Group of Twenty: A History", at <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/docs/g20history.pdf> (date of access: November 23, 2022).

the major developed nations and emerging economies, which includes Mexico, with specific weight and influence on the international stage.

In a world once again rattled by war and struggling to fully recover from a long pandemic, setting common agendas and achievable action plans seemed virtually impossible in the first months of Indonesia's G20 presidency, as working groups and ministerial meetings were characterised by deep misunderstandings and accusations between Russia and the group of Western bloc countries in the wake of the former's invasion of Ukraine.³ Further complicating the negotiations was the persistent rivalry with China on a number of thematic areas, including its reluctance to discuss military conflict in the framework of the G20,⁴ arguing the absence of a mandate to discuss matters outside the economic sphere.

Failure to reach consensus, for the first time since the inaugural summit in 2008, would have repercussions not only for the intensification of global polarisation, but also for the very survival of the G20, by setting a precedent for the very likely scenario of future disagreements. For this reason, it was a priority for Mexico to preserve the Group's leadership and ensure that it assumed full responsibility for formulating solutions to the undeniable impact of the war on the global economy.⁵

Based on this logic, the Bali outcome is likely to be explained by a growing awareness of the different members with antagonistic positions within the Group in order to avoid being perceived as responsible for the failure of the Summit, and therefore for the G20's loss of effectiveness in defining economic directives with global effects.

³ Syed Munir Kharsu, "Amid Global Divisions, Indonesia Faces a Daunting Task to Achieve G20 Consensus", *South China Morning Post*, October 29, 2022, at <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/asia/article/3197307/amid-global-divisions-indonesia-faces-daunting-task-achieve-g20-consensus> (date of access: November 23, 2022).

⁴ Christian Shepherd, Emily Rauhala and Rebecca Tan, "In G-20 Talks, China Objects to Calling Russian Invasion of Ukraine a 'War'", *The Washington Post*, November 15, 2022, at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/11/15/china-xi-ukraine-g20-war-russia/> (date of access: December 2, 2022).

⁵ Chad de Guzmán, "Geopolitical Showdowns Overshadow the G20 Summit in Indonesia", *Time*, November 13, 2022, at <https://time.com/6232748/g20-summit-bali-geopolitical-showdown/> (date of access: December 2, 2022).

Russia's evident isolation in the negotiations led to the withdrawal of China's initial position and the lack of overt support from potential allies such as the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). The combination of these elements, in addition to an imminent escalation in the magnitude of sanctions imposed on Russia by developed countries, played a decisive role in reaching the first consensus document in a multi-lateral forum, which, with Russia's consent,⁶ includes the "deplores in the strongest terms", as well as the demand for "complete and unconditional withdrawal from the territory of Ukraine".⁷

At the same time, the efforts of emerging economies such as Mexico and Indonesia, as well as Brazil, India and Argentina, in trying to bridge the gap of a deep geopolitical divide and other disagreements, were key to ending the long impasse experienced by the Group.⁸

Added to this is Indonesia's exemplary handling of the negotiations as coordinator of the Group. From the beginning of its presidency, Indonesia sought to strike a better balance between the priorities of developed and emerging nations, seeking to establish an alternative to the outcome of the Rome Summit. This action is interpreted as a response to criticisms of previous processes led by developed countries, in which their interests prevailed over the rest, particularly the predominance of the United States under the Trump administration and its growing confrontation with China.

Indonesia ushered in a period of coordinated work by four emerging economies (India, 2023; Brazil, 2024; and South Africa, 2025), which have interests and ambitions for global influence, at times at odds with those

⁶ As a condition set by Russia for accepting the condemnation, the result of the vote on U.N. General Assembly resolution ES-11/1, which was adopted by a majority (141 votes in favour, 5 against, 35 abstentions and 12 absences), was reflected.

⁷ G20, "G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration", November 16, 2022, paragraph 3, at <https://kemlu.go.id/download/L3NpdGvzL3B1c2F0L0RvY3VtZW50cy9TawFyYw4lMjBQZXXjZLzlw-MjlvRzlwJTRwQmFsasUyMExlywRlcnlMlMjclMjBEZWNsYXJhdGlvbiwlMjAxNS0xNiUyME5vd-mVtYmVyJTRwMjAyMiwlMjBpbmNjJTRwQW5uzXgucGRm> (date of access: November 23, 2022).

⁸ Henry Foy and Mercedes Ruehl, "A Remarkable Job': How Russia and China Buckled in the Face of a United G20", *The Financial Times*, November 17, 2022, at <https://www.ft.com/content/44647086-b594-4553-9fd4-0476e877a04a> (date of access: November 23, 2022).

of their close allies.⁹ Nevertheless, the rise of emerging economies to G20 leadership represents an opportunity to increase the influence of the interests of countries like ours and others with similar development that are not part of the top twenty economies.¹⁰

At the conclusion of the Summit and the adoption of the Bali Declaration, this article will briefly review the Indonesian-led process and discuss the main thematic areas promoted by Mexico and the results achieved.

The road to Bali

On the eve of the G20 Summit in Bali, Edi Pambudi, Indonesia's deputy Sherpa, noted that after the outbreak of the conflict in Ukraine, the G20 would have become the "the most strategic forum for global leaders to demonstrate their true commitment to pursue constructive collaboration in response to the deteriorating global economy and to the overwhelming geopolitical uncertainty".¹¹ His vision was to be confirmed in the days that followed.

Under the motto "Recover Together, Recover Stronger", which echoes post-pandemic recovery efforts, the preparatory process for the Bali Summit began in December 2021 with the first Sherpa meeting.¹² On this occasion, Indonesia set the priorities for the 12 working groups that make

⁹ Noto Suoneto, "Indonesia to Host G20 Summit Next Year: What Will be on the Agenda?", *The Diplomat*, July 16, 2021, at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/07/indonesia-to-host-g20-summit-next-year-what-will-be-on-the-agenda/> (date of access: November 23, 2022).

¹⁰ Purvaja Modak, "India's 2023 G20 Presidency: What to Expect?", in *Global Economic Governance*, November 29, 2022, at <https://www.bu.edu/gdp/2022/11/29/indias-2023-g20-presidency-what-to-expect/> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

¹¹ Edi Prio Pambudi and Hermawan Yulius Purwadi, "Indonesia's G20 Presidency: Indissoluble Challenges, Commendable Achievements", in John Kirton y Madeline Koch (eds.), *G20 Indonesia: The 2022 Bali Summit*, London, GR Media, 2022, p. 53, at <https://edition.pagesuite.com/html5/reader/production/default.aspx?pubname=&pubid=34a4b81b-86d2-4ab2-83f2-2c105699a46c> (date of access: December 3, 2022).

¹² The Sherpas are the representatives of the Leaders in the conduct of the preparatory work. During the process, the Sherpas identify possible agreements and outcomes on the non-financial issues on the Group's agenda.

up the Sherpa Channel,¹³ as well as the corresponding arrangements in the Finance Channel.¹⁴ The priorities adopted by Indonesia included issues of great urgency such as reform of the global health architecture, digital transformation and energy transitions as areas of convergence between developed and emerging economies.¹⁵ Little could be foreseen at the time about the complex months following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

During its coordination, Indonesia organised 184 events linked to the G20 agenda, including 20 meetings of central bank governors and ministers, 17 formal and informal Sherpa sessions, 56 working group meetings and 90 accompanying group meetings.¹⁶ Hybrid participation of delegations was privileged in all meetings.

Key issues

Indonesia mapped out its thematic priorities linked to economic and social issues in order to promote the formulation of a series of commitments and actions in the framework of the working groups, which would later be integrated into the Bali Declaration, with the consent of the leaders. In terms of their level of priority at the beginning of the Bali process, the following stand out:

- *Addressing the health crisis.* Accelerating global vaccinations and tackling inequity in access to vaccines emerged as the most urgent issues. Indonesia set out to make commitments to maximise investments

¹³ The working groups are: health, development, energy, anti-corruption, agriculture, culture, education, digital economy, trade and investment, employment, environment and climate change, and tourism.

¹⁴ Composed of the financial authorities and central banks of the Member States and invited countries.

¹⁵ E. P. Pambudi and H. Y. Purwadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

in health, with an emphasis on preparedness, prevention and response to future pandemics.¹⁷

- *Economic recovery.* Economic growth was positioned as one of the highest priorities, with a special focus on the development of the most vulnerable countries which, until then, were facing asymmetric levels of recovery.¹⁸ Achieving greater economic diversification, strengthening global health capacity and expanding access to global supply chains complemented the list of priorities deemed necessary to underpin recovery.¹⁹
- *Combating poverty.* Social inclusion, support for the most vulnerable sectors and the reduction of gaps were considered as cross-cutting themes of the working axes. At the same time, this priority sought to place the 2030 Agenda at the heart of all the group's commitments.²⁰
- *Digital transformation.* The pandemic singularly accelerated the adoption of digital technology, creating multiple challenges of infrastructure and access; security; and digital literacy. The G20 dialogue would, from the outset, seek a stronger global recovery through the use of digital technologies.²¹
- *Combating climate change and energy transition.* The G20 strives to contribute to the implementation of climate goals; the alignment of national contributions with economic recovery plans; and the creation of green jobs, among other issues. At the same time, the Group

¹⁷ Caitlin Byrne, "All Eyes Turn to Indonesia as It Takes On the 2022 G20 Presidency", in The Global Governance Project, at <https://www.globalgovernanceproject.org/all-eyes-turn-to-indonesia-as-it-takes-on-the-2022-g20-presidency/caitlin-byrne/> (date of access: December 6, 2022).

¹⁸ John Kirton, "A Prospective Substantial Performance at the G20's Bali Summit", in G20 Research Group, November 13, 2022, at <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/analysis/221113-kirton-prospects.html> (date of access: December 2, 2022).

¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia, "Priorities of Indonesia's G20 Presidency", December 1, 2021.

²⁰ *Idem.*

²¹ *Idem.*

sees itself as key to mobilising resources for the most vulnerable countries.²²

- *Fiscal and monetary stimulus.* Reducing fiscal deficits and public debt is an area of concern, in addition to the surging growth in inflation, which has forced the central banks of the world's major economies to raise interest rates consistently. Given its ability to spearhead the international agenda, the G20 discussed agreements on interest rates and the containment of inflation.²³
- *Free trade.* Bali proposed aiding the strengthening of the multilateral trading system (MTS) for global recovery, with the main objective of combating poverty, addressing disruptions in supply chains and contributing to the delivery of vaccines, treatments and diagnostics.²⁴

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which began in February 2022, dealt a severe blow to the stated priorities. The former's membership of the Group, the paralysis of the U.N. Security Council and the lack of consensus in other multilateral fora transformed the G20 into a space for the G7 to seek widespread and strongly-worded condemnation of Russia.

From then on, disagreements between the G7 and Russia, as well as China, dominated the Bali preparatory process. In March 2022, the United States and other countries pushed for Russia's expulsion from G20 meetings, for example, claiming that they could not sit at the same table with a country that so clearly violated international norms.²⁵ While Mexico condemned Russia's actions in Ukraine,²⁶ it rejected the country's expulsion from the G20, along with at least 10 other member states, on the principle

²² *Idem.*

²³ *Idem.*

²⁴ *Idem.*

²⁵ Al Jazeera English, "Can Russia be Barred from the G20 Summit?", in YouTube, March 24, 2022, at <https://youtu.be/xGqu7snM8xs> (date of access: December 3, 2022).

²⁶ Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SRE), "El canciller Ebrard pide al G20 una solución pacífica a la guerra en Ucrania a fin de frenar la inflación y prevenir la hambruna en el mundo", press release, no. 258, July 8, 2022, at <https://www.gob.mx/sre/prensa/el-canciller-ebrard-pide-al-g20-una-solucion-pacifica-a-la-guerra-en-ucrania-a-fin-de-frenar-la-inflacion-y-prevenir-la-hambruna-en-el-mundo?idiom=es> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

of the prevalence of diplomacy to find a solution to the conflict and the urgency of addressing the international economic crisis.²⁷

Despite repeated efforts at dialogue by the majority of emerging economies, irreconcilable differences between the G7 and Russia caused a broad impasse in the Bali preparatory process and prevented agreement on final declarations at both the finance and Sherpa meetings, as well as at the 15 ministerial meetings.²⁸ Instead, the ministerial statements were replaced by “Presidential Summaries”,²⁹ divided into two segments: the first, with a description of the opposing positions on the war in Ukraine, and the second, with the texts reached by consensus but not formally adopted due to the lack of general agreement.

As geopolitical divisions grew, so did concerns about the derailment of the Bali Summit, with catastrophic consequences for economic recovery and future development prospects.³⁰ In such a context, G20 members were called upon, as never before, to use their greatest diplomatic skills to avert a failure.

The negotiation of the Bali Declaration began in September 2022, during the third Sherpa meeting. As part of its strategy, Indonesia decided to postpone the discussion on geopolitical tensions until the fourth meeting, as a prelude to the Bali Summit, and to begin with issues on which agreement was possible. Although the process moved slowly, delegations reached compromises in different thematic areas.

The fourth Sherpa meeting began five days before the leaders’ summit, with the aim of reaching agreement on complex issues and, most importantly, on the condemnatory language on Ukraine and the analysis of its multidimensional impact.

²⁷ Anton Alifandi *et al.*, “G20 Members’ Views on Russia Diverge, Making Expulsion Unlikely”, in S&P Global Market Intelligence, May 23, 2023, at <https://www.spglobal.com/marketintelligence/en/mi/research-analysis/g20-members-views-on-russia-diverge-making-expulsion-unlikely.html> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

²⁸ C. de Guzmán, *op. cit.*

²⁹ D. J. Lynch and E. Rauhala, *op. cit.*

³⁰ Ananda Teresia, Stanley Widiyanto and Kate Lamb, “G20 Host Indonesia Waiting to See If Putin Will Attend Summit”, in Reuters, November 3, 2022, at <https://www.reuters.com/world/g20-host-indonesia-waiting-see-if-putin-will-attend-summit-2022-11-03/> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

Indonesia conducted two parallel negotiations: the first, with the participation of the Sherpas, would deal exclusively with the geopolitical situation, and the second would negotiate pending texts in other thematic areas. After complex and extensive deliberations, in which the fear of arriving at the Summit without a final text lingered, the delegations reached an agreement around midnight on November 14, driven by the mediation of the emerging economies.

The Bali Declaration will be considered a landmark document as the first formally adopted consensus that recorded a clear condemnation by the majority of members of the war in Ukraine and set out a series of commitments in multiple areas related to development and economic recovery.

Development of the Bali Summit

The Bali Summit took place on November 15-16, 2022, immediately following the fourth Sherpa meeting. Thanks to the agreements reached in the preparatory meetings, the Heads of State and Government were able to participate in a smooth and trouble-free Summit.

The meeting was chaired by Indonesian President Joko Widodo, one of the heads of state with the most contributions to the meeting, with nine. The leaders of Argentina, Australia, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey and the United Kingdom took part, while the European Union was led by Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, and Charles Michel, President of the European Council.³¹ The Brazilian and Russian delegations were led by their respective foreign ministers, and the Mexican President, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, was represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marcelo Ebrard Casaubon.³² Among those invited to the Summit were the leaders of Spain, the Netherlands

³¹ A. Teresia, "Factbox: What is the G20 and Which Leaders Are Attending the Bali Summit", in Reuters, November 2022, at <https://www.reuters.com/world/g20-summit-which-leaders-will-attend-bali-summit-2022-11-12/> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

³² SRE, "El canciller Marcelo Ebrard representa a México en la Cumbre del G20", press release, no. 438, November 15, 2022, at <https://www.gob.mx/sre/prensa/el-canciller-marcelo-eb-rard-representa-a-mexico-en-la-cumbre-del-g20?idiom=es> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

and Singapore; Senegal (chair of the African Union) and Rwanda (chair of NEPAD) as well as the United Arab Emirates; Suriname representing CARICOM, Cambodia representing ASEAN and Fiji representing the Pacific Community.³³

The Bali Summit also gave ample space in its three thematic sessions to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky who, via remote links, denounced the Russian invasion of his country, appealed for greater military and financial assistance from its allies, and presented a ten-point peace plan.³⁴

The Summit was divided into two working days and three thematic sessions: Food and Energy Security, Global Health Architecture and Digital Transformation. On the margins, bilateral meetings were held between the President of the United States and the President of the People's Republic of China, as well as the first meeting of MIKTA leaders, made up of Mexico, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Türkiye and Australia.

On the second day of the Summit, tempers flared as G7 leaders called an emergency meeting after news of a missile strike on Polish territory near the Ukrainian border killing two people,³⁵ as well as an escalation of Russian bombardment of several Ukrainian towns, with damage to infrastructure critical to the country's operations.³⁶

In spite of the risk of the G7 pulling out of the consensus reached, at the end of the second day of sessions, the countries represented, including Russia

³³ A. Teresia, *op. cit.*

³⁴ S. Widiyanto *et al.*, "Zelenskiy Urges G20 to Adopt Ukraine's Plan to Restore Peace", in Reuters, November 15, 2022, at <https://www.reuters.com/world/we-will-have-fight-longer-liberate-ukrainian-land-says-zelenskiy-2022-11-15/> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

³⁵ A. Teresia and S. Widiyanto, "Most G20 Leaders Condemn Russia's War in Ukraine at Summit, Some Take Different View", in Reuters, November 16, 2022, at <https://www.reuters.com/world/g20-talks-enter-final-day-emergency-meeting-held-over-poland-blasts-2022-11-16/> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

³⁶ Julia Kesaieva *et al.*, "Wave of Russian Missiles Hit Ukraine after Zelensky Outlines Conditions for Peace at G20 Summit", in CNN, November 15, 2022, at <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/11/15/world/kyiv-strikes-russia-zelensky-peace-intl/index.html> (date of access: December 4, 2022).

and China, adopted the 52-paragraph Bali Declaration. The following section will analyse Mexico's main contributions to this document.

Mexico's participation and results at the Bali Summit

Participation in the G20 is a priority area of the current Mexican government's foreign policy. It represents a useful forum for promoting the country's interests and "consolidating its role in the development of global governance strategies and rules",³⁷ determined by Mexico's economic weight in the global economy and by its diplomacy, which habitually deploys a constructive approach in the search for lasting solutions.

Since the establishment of the G20 leaders' summit in 2008, triggered by the global economic crisis, Mexico has played an important role in this forum. The country chaired the Group during 2012 and hosted the Los Cabos Summit in June of that year, where important agreements were achieved, such as the recapitalisation of the International Monetary Fund for more than USD 450 billion and the adoption of the Los Cabos Action Plan with commitments on fiscal and monetary matters.³⁸

Based on the wealth of interests it promotes through various forums, Mexico's substantive participation in the Bali Summit had as its main objective the promotion of specific commitments to follow up on the most urgent areas of the current situation, to follow up on agreements reached at past summits and, in the words of Foreign Minister Marcelo Ebrard, "to return to the path of global recovery and diplomacy to alleviate geopolitical tensions".³⁹ Among the key issues promoted by the Mexico's involvement in the G20 during the process coordinated by Indonesia, the following stand out.

³⁷ SRE, "Programa Sectorial derivado del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2019-2024", *Diario Oficial de la Federación*, July 2, 2020, p. 2.

³⁸ Lourdes Aranda Bezaury, *Participación mexicana en el G20*, Mexico, Matías Romero Institute-SRE (Cuadernos del G20, 1), 2011.

³⁹ Marcelo Ebrard Casaubon, "A United G20 for the Future", en J. Kirton y M. Koch (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

Russia-Ukraine war

Since the beginning of the conflict in February 2022, Mexico has expressed particular concern about the negative impact of the war in Ukraine on global efforts to eradicate poverty, and has therefore always placed the fight against poverty and inequality as a key global priority. In the first working session of the Summit, Food and Energy Security, the Foreign Minister stated that the war in Ukraine has impacted the world's food and energy security and caused price hikes at the international level.⁴⁰ Likewise, in different meetings, the Mexican representation was equally consistent in pointing out that, after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the G20 could not continue to operate under the logic of *business as usual* and urged members to assess the impact that the conflict has had on different areas, such as food security, energy prices and development, to mention the most notable issues.

As a result of negotiations and pressure exerted by most G20 members, including the Mexican delegation, the Bali Summit overcame the impasse produced by the confrontation over the Russian war in Ukraine and agreed on paragraph 3 of the Bali Declaration which evokes U.N. General Assembly resolution ES-11/1 “adopted by majority vote (141 votes for, 5 against, 35 abstentions, 12 absent) deplores in the strongest terms the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine”.

Health

Mexico established equitable and universal access to vaccines, testing and treatment as one of its priorities as the best approach to present and future pandemics. It also welcomed the creation of the Financial Intermediary Fund (FIF), operated in coordination between the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Bank, which will offer financing alternatives to future threats in the health sector.

In paragraph 20 of the Declaration, Leaders welcomed the establishment of the Financial Intermediary Fund for Pandemic Prevention, Preparedness and Response (PPR), administered by the World Bank. Leaders recognised

⁴⁰ SRE, “El canciller Marcelo Ebrard representa México...”.

that WHO's technical expertise and central coordinating role in this effort reflects its leadership position in the global health architecture (for public communication purposes, it was referred to as the "Pandemic Fund").

Migration

In Bali, the Mexican Delegation secured the renewal of the commitment on migration adopted at the Rome Summit with particular emphasis on the positive impact of migrants and refugees and their contributions to response and recovery efforts, respecting their human rights, regardless of their migration status.

Paragraph 40 of the Declaration is a comprehensive proposal by Mexico, enriched with contributions from different delegations, in which G20 leaders reiterated their commitment to the inclusion of migrants in recovery efforts, ensuring absolute respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms regardless of their migration status.

Development

As part of its contributions, Mexico called on G20 members to reaffirm their commitment to advancing multilateral cooperation and accompanying multi-sectoral processes in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. It also offered its support for multilevel cooperation, including South-South and triangular cooperation for the exchange of knowledge, technology, good practices and capacity building, according to the interests and capacities of each country.

On food security, Mexico pushed for a specific agreement on combating its impact on prices and supply, as stated in paragraph 6 of the Declaration: "We will take further coordinated actions to address food security challenges including price surges and shortage of food commodities and fertilizers globally."

On financing for development, the G20 commitment to mobilise investment in low—and middle-income countries to advance the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) was promoted. Paragraph 5 states: "Unlock further investments for low—and middle-income and other developing countries, through a greater variety of innovative financing sources and instruments, including to catalyze private investment, to support the achievement of the SDGs".

Climate change, the environment and energy transition

Mexico supports the G20's efforts to facilitate developing countries' access to funds aimed at meeting the mitigation and adaptation targets of the Paris Agreement. To this end, Foreign Minister Marcelo Ebrard insisted on the fulfilment of the commitment made in Paris to mobilise USD 100 billion annually to support climate change mitigation and adaptation projects, starting in 2020 and continuing until 2025. "In terms of energy transition, the Foreign Minister also recalled the announcement made by Mexico, in the framework of COP27, regarding the increase of national emission reduction targets from 22% to 40% in 2030, doubling domestic clean energy production capacity in just eight years".⁴¹

Among the agreements reached, the leaders listed in paragraph 2 of the Declaration the main factors that have caused a development crisis, including climate change. In paragraph 12, they expressed their commitment to "we will rapidly scale up the deployment of zero and low emission power generation, including renewable energy resources, and measures to enhance energy efficiency [...] taking into account national circumstances".

In relation to efforts to limit climate change, Mexico pushed for a direct reference to meeting the target set out in the Paris Agreement. On this issue, paragraph 13 of the Declaration states: "Noting the IPCC assessments that the impact of climate change will be much lower at a temperature increase of 1.5°C compared with 2 °C, we resolve to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 °C".

Gender equality

As part of its foreign policy priorities, Mexico reiterated that recovery and growth actions should promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls as cross-cutting issues; as well as promoting better ed-

⁴¹ SRE, "El canciller Marcelo Ebrard representa a México...".

ucation, training and employment opportunities for women; and addressing women's disproportionate share of unpaid domestic and care work.⁴²

Paragraph 46 of the Declaration clearly reflects this position: “We reaffirm our commitment to put gender equality and women's empowerment at the core of our efforts for an inclusive recovery and sustainable development. [...], including to address the unequal distribution in paid and unpaid care and domestic work, with a focus on closing the gender pay gap”.

Reformed multilateralism

In keeping with its diplomatic tradition, Mexico seeks to strengthen multilateralism in order to stimulate dialogue, with an inclusive approach, on the understanding that the effective functioning of the multilateral system is key to resolving current challenges.

Paragraph 42 of the Declaration captures the commitment driven by Mexico: “We will demonstrate leadership and take collective actions to implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and accelerate the achievement of the SDGs by 2030 and address developmental challenges by reinvigorating a more inclusive multilateralism and reform aimed at implementing the 2030 Agenda”.

Protecting and combating illicit trafficking in cultural property

In line with international actions, Mexico has particularly promoted the fight against illicit trafficking in cultural property and its restitution, as well as the recognition and protection of the collective rights of indigenous peoples and communities, in order to prevent and combat cultural misappropriation and protect cultural manifestations as an engine for sustainable, people-centred development.

⁴² Consistent with the commitments of the Global Care Partnership (a collective convened by the Government of Mexico through the National Institute for Women (INMUJERES) and U.N. Women), which promotes the care economy as a central element in accelerating the pace towards achieving women's economic autonomy and a sustainable and transformative recovery from the pandemic.

As proposed by Mexico, paragraph 48 of the Declaration reflects these priorities:

We will respect, protect and preserve the cultural heritage of our peoples, including local communities and indigenous peoples, as applicable. We support public incentives and sustainable investments from the private sector to strengthen the cultural economy. We will safeguard cultural heritage as well as fighting illicit trafficking of cultural property and promoting restitution to its rightful owner/countries of origin, in accordance with the relevant UNESCO Conventions and national laws.

Conclusion

The Bali Summit was a successful exercise in a highly complex geopolitical context, marked by confrontation, it produced concrete actions to tackle the economic impact of Russia's war against Ukraine, strengthen the global health architecture, advance energy transitions, promote food security, combat climate change, biodiversity loss, deal with debt and combat price rises.

It is worrisome, however, that geopolitical gaps are increasingly becoming an insurmountable barrier to addressing the most pressing global crises, amid at least two conflicting visions of global governance. In this scenario, it is possible to affirm that the role of emerging economies, such as Mexico, will continue to be fundamental in building bridges of rapprochement.

Contrary to the view that the G20 should not meddle in global security issues, the Bali summit demonstrated that the link between political and economic crises is growing stronger. The forum must therefore be increasingly assertive in assessing and finding solutions to counter the effects of geopolitical conflicts on the global economy, drawing on the constructive negotiating power of emerging economies and compartmentalising the group's priorities to prevent geopolitical tensions from leading to a paralysis comparable to that of the U.N. System. Without this, it will be destined to fail.

Bali not only contributed to the survival of the G20, but also to its consolidation as one of the main fora, or perhaps the only forum—due to its *sui generis* nature—that can overcome the paralysis of other institutions of the multilateral system.

As India's presidency begins in 2023, the work of the G20 is likely to continue to face a high degree of polarisation. Such complexity will stem not only from the tensions created by the war in Ukraine, but also from the prospect of an agenda that will foreseeably be geared towards strengthening India's role as a regional leader and reaffirming its aspirations for greater weight in the global governance system. The emerging economies, as the balance in this mechanism, will undoubtedly exert the necessary influence on India's presidency so that it can exercise its responsibility to bring positions closer to the developed world on climate change, trade facilitation and the construction of preparedness, prevention and response schemes for health threats.

As demonstrated by the role played in Bali, emerging economies will be increasingly influential in a context marked by the formation of blocs and deepening geopolitical competition.

In this scenario, Mexico is called upon to continue to play a constructive role and to deploy its diplomatic skills to promote dialogue and contribute to finding lasting solutions to the present and future challenges of the global community.