

# **G20 Performance and Prospects, 2008–2022**

John Kirton, G20 Research Group

Lecture to the National Defence College of Oman, Muscat, Oman, January 22, 2022. Version of January 22, 2022. Formatted for posting on June 16, 2022. Slide deck included at the end of this file.

## **Introduction [Slide 3]**

Today's Group of Twenty (G20) systemically significant states was created in 1999 as an informal international institution of finance ministers and central bank governors. It arose in response to the Asian-turned-global financial crisis of 1997 to 1999, with which the established multilateral organizations from the 1940s could not cope. It became a leaders' level summit in 2008, in response to the faster, broader, deeper American-turned-global financial crisis erupting then. It has now become the central global summit institution governing the much larger COVID-19-catalyzed crises that emerged in 2020 and that still dominate our lives today.

It is thus of vital importance to our human and national security to know what the G20 is, how well it has worked, why it has done so and how it can be made to work better in the months and years ahead.

For this lecture I will thus examine the G20's creation, institutional evolution, performance, their propellers, and my proposed reforms.

I will argue that the G20 has become the central, increasingly successful, global governance institution, capable of handling the unprecedented, interconnected crises we face today. But it can be, and must be, made to work better, for the deadly global challenges we face are growing faster than the G20's performance is. To control them in time, there is nowhere else to go.

## **The Concept of Systemic Significance [SLIDE 4]**

Historically, global governance has come from a small group of major powers who came together as self-contained, sovereign, territorial states to shape the slow-moving world of old. A country's relative capability – its power — determined how that world worked.

Yet as the 21st century began, the process of globalization made connectivity among countries and their societies as important as their relative capabilities in defining who was needed in the top-tier global governance club. Connected countries were vulnerable to importing contagious infections from elsewhere and made others vulnerable by sending home-grown ones abroad. These globally contagious infections arose in finance in Thailand in 1997, in finance in the United States in 2008, and in the COVID-19 virus in China in December 2019.

Capability and connectivity combined to create a new concept and category of “systemically significant” states. This concept guided Canadian finance minister Paul Martin and U.S. treasury secretary Larry Summers when they created the G20 in 1999.

## **Membership: Capable, Global, Compact, Balanced [SLIDE 5]**

When these two founders applied the concept to the candidates for membership, 19 countries made the cut. They came in four categories.

First, the Group of Seven (G7) major market democracies of the United States, Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Canada.

Second, the BRICS of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

Third, the MIKTA middle powers of Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia.

Fourth, the two outsiders of Saudi Arabia and Argentina.

Their combined capabilities gave them globally predominant power: about 80% of the global economy, population, territory and most of the specialized capabilities needed for global governance. Today these capabilities include the invention and production of safe, effective, fully tested COVID-19 vaccines, led by the United States, United Kingdom and Germany from the G7 and Russia, China and India from the BRICS.

It was a geographically representative group, covering all major regions.

Asia had five: Russia, China, Japan, Korea and Australia.

Europe had four: Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy.

North America had three: the United States, Canada and Mexico.

South America had two: Brazil and Argentina.

The Middle East had two: Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

Africa had one: South Africa, with Nigeria initially assigned a seat it never assumed.

The group was compact, making each member to see itself as part of an exclusive top-tier club. Here it could exercise its systemic responsibility by adjusting to the other members, as a leader or follower, and by adequately monitoring its partners to see if they complied with the collective commitments all made.

Balance came from the relatively equal number of advanced and emerging countries, and of fully democratic and less democratic ones.

The G20 innovatively had as full members the old multilateral organizations born at Bretton Woods in 1944: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Unlike most such plurilateral summit institutions (PSIs), such as the G7 or the BRICS, the G20's membership remained the same for more than two decades now.

## **Mission [SLIDE 6]**

The G20 has two distinctive foundational missions. The first is to promote financial stability. The second is to make globalization work for the benefit of all. Both directly reflect the intense connectivity that defines the 21st-century world.

## Finance Ministerial Meetings, 1999–2008 [SLIDE 7]

During its first decade, from 1999 to 2008, the G20 met only among its finance ministers and central bank governors once a year.

Hosting passed from the G7 to the non-G7 members. The world's two most economically powerful countries, the United States and Japan, never hosted, letting lesser powers lead.

The agenda quickly expanded. It added the security subjects of terrorist finance and the war in Afghanistan at its third meeting, in Ottawa, in November 2001.

The G20 produced solutions that other bodies could not. The biggest was reforming the IMF to give the emerging powers a proportionately great share of the executive board's overall voice and vote.

## Summit Meetings, 2008–2022 [SLIDE 8]

The equalization in hosting was repeated after the G20 became a leaders' level summit in November 2008. Hosting started with the G7 members of the United States, United Kingdom and Canada, then moved the members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) - Korea in 2010 and Mexico in 2012 -, then the BRICS with Russia in 2013 and China in 2016, then the outer ones of Argentina in 2018 and Saudi Arabia in 2020 (see Figure 3).

G20 summitry started with two meetings a year from 2008 to 2010, to confront the American-turned-global financial crisis raging then. It dropped to only one a year from 2011 to 2019. But it returned to two in 2020 and three in 2021, to confront the COVID-19 crises and the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021.

## Guests: Countries and International Organizations [SLIDE 9]

G20 leaders invited to their summits a few guests (see Figure 4). Spain has come to all. Other guests reflect the region or priorities of the summit host each year. Regular guests include the chair of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The Gulf Co-operation Council came when Saudi Arabia hosted in 2020.

Guests also come from the heads of selected multilateral organizations. The United Nations has been at every one. The International Labour Organization (ILO) started in September 2009. Added later were the World Trade Organization (WTO) and now the World Health Organization (WHO).

## Ministerial Meetings [SLIDE 10]

Finance ministers and central bankers have met more frequently since the summit started in 2008.

Also meeting were ministers for:

- labour and tourism starting in 2010
- agriculture and development in 2011
- trade and foreign affairs in 2012
- energy in 2015
- digitalization and health in 2017
- education in 2018
- the environment in 2019, and

- anti-corruption in 2020.

In 2020, a dozen different ministerial groups met throughout the year, covering economic, social, ecological and security affairs.

Ministers of defence have never met.

## Working Groups [SLIDE 11]

Working groups of officials have also expanded, since the first four were created in 2008. By 2020 there were at least 11.

## Civil Society Engagement Groups [SLIDE 12]

Formal civil society engagement groups began in 2010 with the traditional ones for business and labour. Then came those for think tanks in 2012, civil society organizations in 2013, youth in 2013, women in 2015, science in 2017 and urban affairs in 2018 and audit institutions in 2022. The Business 20 remains the most influential one.

There are also unofficial engagement groups, such as the Young Entrepreneurs Alliance and the G(irls)20.

## Expanding Performance [SLIDE 13]

This increasing institutionalization fosters growing performance, through three phases:

First, financial crisis response from 2008 to 2012;

Second, multi-subject, proactive steering from 2013 to 2019; and

Third, COVID-catalyzed, comprehensive, crisis response since 2020.

## Six Performance Dimensions [SLIDE 14]

In each phase, performance has expanded in most of the six core functions such summits have.

The first is domestic political management. Leaders go the summits to secure status for themselves and their country, and support for their policies, political positions and popularity back home. G20 summits are indeed a “photo op,” as their critics claim.

The second is deliberation, pace privately and publicly to produce collective conclusions are produced. Leaders’ private deliberations can be like a global “hot tub party,” as their critics also claim.

The third is principled and normative direction setting. Here leaders come to consensus on facts, causation and rectitude and what is prescribed, prohibited and permissible. G20 summits can indeed be great global “bully pulpit” where leaders preach to the world.

The fourth is decision-making to create public, precise, future-oriented, politically binding collective commitments. G20 summits are indeed a global *directoire*, as a board of directors for the world.

The fifth is the delivery of those decisions through members' compliance with their leaders' commitments, before the next summit arrives.

The sixth is the institutional development of global governance, inside and outside the G20.

### **Performance Table [SLIDE 15]**

Charting G20 performance on these dimensions, at each of its 16 summits, shows the G20's comprehensive rise to strong performance at Hamburg in 2017, then substantial decline, and a revival at Rome in 2021.

### **Performance Patterns by Dimension [SLIDE 16]**

Domestic political management rose to peak in 2011 to 2014, then plunged but revived from 2019 to 2021.

Deliberation rose to peak in 2013 and 2017, then declined, but revived in 2021.

Direction setting rose to peak in 2013 and 2017, then declined.

Decision making rose to peak at 529 commitments in 2017, then declined, but rose to 225 in 2021.

Delivery rose steadily since 2017, reaching a very high 86% for Riyadh in 2020.

Development of global governance rose to peak in 2016 and 2017, then plunged, but revived a bit in 2021.

## PART 2

### Decision Making: Equality and Leadership [SLIDE 17]

A close look at the dynamics of decision making and delivery shows that the G20 increasingly operates as a club of equals, when any member can lead and where all adjust.

This equalization arises in:

First, institutional leadership, through summit hosting and priority agenda setting.

Second, material leadership. Here the great transformation came at the Los Cabos Summit in 2012. Then the G20 leaders helped stop the escalating European financial crisis by creating a \$500 million “firewall fund” at the IMF, without the United States contributing at all. The United States thus abandoned its longstanding hegemonic position as the international lender of last resort.

Third, policy leadership, as Australia did in its initiative on social media terrorism at Osaka in 2019, in response to the live-streamed massacre in Christchurch, New Zealand.

### Delivery: Growing Equal Compliance [SLIDE 18]

The G20’s compliance performance shows growing equality, too.

Compliance averaged 72% over the first 15 years, nearing the levels of the smaller, more homogenous G7 and BRICS clubs.

G20 compliance rose to 79% for 2018, 79% for 2019 and 86% for Riyadh in 2020, as Donald Trump and then COVID-19 arrived.

All G20 members complied more equally together, led by the members of the European Union, G7, BRICS and OECD clubs.

### Governing the Global Economy [SLIDE 19]

In governing the global economy, its core focus, the G20 has produced several stand-out successes.

The finance ministers G20 solved the Asian-turned-global financial crisis from 1997 to 1999.

The leaders’ G20 solved the bigger, faster, deeper American-turned-global financial crisis from 2008 to 2009.

It prevented the regional European crisis from going global from 2010 to 2012.

It prevented another regional or global financial crisis from erupting from 2013 to 2019.

It has thus far prevented such crises from breaking out during the COVID-19 crises since early 2020.

The G20 thus gets high marks for promoting financial stability.

But it has done less well in making globalization work for all.

## Phases of G20 Economic Governance [SLIDE 20]

The G20 summit's expanding economic agenda had five overlapping phases of focus (see Figure 7).

## G20 Social and Sustainability Governance [SLIDE 21]

The G20 increasingly added social policy subjects to its agenda.

2009	Labour-employment
2014	Gender equality
2014	Health (with the Ebola epidemic, 2019 universal health coverage)
2017	Oceans (with marine litter)
2018	Land
2019	Aging

## G20 Security Governance [SLIDE 22]

The G20's security agenda and successes have expanded too

2001	Terrorism finance and Afghanistan
2008	Crime-corruption
2009	Nuclear proliferation in Iran, and 2017 in North Korea
2013	Chemical weapons in Syria, which were removed until 2016
2015	Terrorism as a whole
2021	Afghanistan again

Intellectual leadership equalized too. In November 2001, the United States depended on Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Indonesia to understand how Islamic finance was used to support the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001.

## Successful Economic Solutions, 2008–2022 [SLIDE 23]

The G20 summit produced many successful economic solutions from 2008 to 2019 (see Figure 8).

Global financial stability has been produced and preserved since 2008.

The IMF and World Bank have been given more money and have reformed their executive boards to give rising powers greater voice and vote.

Financial crises have not happened since 2013.

Growth was restored and shared after 2008, with and beyond the booming BRICS, until the great COVID-19 crises came in 2020.

Growth quickly returned in 2021, after a plunge of only one year for most members, with China bouncing back fast and first.

The G20 brought the economic benefits of globalization to many, especially in China.

Digital tax governance transformation was agreed in 2021.

## **PART 3: RIYADH AND ROME**

### **2020 Riyadh Summit's Strong Start [SLIDE 24]**

But how well did the G20 do in response to all the unprecedented global COVID crises that erupted as 2020 began and that are with us still?

This phase of G20 governance began on December 1, 2019, when the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia formally took the chair and launched its ambitious agenda for its year as host.

Its theme was “Empowering People, Safeguarding the Planet and Shaping New Frontiers.” For the first time, the G20 highlighted the ecological preservation of the planet, and did so in a broad, well-targeted way.

King Salman identified the “environmental changes” transforming the world and said that the G20 should “strive for sustainable economic policies to safeguard planet earth”. He thus explicitly linked the economy to the planet’s natural environment and put the latter as the ultimate goal.

The first, economic aim, of “Empowering People,” had two ecological priorities: sustainable development; and sustainable tourism.

The second, ecological aim of “Safeguarding the Planet” had all six of its priorities on the environment, with four focused on climate change.

The third, more security-focused aim of “Shaping New Frontiers,” had one ecological priority, on outer space.

Thus 41% of the 22 priorities were explicitly ecological ones, far more than ever before.

### **Emergency Virtual Summit, March 2020: Captured by COVID–19 [SLIDE 25]**

Then, three months later, came COVID-19 to completely crowd out this ecologically focused start.

G20 leaders responded swiftly to the new crisis by holding the G20’s first ever emergency summit, and its first in virtual form, on March 26, 2020.

It produced selected steps against the comprehensive, swiftly moving COVID-19 threat.

Its communiqué conclusions put health first, then economy, trade, tourism and border management. The environment was absent.

Leaders’ direction-setting emphasized globalization for all and a science-based approach – a different message than Donald Trump was sending at home.



Decision-making produced 47 commitments. Health had 20, the economy nine, and trade seven.

To deliver these decisions, leaders tasked their Health Ministers and finance ministers to meet to follow up.

To develop global governance outside the G20, they referred to the WHO seven times. All leaders, including Donald Trump, declared “we fully support and commit to further strengthen the WHO’s mandate in coordinating the international fight against the pandemic, including the protection of front-line health workers”

## **Dimensions of Riyadh’s Performance [SLIDE 26]**

Yet the Riyadh Summit itself, held virtually on November 21–22, was only a small, short-term success.

In its private deliberations, it was the shortest regular G20 summit ever. Due to the digital format there were few intense personal discussions

Riyadh’s public communiqué conclusions was the second smallest number at the G20’s 15 regular summits.

Health took 68% of the total, macroeconomic policy and overlapping 60%, and climate change and gender with 12% each.

Domestic political management came through four communiqué compliments: two to Saudi Arabia, including one on crime-corruption and one each to Japan and China.

However, Riyadh affirmed the principle of promoting financial stability 13 times and that of making globalization work for all 20 times.

Riyadh produced only 107 commitments, the third lowest number ever. They were led by health and by crime and corruption with 14 each, trade with 10, macroeconomic policy with 9, while climate change had only 3. Leaders promised vaccines for all, economic support and debt relief.

Compliance with these commitments was high, at an average of 86%.

In the institutionalized development of global governance, Riyadh made 30 references to inside bodies and 58 to outside ones.

In all, Riyadh’s leaders did just enough to keep their G20 ship afloat, so they could do much more in the year ahead.

## **The Rome Summit’s Substantial Success [SLIDE 27]**

This they did, at their 16th regular G20 summit, hosted by Italian Prime Minister Mario Draghi in Rome on October 30–31, 2021. It was a very significant event.

It brought G20 hosting back to a core member of the G7, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization their start.

It was hosted by a major democratic power with a long Mediterranean coastline at the crossroads of Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the Atlantic worlds.

It was boosted by the strongly performing G7 summit hosted by British Prime Minister Boris Johnson in Cornwall on June 11-13th.

And it was pulled by the United Nations' historic, long-awaited COP 26 summit on climate change in Glasgow, on October 31 to November 12th.

So prospects were promising that the Rome Summit would be a substantial success.

## Participants [SLIDE 28]

Further promise came from the formidable group of G20 leaders there.

Host Prime Minister Mario Draghi was participating as Italy's leader in his first regular, in-person G20 summit with a comprehensive agenda, after hosting the virtual G20 Global Health Summit on May 21 and the G20 Summit on Afghanistan on October 12. He was an experienced G20 participant, and as "Super Mario" has helped save Europe from its financial crisis in 2012.

Fresh energy came from US president Joe Biden at his first face-to-face G20 summit.

But Angela Merkel came with her political power gone. A distracted Japanese prime minister Fumio Kishida was participating virtually for some portions amidst the general election he had called for October 31.

The G20 veterans were Indonesia's Joko Widodo, who will host in 2022, Saudi Arabia's King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, who hosted in 2020, Canada's Justin Trudeau, France's Emmanuel Macron, South Africa's Cyril Ramaphosa and Australia's Scott Morrison.

The newer leaders Argentina's Alberto Fernández, the United Kingdom's Boris Johnson, the European Union's Ursula von der Leyen and Charles Michel, Kristalina Georgieva of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank's David Malpass.

Just before the summit, three key leaders confirmed they would participate virtually rather than travel to Rome: Russia's Vladimir Putin, who hosted in 2013, China's Xi Jinping, who hosted in 2016, and Mexico's Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

## Themes: People, Planet, Prosperity [SLIDE 29]

Rome's priority themes were "People, Planet, Prosperity."

They confronted the central crises of the COVID-19 pandemic, its contraction of commerce, climate change, social cohesion, and connectivity in a digital age.

On Covid, Italy wanted a rapid response to COVID and an early warning mechanism for future economic, health and environmental risks.

On connectivity, it wanted co-ordinated digital platforms for productivity and enhancing investments

On climate change it wanted a digital green infrastructure in transportation, cities, and nature

It also wanted central bank support for climate change control, green growth, renewable energies and the common environment.

On commerce, it sought financial inclusion for MSME, digital finance and digital awareness.

It also wanted environmental taxation, an end to fossil fuel subsidies, and carbon pricing.

## **Ministerial Meetings’ and Special Summits [SLIDE 30]**

Momentum for summit success came from the results of the many G20 ministerial and special G20 summits held on the road to Rome.

### **Ministerial Meetings**

There were 14 ministerial meetings, all held before the summits, covering 14 portfolios, with some meetings combined

They started in the spring with meetings for culture and tourism, labour and education, foreign affairs and development, and development alone.

The summer added economy and finance, the environment, climate and energy, and innovation and research.

The autumn had health, agriculture and trade, with finance and health ministers meeting jointly on the summit’s eve.

Such pre-summit ministerials are the strongest predictor of summit members’ compliance with their commitments on the same subjects that their leaders would make.

### **G20 Special Summits**

A further boost for progress on COVID-19 came from the G20’s virtual Global Health Summit on May 21, 2021. It made 53 commitments, all on health, but with a few related to development, trade, international cooperation, democracy, the economy, the environment, digitalization, gender and age.

The second special summit, on Afghanistan on October 12, broadened the G20 leaders’ security governance. Its communique contained consensus principles, rather than commitments.

These summits raised the frequency of G20 summitry to a new high of three summits in one year.

### **Results [SLIDE 31]**

The G20’s Rome Summit produced significant results. Six stand out.

First, on the economy, G20 leaders approved a revolutionary new tax regime where multinational corporations will pay taxes in the countries where they make their profits, rather than in the tax havens where they say their headquarters is. They will also pay a 15% minimum tax.

Second, on development, leaders agreed to channel some of the new \$650 billion SDRs they had created at the IMF in August to the poor countries that needed them the most. They also agreed to ambitiously replenish the International Development Association grant fund by December.

Third, on health, leaders promised to help vaccinate at least 40 percent of the population in all countries by the end of 2021 and 70 percent by mid-2022, as recommended by the WHO.

Fourth, for future pandemics, they promised to develop new vaccines within 100 days, rather than the current 300 ones.

Fifth, on climate change, they promised, to end public finance for international coal power by the end of 2021.

Sixth, to control climate change through stronger carbon sinks, they agreed to help plant 1 trillion trees by 2030

## Performance [SLIDE 32]

These significant results are seen in Rome's performance across the six key dimensions of governance.

In its domestic political management, attendance at the summit was complete. And the communiqué contained four compliments: two to Italy and two to Saudi Arabia. But private conversations were few, as the leaders of China, Japan, Mexico, Russia and Saudi Arabia participated only in virtual form.

In its public deliberation, its one communiqué had 10,060 words, the 8th highest ever, ranked eighth among the 16 summits. Development came first with 26% of the communiqué, followed by climate change with 21% and health with 16%

In its principled and normative direction-setting, there were five affirmations of financial stability (below the average of 30), but 27 of globalization for all (near the average of 30).

In its decision making, Rome's leaders made 225 commitments, the fourth highest ever. Health led with 35, followed by the digital economy with 26, crime and corruption with 23, and the climate change and the environment with 21 each.

The delivery of these decision was likely to be strong, due to the high number and breadth of pre-summit ministerial meetings, and the many proven compliance catalysts contained within the commitments.

48% of the 225 commitments were highly binding ones. Climate change had 71%, health 40%, and macroeconomic policy 29%. Financial regulation had 86%, food and agriculture 75%, crime-corruption 65%, energy 50%, and the digital economy 46%.

The development of global governance was small. The communiqué made only 31 references to 8 institutions inside the G20, led by the Financial Stability Board with 10, followed by the G20 in general with seven, the finance ministers with four, and central bank governors with three.

There were 70 references to 25 outside bodies, led by the OECD with 13, followed by the WHO and the IMF with 10 each, the WTO with seven, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) with five, and the World Bank and ILO with three each.

## Propellers of Performance [SLIDE 33]

Propelling this significant performance were six strong forces.

The first force was shock-activated vulnerability, coming with unprecedented severity to all G20 members from COVID-19, climate change and economic contraction, and then energy, food and Afghanistan.

The second force was the major multilateral organizational failure in controlling these shocks without the G20's help. The WHO, IMF and World Bank had too few resources, while the multilateral environmental organizations were too weak and fragmented to counter climate change.

The third force was the strong globally predominant, internally equalizing capabilities of G20 members. The G20's global predominance rose, while China's growth surpassed that of the US inside. The same was true for the key specialized capabilities for health and climate change.

The fourth force was G20 members' convergence on common principles and practices. It declined on democracy, due to China, Russia and Turkey. But elsewhere it rose, as most big G20 members were producing, sharing or financing COVID-19 vaccines, acting to control climate change and stimulating their economies in fiscal and monetary ways.

The fifth force was the uncertain domestic political control of most key G20 leaders, especially in the US, Germany and Japan.

The sixth force was the G20 as the leaders cherished club at the hub of an expanding network of global summit governance. In person summitry was back. And Rome capped a year of unprecedented G20-centred summitry that would culminate in Glasgow right after Rome.

## Prospects for Bali, 2022 [SLIDE 34]

The prospects for a significant performance at Indonesia's G20 summit in Bali on October 30-31, 2020, are problematic. But it is still possible to make it meet the many crises it will face.

## Preliminary Priorities

Indonesia's possible priorities for the Bali Summit started on May 27, 2021, with development, inclusive growth, social inclusion, and achieving the SDGs.

By June, they became promoting:

1. Productivity for youth, agriculture, the digital economy, small- and medium-sized enterprises, and women;
2. Resilience and stability for food security, poverty reduction, public health, environmental protection, energy security and social protection;
3. Sustainability and inclusivity for labour, gender inequality, climate change adaptation, blue economy, and sustainable tourism;
4. Partnership through advancing multi-stakeholder partnerships, global value chains, SDG financing, good governance and anti-corruption, and stronger multilateral trading systems, especially for vaccine distribution.

## Theme

When Indonesia formally took the chair on November 1, 2021, its overall theme of "Recover Together, Recover Stronger"

But then a month later, the Omicron COVID variant appeared.

## Core Priorities

On December 1, 2021, Indonesia presented three core priorities: the global health architecture; digital transformation; and sustainable energy transition.

The COVID crowd out had returned.

## Preparations

Indonesia offered a large array of 15 ministerial meetings. Finance had 5, health 3, and education, tourism, research and innovation, digital economy, energy, environment and climate, and agriculture has one each.

Eleven working groups were scheduled to meet. Only one was mandated to address climate change.

To start, G20 Finance Deputies met on December 9-10, 2022, to discuss exit strategies, scarring effects, how to recover together/stronger, financial regulation, financial inclusion, sustainable finance, infrastructure investment and taxation.

## Priority Problems

The Bali Summits faces an unusually large array of pressing problems across and among the social, economic, ecological and security fields. Twelve stand out.

Vaccine equity is the first, as the Omicron variant spreads and new variants could arrive at any time.

Economic growth was the second problem. It was increasingly uneven, with different rates across different countries, depending on vaccination rates, the ability to recovery, the sustainability of fiscal and monetary support.

Inflation was the third problem, as it became stronger for longer than first thought.

Green recovery was the fourth problem. Everyone in the G20 emphasized generating an inclusive, smarter, greener recovery and increasing carbon prices gradually, but a big debate is what gradual means.

Fiscal and monetary stimulus was the fifth problem. This meant reducing the massive fiscal deficits and debts of public and private actors, and tapering the unprecedented monetary stimulus from the major central banks.

SDR allocation was the sixth problem. Would the intended transfer of 100 billion SDRs from advanced economies to low and emerging markets go into the IMF's old Poverty Reduction and Growth Trust or its new Sustainability and Resilience Trust?

Debt relief for vulnerable countries was the seventh problem. One big issue is China, which is reluctant to write down or off it's the debts of its client countries.

Debt burdens overall are the eighth problem. How much more debt can the global economy sustain?

Tax is the ninth problem. The G20 has to implement its new tax regime.

Trade reform is the tenth problem

IFI resources is the eleventh problem – raising the money to meet the SDGs and the promised climate finance.

Afghanistan is the twelfth problem.

Multilateralism is the solution for all, but in decline in several parts of the G20.

## Propellers

Propelling Bali to at least a solid performance are several forces and some formidable constraints.

The first are the soaring shocks from Omicron, energy price and supply, famine, and Russia over Ukraine, as well as the standard economic ones.

The second is multilateral organizational failure, as few countries seem willing to give the WHO and other bodies the new resources they need.

The third force, constraining performance, is the declining convergence on democratic principles and the economic model of how to control inflation and generate shared, green digital growth at the same time.

The fourth is the low domestic political control that most G7 leaders face.

So how can the G20 fill the great global governance gap?

## Conclusion [SLIDE 35]

In conclusion, four major points stand out.

## Three Phases

First, G20 summit governance has gone through three phases:

- financial crisis response from 2008 to 2012;
- comprehensive global steering from 2013 to 2019;
- and multidimensional COVID-19 crisis response from 2020 to 2021.

## Growing Performance

Second, G20 summit institutionalization and performance have grown to meet these proliferating challenges. The agenda and agreements have spread from the economic-financial domain into the social, ecological sustainability and political-security ones. Its members' compliance with their leaders' commitments have reached a sustained new high of 78%.

## Recent Setbacks

Third, this progress has recently suffered setbacks, at Buenos Aires in 2018 and Riyadh in 2020. They arose as summit hosts outside the inner hubs of the G7 and BRICS struggled to cope with new shocks, amid mounting tensions between the G20's most powerful members — the United States and China.

## Bali's Problematic Prospects, Possible Progress

Fourth, the forthcoming Bali Summit faces many formidable problems, but could still produce a solid success.

## Climate Change as the Central Challenge [SLIDE 36]

Climate change control will be critical to the G20 summit's future success, at Bali and beyond.

Today's science and extreme weather events show that the climate crisis is already here and will not go away as COVID-19 will someday.

Climate change is a major economic-financial, social, sustainability and security threat.

It dominates the top threats in World Economic Forum's 2022 Global Risks Report.

The UN's Glasgow did not do enough to meet its agreed goals, and the problem has gotten worse since then.

The steps taken by the G20, G7 and BRICS on climate change in 2021 fell behind the growing demand.

Several nature-based solutions already exist, from forests, peat, plants and Oman's peridotite rocks.

Yet bolder climate change commitments need better compliance to have the needed impact.

## Compliance Must Improve [SLIDE 37]

How can this better compliance come?

The evidence shows that there are proven, low cost, leaders-controlled steps that can improve compliance (Warren 2020; Rapson 2020). The G20 should thus:

- Have the G20 environment ministers meet more often.
- Make more strongly binding commitments on core subjects such as climate change.
- Invite as summit guests the heads of UN Climate, UN Biodiversity, UN Environment and the OIE.
- Invite the leaders of the most climate vulnerable countries and the most committed carbon neutral ones.
- Make the UN secretary general equal to the heads of IMF and World Bank as a full member of the G20.
- Create an "Environment 20" engagement group.
- Hold a second, annual G20 summit, focused on the SDGs, at the UN General Assembly each September.

## No Alternatives Exist [SLIDE 38]

In closing, we must make the G20 work, because there is no alternative global governance body to take its place.

Those who see only a 'G-0' ignore the many existing contenders, which each add value, and the new ones arising in 2021.



But the UN summits, which have expanded since they started in 1990, still fail. And the UN's 17 SDGs are not on track and the COVID-19 crisis has pushed them further back.

The BRICS is too small, too diverse, and too constrained by military conflict between its two biggest members, China and India.

The Belt and Road Forum consists only of China and its several small, dependent partners and has only met twice.

The G20 is the only club at the hub of an expanding global summit governance network

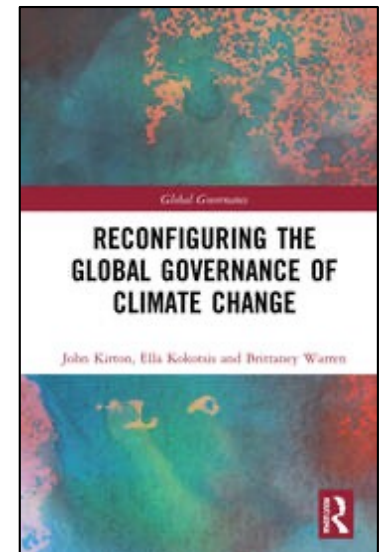
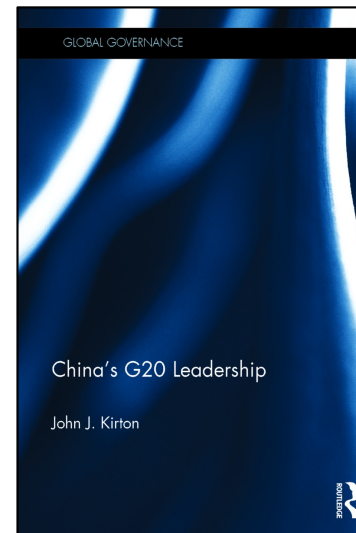
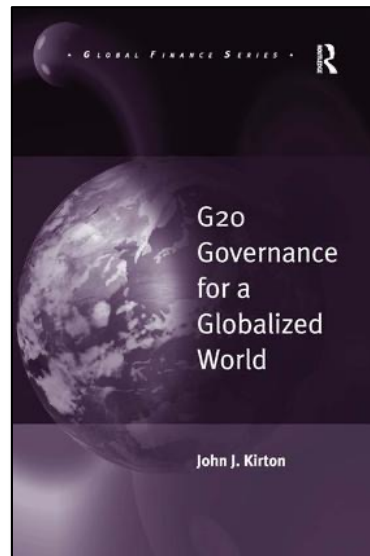
There is nowhere else to go.

So we must make it work!

Thank You [SLIDE 39]

# G20 PERFORMANCE AND PROSPECTS 2008-2022

JOHN KIRTON  
G20 Research Group  
for the  
National Defence Academy  
Muscat, Oman  
January 23, 2022



# CONTENTS

Part 1	Introduction: The G20's increasing, expansive success Membership, mission, institutionalization Historical evolution: Increasing, expansive performance
Part 2	G20 decision making: Equality in leadership G20 delivery: Growing, equal compliance Governing the global economy Governing global social and sustainable development Governing global security G20 successful economic solutions: Financial crisis, growth, tax, trade
Part 3	2020 Riyadh Summit's strong start March 26 Extraordinary Virtual Summit: Captured by COVID-19 Riyadh's results and performance 2021 Rome Summit's promising prospects for substantial success Participants and priorities: People, planet, prosperity Special summits and ministerials Rome's results and performance Propellers of performance Prospects for the 2022 Bali Summit
Part 4	Conclusion Climate change is the central crisis Compliance must improve No alternatives exist: United Nations, G7, BRICS, Belt and Road Initiative

# INTRODUCTION

## The G20's increasing, expansive success

The Group of Twenty (G20) of the world's systemically significant states, operating among their finance ministers and central bank governors since 1999 and among leaders since 2008, has been an increasingly successful centre of global governance on key financial-economic, social, ecological and political security subjects.

---

**THE CONCEPT  
OF SYSTEMIC  
SIGNIFICANCE**

Capability

Connectivity  
– thus contagion  
and vulnerability

Capability × Connectivity  
= Systemic significance

# MEMBERSHIP: capable, global, compact, balanced

## G7 – advanced, major OECD countries

- United States, Japan, Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Canada, European Union

## BRICS – big emerging economies

- Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

## MIKTA – democratic middle powers

- Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey, Australia

## Argentina and Saudi Arabia

- Great global capability, geography, compact interaction, balance

## International Monetary Fund and World Bank

- Membership unchanged since 1999

MISSION  
dual and distinctive

Promote financial stability

Make globalization work for all

FINANCE  
MINISTERS AND  
CENTRAL BANK  
GOVERNORS,  
1999-2008

<b>1999</b>	December 15-16	Berlin	Germany
<b>2000</b>	October 24-25	Montreal	Canada
<b>2001</b>	November 16-17	Ottawa	Canada
<b>2002</b>	November 23	New Delhi	India
<b>2003</b>	October 26-27	Morelia	Mexico
<b>2004</b>	November 20-21	Berlin	Germany
<b>2005</b>	October 15-16	Beijing	China
<b>2006</b>	November 18-19	Melbourne	Australia
<b>2007</b>	November 17-18	Kleinmond	South Africa
<b>2008</b>	October 11	Washington DC	United States
<b>2008</b>	November 8-9	São Paulo	Brazil



<b>2008</b>	November 14-15	Washington DC	United States
<b>2009</b>	April 1-2	London	England
<b>2009</b>	September 24-25	Pittsburgh	United States
<b>2010</b>	June 26-27	Toronto	Canada
<b>2010</b>	November 11-12	Seoul	Korea
<b>2011</b>	November 3-4	Cannes	France
<b>2012</b>	June 18-19	Los Cabos	Mexico
<b>2013</b>	September 5-6	St. Petersburg	Russia
<b>2014</b>	November 15-16	Brisbane	Australia
<b>2015</b>	November 15-16	Antalya	Turkey
<b>2016</b>	September 4-5	Hangzhou	China
<b>2017</b>	July 6-9	Hamburg	Germany
<b>2018</b>	November 30-December 1	Buenos Aires	Argentina
<b>2019</b>	June 28-29	Osaka	Japan
<b>2020</b>	March 26	Virtual	Saudi Arabia
<b>2020</b>	November 21-22	Riyadh (virtual)	Saudi Arabia
<b>2021</b>	October 30-31	Rome	Italy
<b>2022</b>	October 30-31	Bali	Indonesia

## SUMMIT MEETINGS, 2008-2022

---

## GUESTS countries and international organizations

- Country
  - Spain, Singapore and others, depending on the host
- International organizations
  - International Monetary Fund (2008-)
  - World Bank Group (2008-)
  - United Nations (2008-)
  - International Labour Organization (2009-)
  - Food and Agriculture Organization
  - Financial Stability Board
  - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
  - World Health Organization
  - World Trade Organization
- Regional organizations
  - Association of Southeast Asian Nations
  - African Union
  - New Partnership for Africa's Development
  - Others depending on host, such as Islamic Development Bank, Arab Monetary Fund, Gulf Cooperation Council

---

## MINISTERIAL MEETINGS

- Finance ministers and central bank governors (2008-)
- Labour and employment (2010-)
- Tourism (2010-)
- Agriculture (2011-)
- Development (2011-)
- Trade (2012-)
- Foreign affairs (2012-)
- Energy (2015-)
- Digitalization (2017-)
- Health (2017-)
- Education (2018-)
- Environment (2019-)
- Anticorruption (2020-)
- Culture (2021-)

---

## WORKING GROUPS AND TASK FORCES, 2022

Development Working Group	Education Working Group	Infrastructure Working Group	Framework Working Group	Health Working Group	International Financial Architecture Working Group
Sustainable Finance Working Group	Joint Finance and Health Task Force	EMPOWER Initiative and Women Empowerment	Employment Working Group	Trade, Investment and Industry Working Group	Agriculture Deputies Working Group
Tourism Working Group	Anti-Corruption Working Group	Energy Transition Working Group	Environment and Climate Sustainability Working Group	Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	Digital Economy Working Group

---

## ENGAGEMENT AND OTHER GROUPS

### Official

- Business 20 (2010)
- Labour 20 (2010)
- Think 20 (2012)
- Civil 20 (2013)
- Youth 20 (2013)
- Parliament 20 (2014)
- Women 20 (2015)
- Science 20 (2017)
- Urban 20 (2018)
- Supreme Audit Institutions (2022)

### Unofficial

- Young Entrepreneurs Alliance
- G(irls)20

# EXPANDING PERFORMANCE

- Increasing institutionalization generates expanding performance
- Through three phases:
  1. Financial crisis response, 2008-2012
  2. Proactive global steering, 2013-2019
  3. COVID-19's comprehensive crisis response, 2020-

## SIX PERFORMANCE DIMENSIONS

1.

Domestic political  
management:  
prestige, attendance,  
compliments

2.

Deliberation:  
private and public

3.

Direction setting:  
principles, norms

4.

Decision making  
through  
commitments

5.

Delivery through  
compliance

6.

Development of  
global governance,  
inside and outside  
the G20

# RISING PERFORMANCE RECORD

	Grade	Domestic political management			Deliberation			Direction setting				Decision making	Delivery		Development of global governance			
		Attendance	# compliments	% members complimented	# days	# documents	# words	Stability	Inclusion	Democracy	Liberty	# commitments	Compliance	# assessed	Internal		External	
															# references	Spread	# references	Spread
2008 Washington	A-	100%	0	0%	2	2	3,567	16	2	10	2	95	75%	8	0	4	39	11
2009 London	A	100%	1	5%	2	3	6,155	29	6	9	0	129	57%	7	12	4	120	27
2009 Pittsburgh	A-	100%	0	0%	2	2	9,257	11	21	28	1	128	67%	15	47	4	115	26
2010 Toronto	A-	90%	8	15%	2	5	11,078	47	32	11	1	61	68%	15	71	4	164	27
2010 Seoul	B	95%	5	15%	2	5	15,776	66	36	18	4	153	67%	41	99	4	237	31
2011 Cannes	B	95%	11	35%	2	3	14,107	42	8	22	0	282	74%	22	59	4	247	27
2012 Los Cabos	A-	95%	6	15%	2	2	12,682	43	23	31	3	180	77%	19	65	4	138	20
2013 St. Petersburg	A	90%	15	55%	2	11	28,766	73	108	15	3	281	69%	24	190	4	237	27
2014 Brisbane	B	90%	10	40%	2	5	9,111	10	12	1	0	205	70%	27	39	4	42	12
2015 Antalya	B	90%	0	0%	2	6	5,983	13	22	0	2	198	71%	24	42	4	54	11
2016 Hangzhou	B+	95%	7	25%	2	4	16,004	11	29	34	5	213	71%	29	179	4	223	19
2017 Hamburg	B+	95%	0	0	2	10	34,746	42	61	2	11	529	76%	26	54	6	307	19
2018 Buenos Aires	B-	90%	0	0	2	2	13,515	23	53	7	2	128	78%	22	20	5	24	15
2019 Osaka	B	95%	2	66%	2	2	6,623	13	16	7	6	143	79%	19	56	5	54	17
2020 Riyadh	C+	100%	3	10%	2	1	5,697	13	20	6	6	107	86%	20	30	6	58	16
2021 Rome	B+	100%	4	10%	2	1	10,060	5	27			225	N/A	N/A	31	8	70	25
Total	N/A	N/A	72	N/A	30	62	203,107	457	476	224	46	3,057	N/A	318	994	74	2,099	339
Average	N/A	90%	4.8	19%	2	4.2	13,540	30.5	31.7	16	3.3	203.8	72%	21.2	66.3	4.9	139.9	22



---

## PERFORMANCE PATTERNS BY DIMENSION

**Domestic political management:** prestigious membership permanent; attendance high

**Deliberation:** private discussions increasingly intense and intimate, public communiqués grow

**Direction setting:** shift from affirming financial stability to inclusive globalization, human rights

**Decision making:** increasing, expanding commitments to 2017 Hamburg peak, 2019 Osaka rise

**Delivery:** generally rising compliance to 72% overall average, leaps to 86% for Riyadh

**Development of global governance, outside:** growing support for the United Nations

# G20 DECISION MAKING

## equality and leadership

**Trend:** The G20's decisions and delivery show that it increasingly operates as a club of equals, where any member leads and all adjust.

- Equalization in institutional leadership: summit hosting and priority agenda setting
- Equalization in material leadership: the great reversal of the IMF firewall fund, 2012
- Equalization in policy leadership: Australia on social media terrorism, Osaka 2019

---

## **G20 DELIVERY: growing, equal compliance**



Compliance rises to 86% for 2020 – 72% overall, nearing G7's and BRICS's overall levels



All G20 members equally comply together, led little among European Union, G7, BRICS, OECD members

## GOVERNING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

**Trend:** The G20 solved the globalized world's greatest economic-financial problems by responding to the 1999 Asian-turned-global financial crisis and the bigger, faster American-turned global financial crisis in 2008-2009, then prevented the European financial crisis in 2010-2012 from going global, and has governed an expanding economic agenda since.



## PHASES OF G20 ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

## G20 SOCIAL AND SUSTAINABILITY GOVERNANCE

Labour-employment  
Pittsburgh  
2009

Gender  
equality  
Brisbane  
2014

Health  
Brisbane  
2014

Oceans  
Hamburg  
2017

Land  
Buenos  
Aires 2018

Aging  
Osaka 2019

**Trend:** The G20 has increasingly focused on key social and ecological sustainability subjects, for globalization for all.

---

# G20 SECURITY GOVERNANCE

**Trend:** The G20 has increasingly governed global security, expanding to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

- Terrorist finance and Afghanistan, 2001
- Nuclear WMD: Iran at Pittsburgh 2009; North Korea at Hamburg 2017
- Chemical WMD: Syria at St. Petersburg, 2013
- Crime, corruption, money laundering, proliferation finance – now routine
- Intellectual leadership equalization: United States on Saudi Arabia etc. on terrorist finance, 2001

---

## G20 SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS, 2008-2021

Global financial stability produced and preserved since 2008

Financial crises not in sight since 2013 until now

Growth restored and shared, with and beyond the booming BRICS, but now slows

Tax governance transformation decided in 2021, for delivery in 2022-2023

Trade an ongoing struggle



## **2020 RIYADH SUMMIT'S STRONG START**

Saudi theme of "Empowering People, Safeguarding the Planet, Shaping New Frontiers"

Put environment first for the first time in G20 summit history

King Salman started with sustainable economic policies to safeguard Planet Earth

Empowering people had two ecological priorities

Safeguarding the Planet had all six, with four on climate change

Shaping New Frontiers had one, on outer space

41% of the 22 priorities were explicitly ecological

Then came the COVID-19 crowd-out in early 2020

MARCH 26, 2020:  
**EXTRAORDINARY  
VIRTUAL SUMMIT**  
CAPTURED BY  
COVID-19

Fast response, first emergency summit in virtual form

Took selected, slow steps against a comprehensive, swift threat

Communiqué conclusions put health first, then economy, trade, tourism, migration and border management

Nothing on environment

Direction setting emphasizes globalization for all and a science-based global response

47 commitments: health 20, economy 9, trade 7

Delivery: health and finance ministers to meet regularly

Supported WHO, noting IMF, World Bank, CEPI, GAVI, United Nations, ILO, OECD

---

## DIMENSIONS OF RIYADH'S PERFORMANCE

- Shortest summit ever, and in degraded digital form
- Second smallest outcome document ever
- Health 68%, economy 60%, gender and climate 12% each
- 4 communiqué compliments, low media approval
- Strongly affirmed financial stability and globalization for all
- 107 commitments, third lowest ever
  - health and crime/corruption 14 each, trade 10, economy 9, gender 7, climate 3
  - promised vaccines for all, economic support, debt relief
- Delivery high at 86%
- Low guidance to inside bodies, medium guidance to outside bodies
  - development 25, economy 25, health only 4
- Steady as she goes, just enough to keep the ship afloat

- 
- G20 2021 hosted by Italy's Mario Draghi in Rome on October 30-31
  - Back to a G7 and EU member as host
  - Mediterranean crossroads of Europe, Africa, Middle East and Atlantic
  - Boosted by UK's Cornwall G7 on June 11-13
  - Pulled by UN Glasgow Summit on climate in November
- 

---

## **2021 ROME SUMMIT'S SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS**

---

# PARTICIPANTS



ATtribution: PRESIDENZA DELLA REPUBBLICA



ATtribution: WHITE HOUSE



ATtribution: PALACIO DO PLANALTO



ATtribution: PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN & CABINET

- Draghi an experienced G20 participant: “Super Mario” saved Europe in 2012
- United States sent Joe Biden, believing in cooperation on health, climate, etc.
- German veteran Angela Merkel gone, Japan’s Fumio Kishida new and distracted
- Veterans: Vladimir Putin, Narendra Modi, Recep Erdogan, Joko Widodo, Emmanuel Macron, Justin Trudeau
- China’s Xi Jinping was key

- Health first, environment second, economy last
- Priorities: COVID-19, commerce, climate, social cohesion, connectivity
- Early warning mechanism for economic, health, environmental risks
- Coordinated digital platforms for productivity and financing investments
- Digital green infrastructure in transportation, cities, using nature
- Central bank support for climate change control
- Financial inclusion by MSMEs, digital finance, awareness
- Environmental taxation, end to fossil fuel subsidies, carbon pricing

THEMES:  
PEOPLE,  
PLANET,  
PROSPERITY

---

## 2021 MINISTERIAL MEETINGS AND SPECIAL SUMMITS

### Ministerial meetings

- 14 meetings, all before the Rome Summit: 14 portfolios, 5 clustered
- Spring: culture and tourism, labour and education, foreign affairs and development, development
- Summer: economy and finance; environment, climate and energy; innovation and research
- Fall: health, agriculture, trade

### Special summits

- Rome Health Summit, May 21
- Afghanistan Summit, October 12

---

# RESULTS

## Rome's Achievements

- Revolutionary corporate tax regime: minimum tax, pay where you profit
- Channel unneeded SDRs to poor, ambitiously replenish IDA by December 2021
- Help vaccines 40% of world by 2021, 70% by mid 2022
- Develop vaccines for new pandemics within 100 days
- End foreign coal financing by end of 2021
- Plant 1 trillion trees by 2030



---

# PERFORMANCE

## **Domestic Political Management: Solid**

- Attendance complete but some virtually, 4 compliments to 2 members

## **Deliberation: Solid**

- 1 communiqué, 10,060 words, 8th highest, development 26%, climate 21%, health 16%
- Private deliberation low due to virtual participation of Xi, Putin, etc.

## **Direction Setting: Solid**

- Affirmations: financial stability 5 (average 30), globalization for all 27 (average 30)

## **Decision Making: Significant**

- 225 commitments, 4th highest, health 35, digital economy 26, crime/corruption 23, climate 21

## **Delivery: Strong (estimated)**

- Many ministerials, 48% with strong binding verbs, climate 71%, health 40%, macroeconomics 29%
- financial regulation 86%, food/agriculture 75%, crime/corruption 65%, energy 50%, digital 46%

## **Development of Global Governance: Small**

- Inside: 31 references to 8 bodies: FSB, G20 general 7, finance ministers 4, central bankers 3
- Outside: 70 references to 25 bodies: OECD 13, IMF 10, WHO 10, WTO 7, FATF 5, World Bank 3, ILO 3

---

## PROPELLERS OF PERFORMANCE

- Shocks from COVID-19, finance, defaults, famine, climate
- Poor WHO, IMF, World Bank, fragmented multilateral environmental organizations, food, digital bodies
- G20 predominance rises, China offsets US inside, on health and climate too
- Democratic decline and divide, due to China, Russia, Turkey
- Domestic political control uncertain in US, Germany, Japan
- G20 personal club, at the hub of EU, G7, on-site BRICS, UN Glasgow



## PROSPECTS FOR THE 2022 BALI SUMMIT

---

Problematic prospects, but progress possible

---

Preliminary priorities: development, inclusive growth, social inclusion, SDGs

---

Theme: Recover Together, Recover Stronger

---

Core priorities: global health architecture, digital transformation, sustainable energy transition

---

Preparations: ministerial meetings, 11 working groups, finance deputies started on December 9-10

---

Priority problems: vaccine equity, economic growth, inflation, green recovery, stimulus, SDR allocation, debt relief and burden, tax, IFI resources, Afghanistan, multilateralism

---

Propellers: several shocks, multilaterals' failure, G20's ability to fill the gap

---

## CONCLUSION

Three phases: financial crisis, global steering, COVID-19 collapse

Growing performance: on most dimensions, to significant compliance now up to 86%

Recent setbacks in 2018, 2020

Rome restores performance to significant success

Bali's problematic prospects

---

# CLIMATE CHANGE IS THE CENTRAL CRISIS

- Today's science and extreme weather events show the climate crisis has come
- Climate now a major economic-financial, social, sustainability and security threat
- Dominates top 10 threats in World Economic Forum's Global Risks Report 2021
- United Nations delayed 2020 climate summit a full year to November 2021
- G20, G7, BRICS small steps fall further behind the growing need
- But gap grows as demand for solutions soars
- Nature-based solutions exist:  
forests, food, plants, Oman's peridotite rocks
- Bolder commitments need better compliance to work

## COMPLIANCE MUST IMPROVE

Proven, low-cost, leaders-controlled steps to improve compliance:

- Institutionalize the new G20 environment ministers' meeting
- Invite as guests the leaders of UN bodies for climate change, biodiversity and environment
- Invite leaders of countries most vulnerable to climate change and/or becoming carbon neutral
- Make UN secretary general equal to heads of IMF and World Bank
- Create an Environment 20 engagement group
- Hold a second annual SDG-focused summit at the UN each September

---

## NO ALTERNATIVES EXIST

---

### **G-0:**

Neglects the many contenders, adding value, D10, Earth Day, Summit of Democracies

---

### **United Nations:**

Summits since 1990 still fail, 17 SDGs not on track

---

### **G7:**

Now more promising with Biden, but needs China, etc., to act

---

### **BRICS:**

Too small, too diverse, China-India military conflict

---

### **Belt and Road Initiative:**

China's partners still largely small

---

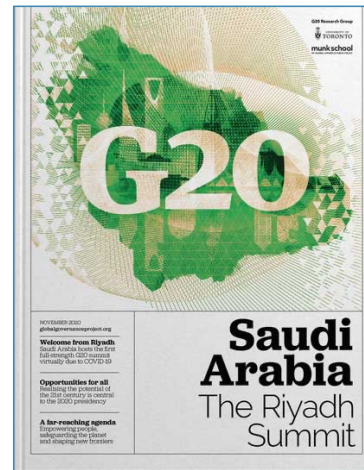
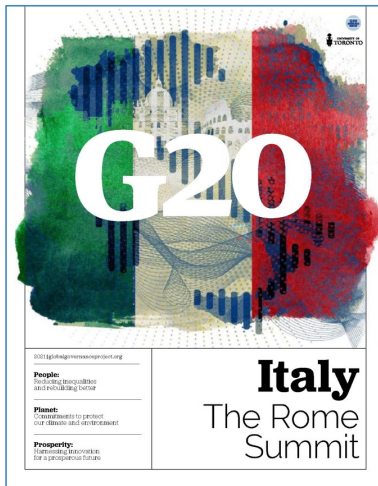
### **Special summits:**

Sporadic, single subjects, not a substitute

---

### **G20:**

**The only club at the hub of a global summit governance network**



THANK YOU

- Download our G20 books on Rome, Riyadh, Osaka and beyond at [www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books](http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books)
- More information available at the G20 Information Centre at [www.g20.utoronto.ca](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca) and the Global Governance Project at [globalgovernanceproject.org](http://globalgovernanceproject.org)
- See Indonesia's Bali Summit website at [g20.org](http://g20.org)