



## G20's Global South years (2022-2025)



**Towards an inclusive, prosperous,  
and peaceful world**



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and peaceful world**



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**First Published: November 2025**

**ISBN: 978-984-35-8412-0**

**This book should be cited as:**

Khasru, S. M. (2025). *G20's Global South years (2022-2025): Towards an inclusive, prosperous, and peaceful world* (1st ed., Vol. 1). IPAG.

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**Price: US\$ 30.00**

**Published by: IPAG Asia Pacific**

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3008 VIC, Australia

[www.ipag.org](http://www.ipag.org)

# List of Abbreviations

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<b>AfCFTA</b>	African Continental Free Trade Area
<b>AI</b>	Artificial Intelligence
<b>AMIS</b>	Agricultural Market Information System
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>AUDA-NEPAD</b>	African Union Development Agency – New Partnership for Africa’s Development
<b>BEPS</b>	Base Erosion and Profit Shifting
<b>B20</b>	Business 20 (G20 engagement group for the private sector)
<b>CAADP</b>	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
<b>CARF</b>	Crypto-Asset Reporting Framework
<b>C20</b>	Civil 20 (G20 engagement group for civil society)
<b>CF</b>	Common Framework
<b>COP26</b>	26th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC
<b>COP28</b>	28th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework
<b>COVID-19</b>	Coronavirus Disease 2019
<b>CRS</b>	Common Reporting Standard
<b>DFFT</b>	Data Free Flow with Trust
<b>DPI</b>	Digital Public Infrastructure
<b>DSSI</b>	Debt Service Suspension Initiative
<b>DWG</b>	Development Working Group
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FSB</b>	Financial Stability Board
<b>FIF</b>	Financial Intermediary Fund
<b>G20</b>	Group of Twenty
<b>GAHP</b>	Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty
<b>GAFSP</b>	Global Agriculture and Food Security Program
<b>GBA</b>	Global Biofuels Alliance

<b>GIB</b>	G20 Initiative on Bioeconomy
<b>GDPIR</b>	Global Digital Public Infrastructure Repository
<b>GIDH</b>	Global Initiative on Digital Health
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>IMEC</b>	India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>IOs</b>	International Organizations
<b>JFHTF</b>	Joint Finance and Health Task Force
<b>JETP</b>	Just Energy Transition Partnership
<b>LiFE</b>	Lifestyles for Sustainable Development
<b>LIDC</b>	Low-Income Developing Country
<b>LMIC</b>	Low- and Middle-Income Country
<b>L20</b>	Labour 20 (G20 engagement group for trade unions)
<b>MDB</b>	Multilateral Development Bank
<b>MoU</b>	Memorandum of Understanding
<b>MSME</b>	Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises
<b>NCQG</b>	New Collective Quantified Goal
<b>NDLD</b>	New Delhi Leaders' Declaration
<b>OFA</b>	One Future Alliance
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>ORF</b>	Observer Research Foundation
<b>P20</b>	Parliament 20 (G20 engagement group for parliamentarians)
<b>PPR</b>	Pandemic Prevention, Preparedness, and Response
<b>PRC</b>	People's Republic of China
<b>SDG</b>	Sustainable Development Goal
<b>SDR</b>	Special Drawing Right
<b>SFWG</b>	Sustainable Finance Working Group
<b>SME / SMEs</b>	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise / Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
<b>SSA</b>	Sub-Saharan Africa

<b>STEM</b>	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics
<b>T20</b>	Think 20 (G20 engagement group for think tanks)
<b>TF1</b>	Task Force 1 (Inclusive Growth and Inequality)
<b>TF2</b>	Task Force 2 (Food Security)
<b>TF3</b>	Task Force 3 (Artificial Intelligence, Data Governance, and Innovation for Sustainable Development)
<b>TF-CLIMA</b>	Task Force on Climate Finance Barriers (Joint Sherpa/FinanceTrack)
<b>U20</b>	Urban 20 (G20 engagement group for cities and local governments)
<b>UCLG</b>	United Cities and Local Governments
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNFCCC</b>	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
<b>USD</b>	United States Dollar
<b>W20</b>	Women 20 (G20 engagement group for gender equality)
<b>WFP</b>	World Food Programme
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization
<b>Y20</b>	Youth 20 (G20 engagement group for youth representatives)

# **Prelude to G20**

- **The Global G20 Community in map**
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- **What the G20 leaders have to say.....**
- **G20 (2008-2025): The road to Johannesburg**

# The Global G20 Community





# **G20 Leadership 2025**



**Joao Lourenco**  
Chairperson of African Union



**Javier Milei**  
President of Argentina



**Anthony Albanese**  
Prime Minister of Australia



**Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva**  
President of Brazil



**Mark Carney**  
Prime Minister of Canada



**Xi Jinping**  
President of China



**Ursula von der Leyen**  
President of European Commission



**Emmanuel Macron**  
President of France



**Friedrich Merz**  
Chancellor of Germany



**Narendra Modi**  
Prime Minister of India



**Prabowo Subianto**  
President of Indonesia



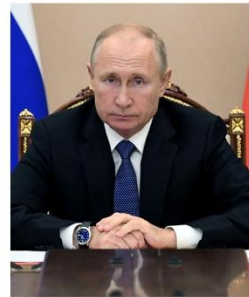
**Giorgia Meloni**  
Prime Minister of Italy



**Sanae Takaichi**  
Prime Minister of Japan



**Claudia Sheinbaum**  
President of Mexico



**Vladimir Putin**  
President of Russia



**Mohammad bin Salman**  
Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia



**Cyril Ramphosa**  
President of South Africa



**Lee Jae Myung**  
President of South Korea



**Recep Tayyip Erdogan**  
President of Turkey



**Keir Starmer**  
Prime Minister of  
the United Kingdom



**Donald Trump**  
President of the  
United States

# G20's Three Ws: When, Why, & What

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## When?

- In 1999, like many global institutions emerging from disruption, the Group of Twenty (G20) was conceived after the Asian financial crisis to stabilize the international financial system and markets. It was an informal platform with no charter, no secretariat, and no treaty base.
- In 2008, the global financial crisis marked G20's turning point, as the political leadership of the founding 19 member countries (excluding EU & AU) met in Washington DC, on November 14-15, to coordinate stimulus measures and demonstrate collective crisis management. Since then, the annual meeting evolved into G20 Summit, becoming one of the main stages for setting the global economic agenda.
- Over time, its focus has broadened from macroeconomic stability to sustainable and inclusive growth. The formation of working groups, engagement groups (B20, T20, C20, W20), and task forces has institutionalized dialogue and cooperation.

## Why?

- To bridge divides between developed and developing nations, markets and states, economic growth and human welfare, the G20 represents 85% of global GDP, 75% of trade, and two-thirds of humanity. These twenty most politically and economically powerful nations function as the de facto steering committee of the world economy.
- To safeguard financial stability, the G20's original mandate has evolved to encompass climate finance, digital governance, health security, gender equity, and sustainable development. This evolution reflects an understanding that economic policy is inseparable from social, environmental and human imperatives.

- To remain effective amid institutional inertia, the G20 relies on informality and agility, enabling swift responses to emerging global challenges. Its communiqués, though non-binding, exert significant normative influence by shaping expectations, policy behaviour, and market sentiment.
- To enhance representational breadth and inclusivity, the recent most being the African Union which was admitted as a permanent member in 2023 under India's G20 Presidency.

## What & how?

- By operating through two principal tracks, the G20 structures its work into the Finance Track and the Sherpa Track. The Finance Track, led by Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, addresses fiscal, monetary, and financial stability issues. The Sherpa Track, led by representatives of Heads of Governments, advances the broader developmental and political agenda.
- By converging both tracks at the annual Leaders' Summit, the G20 articulates a collective vision and shared policy intent through its final communiqué. Decision-making remains consensus-based, with no formal voting, enforcement mechanism, or permanent secretariat.
- By rotating the Presidency annually, the G20 ensures regional balance and collective ownership. Each Presidency sets the annual theme, convenes ministerial and working group meetings, and coordinates with institutions such as the UN, World Bank, IMF, WTO, and OECD.
- By engaging diverse stakeholders through engagement groups, the G20 connects civil society, academia, and industry to the policy process, reinforcing inclusivity. Functioning as both a convener and a catalyst, the G20 shapes the global policy narrative through agenda-setting rather than rule-making.

Two decades after its formation, the G20, offers a credible mirror of contemporary power dynamics. Yet its durability depends on its ability to remain inclusive, responsive, and forward-looking.

# **What the G20 leaders have to say.....**



## **President Cyril Ramaphosa, South Africa**

*"This is a time of rising geopolitical tensions, unilateralism, nationalism, protectionism and isolationism... Yet, this is a moment when we should be standing together as a global community to resolve the problems that confront humanity ... the mission of the G20 in South Africa will focus its G20 presidency on three themes: solidarity, equality and sustainable development."*



## **President Donald Trump, United States**

*"There are many things that we can do together and I think we can continue to build positivity (2017)".....  
"I look forward to hosting the 2026 G20 in Miami (2025)".*



## **President Xi Jinping, China**

*"Over the years, we have worked in solidarity to tackle the global financial crisis, promoted cooperation on the global economy, finance and trade, and steered the world economy onto the track of recovery."*



## **Prime Minister Anthony Albanese, Australia**

*"The G20 allows us to work with other major economies on global solutions to continue easing the pressure."*

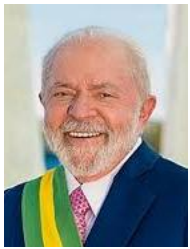
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### **Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India**

*"Countries of the Global South are most adversely impacted by the food, fuel and fertilizer crisis caused by global conflicts. So, our discussions can only be successful when we keep in mind the challenges and priorities of the Global South."*



### **President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Brazil**

*"The G20 represents 85% of the 110 trillion dollars of the global GDP. It also accounts for 75% of the 32 trillion dollars in trade in goods and services and two-thirds of the planet's 8 billion inhabitants. It is up to us, who are gathered around this table, to take on the urgent task of ending this scourge that shames humanity."*



### **Joko Widodo, former President of Indonesia**

*"Being responsible means respecting international laws and principles of the UN Charter consistently. Being responsible means creating win-win, not zero-sum situations."*



### **Shinzō Abe, Late Prime Minister of Japan**

*"I call on all of us to rebuild trust toward the system for international trade. That should be a system that is fair, transparent, and effective."*



### **President Emmanuel Macron, France**

*"The meaning of this club (G20) is that there must be consensus with the 19 others."*

## G20 (2008-2025): The road to Johannesburg



2008 Washington DC, US

G20 formally becomes the world's premier forum for international economic cooperation.

**Theme:** Addressing Global Financial Crisis

**1st-ever Leaders' Summit** (previously a Finance Ministers' forum).

**Focus:** Stabilizing financial markets, reforming global financial institutions.

**Foundation** For coordinated stimulus & IMF

Shift from crisis response to reform of global financial governance.

2009 London, UK



Stability, growth, jobs -collective recovery: **Theme**  
\$1.1 trillion in coordinated stimulus measures: **Package**  
Strengthening financial regulation & IMF resources: **Focus**  
Financial Stability Board (FSB): **Outcome**



2009 Pittsburgh, US

Climate & clean energy become G20 agenda for the first time.

**Theme:** Strengthening global economy post-crisis.

**Declaration:** G20 named the "premier forum" for economic cooperation.

**Focus:** Early inclusion of green growth in recovery conversations.

**Legacy:** Regular leaders' summits institutionalized.

G20 diverges between advanced & emerging economies.

2010 Toronto, Canada



Recovery & cautious exit strategies: **Theme**  
Fiscal consolidation after emergency stimulus: **Focus**  
Divergence between advanced & emerging economies: **Challenge**  
Policy coordination on banking regulation & recovery : **Outcome**



2010 Seoul, South Korea

Development officially becomes a G20 pillar.

**Theme:** Shared growth beyond the crisis.

**Initiative:** Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth.

**Institutional:** Development Working Group (DWG) created.

**Focus:** Structured engagement on development priorities & capacity building.

Food & agriculture become G20 agenda.

2011 Cannes, France



New world, new ideas amid Eurozone turbulence: **Theme**  
Addressing Eurozone crisis & food/commodity volatility: **Focus**  
Early discussion of a financial transaction tax & food security measures: **Proposal**  
Greater emphasis on macro-financial stability & commodity risks: **Outcome**





2012 Los Cabos, Mexico

Sustainability becomes permanent pillar in G20 agenda.

**Theme:** For a stronger, more stable global economy.

**Focus:** Eurozone stabilization continued alongside global growth.

**Priority:** Green growth & inclusive finance elevated.

**Legacy:** Climate & sustainability threaded into recovery dialogues.



Employment dimension introduced.



2013 St. Petersburg, Russia

Growth through jobs & investment: **Theme**

Investment-led growth & job creation: **Focus**

Climate change reaffirmed in the post-Kyoto context: **Climate**

Employment dimension explicitly integrated into G20 work: **Outcome**



2014 Brisbane, Australia

Infrastructure & tax cooperation formalized

**Theme:** Growing jobs & prosperity.

**Plan:** Brisbane Action Plan aimed at lifting global GDP by 2%.

**Focus:** Infrastructure investment & tax cooperation (BEPS).

**Outcome:** Infrastructure & tax cooperation institutionalized.

Social inclusion becomes a policy area.

2015 Antalya, Turkey



Inclusiveness, implementation, investment : **Theme**  
Financing for SMEs & youth/women's employment: **Focus**  
G20 begins aligning with the UN SDG Agenda 2030 : **Link**  
Social inclusion becomes a cross-cutting priority: **Outcome**



2016 Hangzhou, China

Innovation & digital economy enter mainstream G20 agenda.

**Theme:** Innovative, invigorated, interconnected, inclusive economy.

**Plan:** G20 Action Plan on the SDG Agenda 2030 adopted.

**Institutional:** Digital Economy Task Force & Green Finance Study Group launched.

**Legacy:** Digital economy & green finance institutional footholds established.

Climate mainstreamed; gender & Africa gain visibility.

2017 Hamburg, Germany



Shaping an interconnected world: **Theme**  
Hamburg Climate & Energy Action Plan adopted: **Climate**  
W20 (women's empowerment) & Africa Partnership advanced: **Inclusion**  
Climate mainstreamed; social dimensions strengthened: **Outcome**



**2018 Buenos Aires  
Argentina**

**Future of work & education added.**

**Theme:** Building consensus for fair & sustainable development.

**Focus:** Future of work, digital skills, & food security.

**Engagement:** Increased emphasis on education & workforce adaptation.

**Outcome:** Digital skills & work transitions added to policy toolkit.

**Digital governance & ocean sustainability formalized.**

**2019 Osaka, Japan**



Human-centered future society: **Theme**

Osaka Blue Ocean Vision for marine plastics reduction: **Initiative**

Osaka Track on Digital Economy : **Policy**

Digital governance & marine environment prioritized: **Legacy**



**2020 Riyadh, Saudi Arabia  
(Virtual)**

**Health security & debt become core G20 pillars.**

**Theme:** Realizing 21st-century opportunities for all in crisis mode.

**Focus:** Global health response, vaccine coordination & economic relief.

**Initiative:** Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) for low-income countries.

**Outcome:** Health security & sovereign debt relief became core pillars.

**Tax justice & climate finance consolidated.**

**2021 Rome, Italy**



People, Planet, Prosperity: **Theme**

Global minimum corporate tax framework (OECD-led): **Tax**

Strengthened climate ambition ahead of COP26: **Climate**

Tax justice & enhanced climate finance commitments: **Outcome**

**2022 Bali, Indonesia**



**G20 becomes bridge for Global South recovery.**

**Theme:** Recover Together, Recover Stronger.

**Initiative:** Pandemic Fund launched for global health architecture.

**Energy:** Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) initiated.

**Outcome:** G20 reasserted as a platform for Global South recovery & cooperation.

**Inclusivity & implementation: AU joins,  
DPI & green pacts move forward.**

**2023 New Delhi, India**



One Earth, One Family, One Future: **Theme**

African Union added as a permanent G20 member: **Membership**

Green Development Pact; Global Biofuel Alliance: **Initiatives**

Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) model endorsed as global best practice: **Digital**



2024 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Justice, climate equity & governance reform headline the Global South turn.

**Theme:** Building a Just World & a Sustainable Planet.

**Focus:** Social inclusion, climate justice, operationalizing Loss & Damage finance.

**Governance:** Push for UN & Bretton Woods reform & more equitable finance.

**Outcome:** Strong South-South cooperation & equity framing of climate finance.

2025 Johannesburg  
South Africa



# Foreword

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**Amitabh Kant**

Lead Author

Sherpa, G20 India Presidency 2023



The years 2022–2025 mark a truly unprecedented chapter in the history of the Group of Twenty (G20). For the first time, four consecutive presidencies from the Global South — Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa — have led one of the world’s foremost forums for international economic cooperation. This sequence signals a shift in the way global governance operates, whose priorities command attention, and which voices shape the international economic agenda.

This leadership coincides with a structural transformation driven by the Global South, where South-South trade and investment have surged, with foreign direct investment into the Global South reaching approximately \$525 billion in 2023, surpassing inflows into advanced economies. Today, the Global South drives an estimated 80% of global economic growth and plays a central role in shaping the world economy. Within this broader Global South context, Asia’s largest economies — China (\$19.2 trillion GDP), India (\$4.2 trillion), Japan (\$4.2 trillion), South Korea (\$1.79 trillion), and Indonesia (\$1.43 trillion) — are key players in regional partnerships such as ASEAN, RCEP, and the G20, driving deeper integration and resilience. In 2021, 60% of Asian trade was intra-regional, and 49 of the world’s 80 largest trade routes involve the continent. This economic dynamism reflects a strategic architectural shift in regional and global trade and finance networks.

As leaders who have navigated these extraordinary years, we recognize both the historic weight of this moment and the formidable challenge of converting political momentum into tangible progress on the ground. As

such, each of these four G20 presidencies brought forth integral perspectives from the Global South, shaped by unique histories, development pathways, and positions in the global economy.

Yet we shared common commitments: to center development and equity alongside traditional macroeconomic coordination, to reform multilateral institutions so they better serve developing country needs, to address climate change as both an existential threat and a development imperative, and to ensure that international cooperation delivers tangible benefits for the world's most vulnerable populations. Together, we have sought to demonstrate that leadership from the Global South can uphold diplomatic consensus while advancing ambitious reform agendas. This commitment is reflected across the Global South. Technological innovation is growing rapidly in Northern Africa, the Middle East, and Sub-Saharan Africa, with countries like Morocco, South Africa, and Nigeria climbing global innovation indexes. Cooperation among Southern economies, exemplified by BRICS initiatives, accelerates equitable access to emerging technologies and fosters inclusive scientific advancement. Additionally, the Global South has taken a leading role in climate governance—from hosting consecutive COP presidencies to establishing landmark funds for Loss and Damage—highlighting the critical importance of South-South collaboration in building resilience and advancing just energy transitions.

This book documents our collective journey through these four years of Global South leadership. The chapters ahead offer a unique window into the diplomatic strategies, policy innovations, and institutional dynamics that defined each presidency. Developed with the participation of Sherpas and senior officials who guided these efforts, alongside scholarly analyses of the G20's evolution, this volume blends insider perspectives on decision-making with independent assessments of outcomes and impacts. By combining practitioner experience with rigorous research, we present lessons that will serve not only future G20 Presidencies but anyone seeking to understand how multilateral institutions can adapt to the complex challenges of the 21st century. The true measure of our collective legacy will not lie in the communiqués we drafted or the summits we hosted, but in whether we succeeded in

embedding lasting procedural improvements and securing financing commitments that endure beyond our individual presidencies. Have we made debt treatment more predictable and equitable? Have we mobilized climate finance at the scale the moment demands? Have we reformed multilateral development banks to better serve developing countries? Have we strengthened the G20's systems of monitoring and accountability so that pledges become action? These are the questions against which our tenure should be judged, and this book provides the evidence necessary for such assessment.

As we hand over the torch to future presidencies, we hope this volume will serve both as a record of what we aspired to and achieved, and as a resource for those who will carry the agenda forward. The challenges confronting the global economy and international cooperation are immense, but so too is the potential for collective progress when political will aligns with institutional capacity. The Global South is home to nearly two-thirds of the world's working-age population, driving demographic dividends unmatched elsewhere. With a rising middle class and expanding labor force, this region embodies both urgent development challenges and exceptional growth potential.

Our four years of Global South leadership have shown that meaningful change is possible, even in an era of geopolitical division and economic uncertainty. The question now is whether the international community will build on this foundation or allow the moment to pass without consolidating the innovations we have begun. That choice will determine not only the G20's future relevance, but also the prospects for a more inclusive, sustainable, and equitable global order in the decades to come.



**Amitabh Kant**

Lead Author

Sherpa, G20 India Presidency 2023



# Foreword

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## **Prof. Syed Munir Khasru**

Editor & Senior Author

Chairman, The Institute for Policy, Advocacy, and Governance (IPAG)

Amid geopolitical fragmentation, economic uncertainties, and an accelerating climate emergency, the G20 has emerged as an essential forum for global governance. Representing the preponderance of the world's GDP and population, this platform has the potential to orchestrate concerted international action and translate macro-level discourse into tangible policy outcomes. The 2022–2025 cycle of G20 Presidencies, led consecutively by Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa, provided a unique opportunity for re-centering perspectives and priorities from the developing Global South.

What distinguishes this presidential cycle is not simply geographic diversity in leadership, but a deliberate intellectual and diplomatic thrust to reframe global governance around equity and structural transformation. The Troika strived to set an agenda that moved beyond macro-stability towards inclusion and systemic reform. Indonesia's presidency confronted immediate crises, pandemic recovery, and geopolitical tensions, while laying the foundations for health resilience and just energy transition. India expanded the aperture, securing African Union membership in the G20 and championing Digital Public Infrastructure as democratizing technology for development. Brazil launched the Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty, demonstrating how moral clarity on social justice could catalyze institutional innovation. South Africa consolidated this trajectory, centering African industrialization priorities, debt sustainability mechanisms, and the Cost of Capital Review, which exposed how the financial architecture systematically disadvantages developing economies.

Taken together, these initiatives formed a coherent alternative to the old trade-offs. Growth versus equity, climate action versus development, sovereignty versus multilateralism, this cycle challenged each false binary. Agenda-setting power mattered: when developing countries lead, the questions change; debt becomes a development imperative, climate finance a justice project, MDB reform a governance redesign, tax cooperation a tool of redistribution.

The publication, “G20’s Global South years (2022–2025): Towards an inclusive, prosperous, and peaceful world,” the first comprehensive documentation and analysis of this transformative period, seeks to capture the paradigm shift. By blending insider perspectives from the Sherpas and officials who architected these agendas with independent scholarly assessment, it provides both a historical record and an analytical framework. The chapters reveal the intricate diplomacy required to maintain consensus while advancing reform, the technical scaffolding beneath political declarations, and the persistent gap between commitment and implementation that defines contemporary multilateralism. Crucially, the book does not shy away from critical evaluation, assessing not only what was prophesized and attempted but also what was actually achieved, not only the political momentum generated but also the measurable outcomes delivered.

The significance of this work extends beyond documenting a particular presidential cycle. It establishes an evidence base for evaluating whether the 2022–2025 period constitutes a durable shift in global governance or merely a transitional moment. It provides future presidencies with both inspiration and cautionary lessons about institutional constraints, financing bottlenecks, and the hard work of translating vision into implementation. For scholars, practitioners, and policymakers, it offers rare transparency into how international economic cooperation actually functions, the negotiations, trade-offs, and procedural innovations that determine whether multilateral forums remain relevant or ossify into irrelevance.

As the G20 enters its next phase, this book challenges all stakeholders to recognize that inclusive global governance is not a concession to developing countries but an imperative for collective prosperity, stability, and survival in an interdependent world.



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Sherpa, G20 India 2023



Kant is a senior Indian civil servant and policy innovator who served as India's G20 Sherpa during and beyond the country's G20 Presidency in 2023. In this role, he led the G20 agenda and negotiations, catalysing consensus on complex global challenges and positioning India as a constructive bridge between developed and developing economies. From 2016 to 2022, he was the longest-serving CEO of NITI Aayog, India's premier policy think tank, where he played a central role in driving major reform initiatives. He is the architect of flagship national missions like Make in India, Startup India, Aspirational Districts Programme, and Ease of Doing Business. A Chevening Scholar, Kant continues to be an influential voice in shaping India's development and international strategy through his policy leadership, writing, and advisory engagements.

## About the Author

### **Prof. Syed Munir Khasru**

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An MBA from the Wharton School of Business, University of Pennsylvania, US Prof. Khasru founded, led, and successfully built two world class institutes in the global knowledge industry. The international knowledge outfit, the Institute for Policy, Advocacy, and Governance (IPAG) and the international management consulting firm e. Gen Consultants Ltd. (e.Gen) with presence in five continents which include South Asia (Dhaka & Delhi), Asia Pacific (Melbourne), Middle East (Dubai), Europe (Vienna), and Africa (Mauritius). He has led number of G20 and G7 Task Forces and has authored twenty five policy briefs. As global thought leader, he has a number of critically acclaimed publications and his opinion pieces are regularly carried by some of the leading international media outlets.



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### **Zane Dangor**

G20 Sherpa, South Africa

Dangor is the Director-General of South Africa's Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) and serves as the country's G20 Sherpa. He brings extensive experience in international law, human rights, and public policy to South Africa's foreign relations. Before leading DIRCO, he served as Director-General of the Department of Social Development and worked with the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington, DC. He also represented the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) to the African Union and the UN Economic Commission for Africa, gaining extensive multilateral experience. As South Africa's G20 Sherpa, Dangor leads the country's participation under the theme "Solidarity, Equality, Sustainability," coordinating 15 working groups and key policy negotiations.



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**Dr. Edi Prio Pambudi**

Co-Sherpa, G20 Indonesia 2022

As Deputy Minister for International Economic Cooperation at the Ministry for Economic Affairs, Dr. Pambudi leads Indonesia's engagement in major multilateral and regional forums, including the G20, the OECD accession process, ASEAN, and BIMP-EAGA. As Co-Sherpa during Indonesia's 2022 G20 Presidency, Dr. Pambudi played a central role in shaping the Bali Leaders' Declaration and continues to represent Indonesia in G20 Sherpa meetings, where he actively advocates for Global South perspectives in international economic forums.



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## About the book

The publication "G20's Global South years (2022-2025): Towards an inclusive, prosperous, and peaceful world" chronicles a historic moment in international governance with four major developing nations from the Global South - Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa - leading the G20 for four consecutive years. This unprecedented sequence has helped reshape the global agenda, placing development, equity, sustainability, and institutional reform at its core.

Drawing on insights from these four G20 Presidencies led by respective political leaderships and G20 Sherpas who steered these G20 Presidencies, as well as thoughts and opinions from leading experts in respective fields - the volume offers an insider's view of how the Global South has redefined leadership in one of the world's most influential forums. It examines how these four nations balanced geopolitical tensions with cooperative diplomacy, advanced reforms in multilateral institutions, and introduced inclusive priorities such as debt sustainability, digital public goods, and climate justice.

The book captures a transformative period in global governance when the Global South moved from participation to leadership. It is an analytical chronicle and a forward-looking reflection on how emerging economies are shaping a fairer and representative international order. The Institute for Policy, Advocacy and Governance (IPAG), led by its Chairman, Prof. Syed Munir Khasru, who is Editor and Senior Author of the book, is pleased to have initiated and implemented this critical milestone in the G20 community's knowledge landscape. Amitabh Kant, Sherpa, G20 India Presidency 2023 and the Lead Author of the book played an important role in bringing together the major stakeholders.

The Editor of the book, Prof. Khasru, hopes that documentation of the challenges and achievements of these G20 Global South Presidencies will provide the larger global audience access to the collective experiences and insights of four major developing economies that have led the G20 Presidency during a transformative period. On that note, he acknowledges with gratitude the unstinted support and cooperation that he has received from all stakeholders in successfully undertaking this important initiative.

The unveiling of the book during the G20 leadership summit on November 22-23, 2025, in Johannesburg is a befitting testament to the remarkable leadership of the Global South, culminating with South Africa's G20 Presidency in 2025 and documented in the pages of history through this august publication.

Edited by:

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November 2025

Price: US\$ 30.00

