



Conference Summary at the Jakarta Geopolitical Forum X/2026: Strengthening Multilateralism: Survival Amid Global Turbulence and a Fragmented World

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Bismillahirrahmanirrahim.
Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.
May peace and blessings be upon us.
Om Swastiastu, Namoh Buddhaya, Salam Kebajikan.

The Honourable Governor of the National Resilience Institute of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. H. TB Ace Hasan Syadzily;

The Honourable Vice Governor of the National Resilience Institute of the Republic of Indonesia;

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Excellencies; distinguished moderators, speakers, and participants, both here in the conference hall and joining us online; ladies and gentlemen.

We have now reached the conclusion of the forum, and it is my honour to present a summary of the substantive discussions of the 10th Jakarta Geopolitical Forum 2026.

Under the theme, "Strengthening Multilateralism: Survival Amid Global Turbulence and a Fragmented World," a common question emerged throughout every session: Who will write the next set of global rules, and who will build the capability to live by them? Writing the rules is one challenge; possessing the infrastructure, economic strength, institutional resilience, and technological capability to survive and prosper under those rules is another.

This morning, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, His Excellency Sugiono, opened our discussions by asking whether multilateralism can still deliver. His answer was clear: yes-but not on autopilot. The remedy for imperfect multilateralism is not less multilateralism, but better multilateralism. He reaffirmed Indonesia's Bebas Aktif foreign policy as an approach that expands strategic space rather than

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forcing countries to choose between competing blocs. That strategic space must ultimately be anchored in national capability, because sovereignty is meaningful only when supported by resilience and capacity.

Our first plenary session examined the future of multilateralism in an increasingly multipolar world. Professor Nick Bisley reminded us that middle powers cannot reshape the international order through grand strategic designs. Instead, they must pursue pragmatic, issue-based coalitions built upon shared interests, practical leadership, and tangible outcomes, as demonstrated by countries that sustained the Comprehensive and Progressive The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), sustained following the withdrawal of the United States, demonstrates the continuing relevance of this form of cooperation in areas including maritime security, domestic resilience, and economic diversification.

Professor Georgy Toloraya presented a perspective in which emerging platforms such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation complement rather than replace the United Nations. In his view, multipolarity should not be interpreted as disorder, but as a search for a new international equilibrium. He also proposed stronger engagement between ASEAN and Eurasian institutions through economic cooperation, energy collaboration, civilian nuclear development, and cooperation on ethical frameworks for artificial intelligence.

Professor Hikmahanto Juwana reminded us that international law continues to face significant limitations whenever major powers choose to disregard established legal decisions. Nevertheless, he emphasised that Indonesia should remain committed to preventing escalation, maintaining dialogue wherever cooperation remains possible, and consistently implementing its Bebas Aktif foreign policy with many friends and no enemies. Although each speaker approached the issue from different perspectives, the session ultimately converged on a shared conclusion: the international order is under considerable pressure, and middle powers must respond through pragmatic cooperation, sustained diplomacy, and strengthened multilateral engagement rather than confrontation.

The second plenary turned to strategic protectionism and competition across international trade, gold financial system, and green energy. The Vice Minister of Trade, Dyah Roro Esti, reminded us about tariff, export controls, and sanctions being wielded as instruments of geopolitical pressure, and set out Indonesia's answer as openness with prejudice, diversified partnership, firm yet constructive engagement, Indonesia's position as a bridge builder in a fragmented world, seeking not confrontation, but confidence. Through diversified partnership anchored in ASEAN centrality, domestic competitiveness and

constructive reform, not replacement, are the WTO, IMF, and World Bank.

Mr. Shaokai Fan of the World Gold Council showed that central banks have been net buyers of gold every year since 2010, with purchases of about 1,000 tonnes annually from 2022 to 2024, and that a record share of reserve managers now expect the role of gold to grow further. This is hedging within the system, a quiet, steady foot for diversification rather than exit.

Mr. Arief Wijaya of WRI Indonesia set out the weight of Indonesia in the critical minerals economy, including around 44% of global nickel reserve, and proposed a simple test for green industrial policy. Does a measure grow the pie or merely redistribute? He argued for equivalency and mutual recognition, so that sustainability standards leave performance without hardening into walls.

Mr. Ben Lawson challenged us to define the realistic limits of supply chain diversification and pointed to the tailing gap. Trade between ASEAN is roughly 22 to 23% of the total trade of the region, compared with roughly 60% within the European Union. Regulatory, deferred gains, logistics, payment systems, and barriers beyond tariffs form the practical agenda of economic resilience.

The third plenary session addressed global technology competition, the demographic dividend, and cybersecurity within the digital economic transformation. The Vice Minister of Communication and Digital Affairs, Mr. Nezar Patria, argued that technological power follows diffusion rather than invention alone. Lasting advantage does not belong to nations with the most advanced laboratories, but to those with the deepest base of ordinary engineers capable of diffusing new technologies through their firms and communities. He proposed a digital compact, defined as the mobilisation of digital ecosystems as an instrument of national purpose, built on four elements applied simultaneously: resources, market, demography, and compute.

Mr. Adi Darmadi of Rockwell Automation traced the industrial journey from automation to autonomy and underlined its human consequences, citing an industry survey indicating that 93 per cent of manufacturers expect their workforce to be reshaped by automation, while 40 per cent reported reskilling workers over the past year. The discussion emphasised the pursuit of technology that augments people rather than replaces them.

Mr. Jean-Noël of Thales addressed the future of digital resilience in safeguarding critical infrastructure and securing the digital economy. This subtopic examined what credible resilience requires as digital architecture splits into rival technological blocs: who bears the cost and timeline of migrating critical systems to cryptography capable of withstanding adversaries equipped with quantum computing, and how nations can build sovereign

capability that endures even when geopolitical shifts disrupt their relationships with foreign vendors.

Mr. Patrick Dannacher of ITSEC Asia posed the governance question in its sharpest form: whether states that consume technology will become rule-shapers or remain rule-takers. With binding regulations taking effect in major jurisdictions this year, credibility was argued to rest on capability, including accredited testing, independent audit, and, above all, people, noting a projected shortfall of some nine million ICT workers in Indonesia by 2030. Although each speaker approached the issue from a distinct perspective, the discussion converged on a shared proposition: technology is no longer merely a driver of economic growth. It has become a pillar of national resilience, strategic influence, and national competitiveness.

Taken together, the discussions revealed a set of recurring patterns that extended across sessions and disciplinary perspectives. Although speakers approached the forum's central questions from distinct vantage points, four common threads may be discerned as underlying themes of the day.

First, multilateralism is being renegotiated, not abandoned. Speakers from every region and school of thought argued for reforming and widening existing institutions rather than replacing them.

Second, agency has moved to the middle. In resources, minerals, supply chains, and digital rules, middle and small powers are no longer waiting for outcomes decided elsewhere. They are hedging, diversifying, and building coalitions, and when they negotiate together, their voice becomes far harder to sideline.

Third, the decisive terrain of competition is shifting from tariffs and territory to standards and capability. Questions of who writes sustainability standards, who certifies algorithms, and who audits systems now shape market access and sovereignty as surely as any border.

Fourth, people are the binding constraint. Reserves can be purchased and plans can be redrawn, but auditors, engineers, and negotiators must be developed. Every recommendation raised throughout the forum ultimately depends on talent and institutions.

These proceedings, together with the insights raised across the discussion sessions, will inform the summary of outcomes and policy recommendations of the forum, which the National Resilience Institute will convey to relevant stakeholders.

A further outcome carried forward from the forum is a mode of cooperation centred on open, issue-focused coalitions and fair standards that allow competition to proceed without hardening into new divisions. The credibility of this posture depends on domestic coordination, in which government, industry, academia, civil society, and media function as a unified national ecosystem.

In a fragmented world, coordination itself has become a strategic capability.

A conclusion drawn from the forum is that principles carry weight only when supported by the people and institutions required to deliver them. Capability is not a byproduct of sound policy but its delivery mechanism. A rule without the people and institutions to enforce it remains merely a declaration. Building talent, institutions, and testing capacity is what enables the principles discussed throughout the forum to become practice.

References

1. Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional Republik Indonesia (Lemhannas RI). **Jakarta Geopolitical Forum X/2026: Strengthening Multilateralism: Survival Amid Global Turbulence and a Fragmented World** [video on the Internet]. Jakarta: Lemhannas RI; 2026 Jul 9 [cited 2026 Jul 17]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IbYayky-FmQ>