

INDIA & The WORLD

India's G20 Moment Healing, Hope & Harmony



भारत 2023 INDIA



वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्

ONE EARTH • ONE FAMILY • ONE FUTURE



India's G20 agenda will be inclusive, ambitious,
action-oriented, and decisive.
Let us join together to make India's G20 Presidency
a presidency of healing, harmony and hope.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi



वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्

ONE EARTH • ONE FAMILY • ONE FUTURE

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and aesthetics.

**FROM THE
EDITOR'S DESK****Decoding India's
G20 Moment**

India's much-heralded "G20 Moment" is finally here, with the world looking at Asia's third-largest economy anew with hope, excitement and great expectations. World leaders have feted India on assuming the presidency of the grouping of the wealthiest countries, reaffirming their faith in New Delhi's growing capacity as a problem-solver and agenda-setter. Heading the world's most influential multilateral forum is an occasion for national rejoicing, and is rightly seen as a symbol of India's growing global stature and prestige, capable of straddling the North-South divide. India has to put its best foot forward as it has taken over the G20 mantle in challenging circumstances. The global geopolitical landscape remains more fractured and polarised than ever. Times like these demand unclouded vision and exemplary leadership – and this is what Prime Minister Narendra Modi promised when he took the gavel of the G20 presidency from Indonesian President Joko Widodo in Bali. "India's G20 agenda will be inclusive, ambitious, action-oriented and decisive," he said famously. He exhorted the world to make India's G20 presidency "a presidency of healing, harmony, and hope." This is not just feel-good branding, but each of these three words needs to be decoded and understood in its proper context.

Healing & Harmony

It's not exactly the best time for the world, mired as it is in multiple crises and conflicts, which have been aggravated by the Ukraine crisis. The sheer scale of human suffering can only evoke pity and compassion. In such a polarised world, India, with its civilisational ethos of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" and syncretic spiritual culture, can play the role of a healer, bridge-builder and unifier. The Bali formulation on the Ukraine crisis managed to find a mid way solution that accommodated the concerns of Russia as well as the West, but this intractable

conflict will continue to pose a challenge to the G20 solidarity. Going forward, India will have to do its diplomatic best to bridge divides between the countries, which are polarised over the Ukraine conflict, so that the G20 can focus on the challenges for which it was created - accelerating Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), reviving economic growth and generating the much-needed climate finance.

Voice of Global South

Making G20 more inclusive and representative of the diversity of a changing world and surging aspirations of emerging and developing countries will be a major long-term strategic goal of India's G20 presidency. The G7 countries have a tendency to dominate the global agenda, but India's G20 moment is about seizing the initiative to recast the G20 to reflect the priorities of emerging economies. With IBSA countries holding the G20 presidency till 2025 – India in 2023, Brazil in 2024 and South Africa in 2025 – it's the perfect opportunity for India to project the interests and aspirations of the Global South.

Bridging the Digital Divide

Bridging the digital divide to ensure that the benefits of digital transformation are not confined to a small part of the human race and are shared with developing countries will be an important priority, as enunciated by India's G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant. In this context, India will showcase transformational digital tools devised in the country such as UPI, Co-WIN, Ayushman Bharat, FASTag and ONDC. Digital public goods will be an important part of what G20 Chief Coordinator Harsh Vardhan Shringla has aptly called "an inclusive tech order," which seeks to create technologies to deliver better services to people.

Against this larger backdrop of challenges and crises confronting a conflicted world, this Special Edition of India and The World magazine illuminates key themes of India's G20 presidency and explores how India can leverage the leadership of this multilateral grouping to fashion a more inclusive, hopeful and caring world. This edition brings together eminent diplomats, economists, and experts to demystify India's G20 presidency, and to share their views on the country's place in a rapidly mutating world order. We hope that this publication will become a window not only to India's G20 presidency, but also help generate solutions for an array of cross-cutting challenges the world faces.

Going forward, the G20 itself is on the cusp of a defining transformation as it moves from rarefied enclaves of the powerful to ordinary people. As PM Modi has envisaged, transforming G20 into a people-led movement could potentially become a lasting legacy of India's G20 presidency. In the meetings already held in Udaipur, Mumbai and Bengaluru, India has deftly fused diplomacy, discourse, culture and tourism. For thousands of international delegates attending G20 events, it will be their first experience and taste of India, bringing them face-to-face with common people.

Above all, India's G20 presidency has become a beacon of hope in a dark, despairing, and divisive world. There is a lot at stake in how the G20 is reimagined and repurposed, the India Way, to revive multilateralism and to rekindle hopes in human-centric globalisation, which is crystallised in the theme of "One Earth One Family One Future" and in the ancient Sanskrit ethos of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam."



Manish Chand
Editor-in-Chief

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A Presidency of Healing, Harmony and Hope



Today, India commences its G20 Presidency.

The previous 17 Presidencies of the G20 delivered significant results for ensuring macro-economic stability, rationalising international taxation, relieving debt-burden on countries, among many other outcomes. We will benefit from these achievements, and build further upon them.

However, as India assumes this important mantle, I ask myself — can the G20 go further still? Can we catalyse a fundamental mindset shift, to benefit humanity as a whole?

Our mindsets are shaped by our circumstances. Through all of history, humanity lived in scarcity. We fought for limited resources, because our survival depended on denying them to others.

Confrontation and competition — between ideas, ideologies and identities — became the norm.

Unfortunately, we remain trapped in the same zero-sum mindset even today. We see it when countries fight over territory or resources. We see it when supplies of essential goods are weaponised. We see it when vaccines are hoarded by a few, even as billions remain vulnerable.

Some may argue that confrontation and greed are just human nature. I disagree. If humans were inherently selfish, what would explain the lasting appeal of so many spiritual traditions that advocate the fundamental oneness of us all?

One such tradition, popular in India, sees all living beings, and even inanimate things, as composed of the same five basic elements — the panch tatva of earth, water, fire, air and space. Harmony among these elements — within us and between us — is essential for our physical, social and environmental well-being.

Sense of Oneness

India's G20 Presidency will work to promote this universal sense of oneness. Hence our theme — “One Earth, One Family, One Future”.

This is not just a slogan. It takes into account the recent changes in human circumstances, which we have collectively failed to appreciate.

Today, we have the means to produce enough to meet the basic needs of all people in the world.

Today, we do not need to fight for our survival — our era need not be one of war. Indeed, it must not be one!

India's G20 Presidency will work to promote this universal sense of oneness. Hence our theme — “One Earth, One Family, One Future”. This is not just a slogan. It takes into account recent changes in human circumstances, which we have collectively failed to appreciate.

Today, the greatest challenges we face — climate change, terrorism, and pandemics — can be solved not by fighting each other, but only by acting together

Fortunately, today's technology also gives us the means to address problems on a humanity-wide scale. The massive virtual worlds that we inhabit today demonstrate the scalability of digital technologies.

Housing one-sixth of humanity, and with its immense diversity of languages, religions, customs and beliefs, India is a microcosm of the world.

Mother of Democracy

With the oldest-known traditions of collective decision-making, India contributes to the foundational DNA of democracy. As the mother of democracy, India's national consensus is forged not by diktat, but by blending millions of free voices into one harmonious melody.

Today, India is the fastest growing large economy. Our citizen-centric governance model takes care of even our most marginalised citizens, while nurturing the creative genius of our talented youth.

Our G20 priorities will be shaped in consultation with not just our G20 partners, but also our fellow-travellers in the Global South, whose voice often goes unheard.

We have tried to make national development not an exercise in top-down governance, but rather a citizen-led “people’s movement”.

We have leveraged technology to create digital public goods that are open, inclusive and interoperable. These have delivered revolutionary progress in fields as varied as social protection, financial inclusion, and electronic payments.

For all these reasons, India’s experiences can provide insights for possible global solutions.

Caring for Global South

During our G20 Presidency, we shall present India’s experiences, learnings and models as possible templates for others, particularly the developing world.

Our G20 priorities will be shaped in consultation with not just our G20 partners, but also our fellow-travellers in the Global South, whose voice often goes unheard.

Our priorities will focus on healing our “One Earth”, creating harmony within our

“One Family” and giving hope for our “One Future”.

For healing our planet, we will encourage sustainable and environment-friendly lifestyles, based on India’s tradition of trusteeship towards nature.

For promoting harmony within the human family, we will seek to depoliticise the global supply of food, fertilisers and medical products, so that geopolitical tensions do not lead to humanitarian crises. As in our own families, those whose needs are the greatest must always be our first concern.

For imbuing hope in our future generations, we will encourage an honest conversation among the most powerful countries — on mitigating risks posed by weapons of mass destruction and enhancing global security.

India’s G20 agenda will be inclusive, ambitious, action-oriented, and decisive.

Let us join together to make India’s G20 Presidency a presidency of healing, harmony and hope.

Let us work together to shape a new paradigm of human-centric globalisation. ■



Narendra Modi is the Prime Minister of India. He has led the world’s largest democracy since May 2014

G20 UNIVERSITY CONNECT

Connecting Youth Power to G20

India put the spotlight on youth power on the day it assumed the presidency of G20 on December 1, 2022 by launching the G20 University Connect programme. In a pioneering initiative, eminent diplomats and experts will deliver a lecture at 75 different universities across India



to familiarise young people with different facets of India's G20 presidency. Launching the programme on December 1, External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar provided a big-picture view of India's major priorities under its G20 presidency to enlist youth as "equal partners in development agenda."

"As the youth of India, it is important that you are not only aware of G20 activities but also of India's approach. Under the Youth20 Engagement Group of G20, India will focus on skill development, future of work, access to quality health, and youth as equal partners in development agenda," he told thousands of students who participated in this programme physically as well as virtually from across India.

(Excerpts from External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar's speech)



Assumption of G20 presidency by India is a crucial responsibility, specially at a very challenging time in world politics and at an inflection point in India's own history. And, we are going to do the G20 very differently, and today's event itself, is proof of that.

You are all aware that the G20 brings together the 20 major economies of the world. They represent 85% of the global GDP, 75% of international trade and two-thirds of the world's population. In addition, participants in the group include the major international organizations like the UN, WTO, WHO, World Bank, IMF, ILO, ASEAN, African Union, International Solar Alliance, CDRI etc. As the host, it is also India's prerogative to invite guest nations. We have exercised that right in respect of UAE, Bangladesh, Mauritius, Egypt, Nigeria, Oman,

Given its significance, we would like G20 not to be a Delhi-centric set of events, but one that is hosted; indeed that is celebrated across the width and breadth of our country. By doing so, the world will get to know better the fullness of India's extraordinary diversity and rich heritage.



Singapore, the Netherlands and Spain. So, as you can see, this is a gathering of extraordinary importance. And one that in many ways, unparalleled in our history.

Making World India Ready

But it is not just the collective weight of the participants that you should take note of. The very process of holding the G20 itself is uniquely impactful. There will, of course be the G20 Summit in September 2023 in New Delhi. But, in addition, there are almost 200 meetings at various other levels, from ministers and officials to domain experts, civil society and of course, the youth. Given its significance, we would like G20 not to be a Delhi-centric set of events, but one that is hosted; indeed that is celebrated across the width and breadth of our country. By doing so, the world will get to know better the fullness of India's extraordinary diversity and rich heritage. Similarly, our own citizens will develop a sharper appreciation of the world, its challenges, and its

opportunities. So, we must all approach the G20 and its delegates in the true spirit of Athiti Devo Bhava and understand that as a result of the G20, it will, in a sense, make the world more India ready and make India more world ready.

Challenging Times

Now, our G20 Presidency is taking place at a very critical moment in international affairs. Over the last three years, we have seen the economic and social devastation caused by the Covid pandemic, quite apart from its human toll. It has aggravated the financial situation of developing countries, undermined the pursuit of sustainable development goals, and created a health divide between the developed and the developing. To this was added the knock-on effects of the Ukraine conflict, especially the difficulties in the availability and affordability of fuel, of food, of fertilizers. There are then the longer term trends like extreme climate, whose events are now



(Left to Right) Prof. M. Jagadesh Kumar, UGC Chairman, G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant, P.K. Mishra, Principal Secretary to Prime Minister, G20 Chief Coordinator Harsh Vardhan Shringla and K. Sanjay Murthy, Higher Education Secretary, at the University Connect event in New Delhi.



unfolding with greater frequency and more impact. And do not forget the perennial challenges that we have faced, whether it be terrorism, black money etc. The G20 is the premier grouping devoted to addressing the financial, economic and developmental challenges of the world. And in these difficult times, it is particularly vital that world leaders focus on the right issues, issues that especially affect the more vulnerable sections of the world.

Voice of Global South

The attention obviously needs to be given not just to the problems, but equally; perhaps even more so, to finding viable solutions. In this regard, India's example is of increasing relevance to the rest of the world. Whether it is our last mile delivery done using digital platforms, our way of responding to the Covid and other public health challenges, or indeed the transformation in green and clean energy that we have seen in the last few years; there are very good reasons why today, the world is taking a much deeper interest in us. The G20 Presidency offers us an opportunity to share our story with others, particularly those who may transpose some of our experiences on their performance on challenges. It is also a time when we

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must become the voice of the Global South, that is otherwise under-represented in such forums. Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America trust India to speak up for them. We have of late been in the forefront of expressing their concerns on fuel, food and fertilizers. We share, too, the apprehension that sustainable development, climate action and climate justice could be side tracked due to more dominant issues. But our task will end not just with articulation. India has to take the lead in pushing for collective action. And that is exactly what we intend to do at the G20.

There are established mechanisms and working platforms to take forward various issues that come up in the G20 agenda. But the G20 naturally responds to the pressing issues of the day. It is also a tradition in the Presidency for the Presidency to flag concerns that are most immediate and seek support of the larger membership. Where India is concerned, some of the priorities are self-evident. Energy security and food security are two such examples. After the pandemic, there is a global expectation that more equitable solutions would be found for health challenges. As the driver of the widely appreciated Vaccine Maitri, the Global South has hopes that India would take forward this cause.

Our commitment to climate action and climate justice is again well recognized. This is even more so in the context of national actions and policies on this subject in the last eight years. Most of all, our digital prowess and its effective application on the ground; that has really caught the world's attention. While noting all these developments, let me address some specific issues that are likely to come up in the G20 context.



Greener & Bluer Future

As a civilizational state, it was imperative that India is not only conscious of its heritage and culture but brings those perspectives to bear on contemporary issues. As we currently consider the challenges of climate action, it is natural that we reassert our innate reverence for nature and search for solutions that are not just material, but also behavioural. We would seek to encourage a rethink around the world, both on how we produce, but equally important, on how we consume.

Green transition at scale is possible only when climate action is converted into a people's movement. During our G20 Presidency, we will spotlight LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment), with its associated, environmentally sustainable and responsible choices, at the level of individual lifestyles as well as national development. Only then will it lead to globally transformative actions resulting in a cleaner, greener and bluer future. We will make LiFE a global movement: one that envisions replacing the prevalent 'use-and-dispose' economy with a 'circular economy'. It intends to nudge individuals to undertake simple acts in their everyday life that can contribute to effectively addressing the challenges of



(Left to right) Muktesh Pardeshi, OSD, G20 Secretariat, Prof. Sachin Chaturvedi, DG, RIS, and Abhay Thakur, Sous Sherpa at the University Connect launch ceremony in New Delhi.

climate change, environment degradation, energy crises and rapid, sustainable growth. Pro-planet people adopting fundamentally sustainable lifestyles will change the way we do business in the 21st century. India will seek to be a catalyst of that change.

When taking over the G20 Presidency in Bali, Prime Minister Narendra Modi spoke about a sense of trusteeship. We want that message also to go out from the G20 - that for the sake of future generations-for people like you, every generation should leave the planet in a better shape than it inherited. After due deliberation we have therefore taken up “Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam” or “One Earth, One Family, One Future” as our G20 Presidency theme. Drawing from our cultural ethos, this is a strong assertion of beliefs in shared and common solutions. It may apply to climate action and LiFE, where the power of example, the diffusion of technology and the spread of best practices can make a decisive difference. The same drivers are even more powerful

when it comes to digital delivery in order to ensure that we leave no one behind. And remember, we have demonstrated it even at a time of extreme stress by undertaking successfully Vaccine Maitri.

The G20 is a diverse platform that seeks to forge common ground on key issues amongst prominent countries. Our endeavour is to make that consensus more relevant through a wider process of consultation. Indeed, our very choice of guest countries is reflective of this intent. Harmonising various interests is something that is ingrained deeply in India's history and culture. We have long been a pluralistic and consultative society, who have debated issues openly before we arrive at a decision. Since this is deeply ingrained in our DNA, we have never been insecure with diversity.

Our essential unity is not only the basis for pluralism but also the source of confidence for engaging the world. As the mother of democracy, India's G20 Presidency will be consultative, collaborative and decisive.

Reforming Global Order

Having noted that, we must also recognize that the global order today is not truly reflective of the state of the world.

Institutions and practices created 75 years ago still dominate global decision making. A representative and democratic international order must press for a change, not just in the United Nations but in other international institutions as well.

While we strive to progress on this broad agenda of issues, the G20 cannot be impervious to immediate developments that have a direct consequence on global well-being. This year, much of that debate has centered around the Ukraine conflict. As you all know, Prime Minister had declared that this is not the era of war and that dialogue and diplomacy alone can provide solutions. At Bali, the significance of this position was widely recognized by G20 leaders. In fact, the universality of this message is being appreciated as well.

Decoding PM Modi's Message

Many of you today would have read in the newspapers you would have seen in the morning. Or read on your phones, Prime Minister's own thoughts about assuming the G20 Presidency. And that, by the way has appeared in newspapers across the world. We should reflect on what to my mind were the 8 key points that he has articulated in his piece. And those points are:

- The greatest challenges can be solved not by fighting with each other but by acting together;
- Technology gives us the means to address problems on a humanity-wide scale;

- Digital public goods that we have created are increasingly perceived by the world as delivering revolutionary progress;
- India's experiences can provide insights for possible solutions;
- Our G20 priorities will be shaped by the interests of the Global South;
- We will encourage sustainable and environment friendly lifestyles based on trusteeship towards nature;
- We will seek to de-politicise the global supply of food, fertilizer and medical products; and
- We will encourage an honest conversation among the most powerful countries.

Youth Power

As the youth of India, it is important that you are not only aware of G20 activities but also of India's approach. Under the Youth20 Engagement Group of G20, India will focus on skill development, future of work, access to quality health, and youth as equal partners in development agenda. During the year, in the spirit of Jan Bhagidari, I would encourage the youth to conduct and host a wide range of practical activities like university lectures, roundtable discussions, Model UN conferences in colleges on G20 agendas. And welcoming the G20 delegations including through cultural performances at various meeting venues.

Remember, each one of you present, physically here and virtually across, each one of you is an ambassador of India to the G20. I urge you to collectively be the radiant lotus of creative brilliance and generational optimism. Our success in the G20 will surely draw strength from all of you.

Sherpas Craft A New Narrative of G20 Solidarity





In an exuberant idea-fest and a unique celebration of India's cultural mosaic, sherpas (senior officials) from G20 countries and international organisations brainstormed at a luxe lakeside hotel in the white city of Udaipur to craft a new narrative of G20 solidarity in a troubled world, says Manish Chand.



The 1st Sherpa Meeting of India's G20 presidency (December 4-7) was staged imaginatively in Udaipur, with foot-tapping Rajasthani folk songs, colourful dance and an exhibit of Jal Sanjhi art, weaving local culture with major themes of India's G20 presidency. Sherpas sporting ethnic

turbans, and a magnificent music-and-dance ensemble against the backdrop of the white stone City Palace were the enduring images of the Sherpa huddle in Udaipur, putting the spotlight on India's soft power which will be harnessed to make around 200 events held under India's presidency a unique experience.



Sherpas sporting ethnic turbans, and a magnificent music-and-dance ensemble against the backdrop of the white stone City Palace were the enduring images of the Sherpa huddle in Udaipur, putting the spotlight on India’s soft power which will be harnessed to make around 200 events held under India’s presidency a unique experience.



It wasn't just captivating optics, but the first sherpa meeting succeeded in firming up a substantive multi-layered agenda for India's G20 presidency which the world is looking at with a new hope in extremely polarising times. Starting with his first informal briefing on the banks of Lake Pichola on Day 1 and through his remarks

at various sessions, G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant, in consultations with his counterparts, fleshed out key themes and priorities of India's G20 presidency. "As PM Modi has highlighted, we must work to solve some of most pressing challenges of the world, together. We must focus on those whose need is the greatest. G20 India Presidency

SETTING THE AGENDA

would be about hope, harmony, healing & advocating the oneness of all,” he said.

Here are seven major takeaways of the First G20 Sherpa Meeting in Udaipur.

Global Support for India

The overarching takeaway from the First Sherpa meeting was a big thumbs-up by all G20 countries and international organisations for India’s G20 presidency. Sherpas were all praise for India’s global leadership skills and expressed confidence in New Delhi’s capacity to bolster G20 as the world’s foremost multilateral economic grouping. Sherpas acknowledged that India’s status as the largest emerging economy and the world’s largest democracy makes India an indispensable bridge-builder in the conflict-ridden international environment. This kind of across-the-board global support will be crucial in making 2023 a defining year for G20 and India.

Digital Revolution

Technology-led transformation to solve pressing global problems in areas spanning health, public service delivery, governance and trade will be the centrepiece of G20 agenda under India’s presidency. Sherpas got a taste of India’s digital prowess right from the time they entered the meeting hall after a digital photo identification system. Delegates were taken to an iconic Crafts Village where they used UPI system, devised in India, to make payments for items purchased. Kant also publicised India’s digital prowess by paying for local snacks through UPI and putting pictures on his twitter handle. Optics apart, India’s G20 Sherpa highlighted the power of technology and the need for accelerating digitisation for global public



India’s G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant with G20 Chief Coordinator Harsh Vardhan Shringla in Udaipur.

G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant highlighted India’s role in providing a greater voice to the Global South, and harnessing its G20 Chairship to forge win-win collaborations between developing countries and advanced economies. India’s credentials as a voice of the South found support across the spectrum.

good. Delegates from G20 countries and guest invitees spoke about leveraging the power of technology and underlined the importance of cyber security, inclusivity in expanding access to technological services and infrastructure, and digital skilling. Throughout its presidency year, India will showcase its unique strengths in digital public goods and help shape an inclusive digital economy.

In his interaction with sherpas, Amitabh Kant shared India's experiences in creating digital identities for everyone and promoting financial inclusion by creating bank accounts for everyone and through direct benefit transfers and fast payments. This has helped lift millions out of poverty in the country, Kant told his counterparts from other countries.

A New LIFE: Green & Clean

Promoting green development and Lifestyle for Environment (LiFE) figured prominently in sherpa-track discussions and will culminate in significant initiatives at the G20 summit in September 2023. The talks focused on accelerating low-cost finance for energy transition, bio-energy cooperation amongst G20 and enhancing trade in green hydrogen. With climate-triggered events wreaking havoc around the world, India's home-grown initiative for sustainable and healthy lifestyle called LiFE - Lifestyle For the Environment – found widespread support from G20 sherpas. LiFE places an individual at the centre of action against climate change by pursuing “Lifestyle of the planet, for the planet and by the planet.” Sherpas told this analyst that they expect India's G20 presidency to produce significant initiatives for decarbonising the economy, and for promoting universal



The talks focused on accelerating low-cost finance for energy transition, bio-energy cooperation amongst G20 and enhancing trade in green hydrogen. With climate-triggered events wreaking havoc around the world, India's home-grown initiative for sustainable and healthy lifestyle called LiFE - Lifestyle For the Environment – found widespread support from G20 sherpas.

access to clean energy. Fast-tracking delivery of climate finance and raising the ambition for climate finance will be a high priority for India's G20 presidency. Sherpas from G20 countries supported India's efforts to expedite the delivery of climate finance to developing countries and to work on an ambitious New Collective Quantified Goal (NCQG) of climate finance from USD 100 billion per year to support developing countries. They supported India in its efforts to raise climate finance to over 100 billion USD per year.

SETTING THE AGENDA

South-South Solidarity

The sherpas' discussions in Udaipur saw a vigorous reaffirmation of South-South solidarity, marking a decisive shift from G7-dominated agenda to prioritisation of core interests of the Global South. Addressing the delegates, India's G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant highlighted India's role in providing a greater voice to the Global South, and harnessing its G20 Chairship to forge win-win collaborations between developing countries and advanced economies.

India's credentials as a voice of the South found support across the spectrum. In this regard, a separate meeting sherpas of the Troika involving Indonesia (past chair), India (current chair) and Brazil, which will succeed India as G20 chair was held on the sidelines of the G20 Sherpa meeting. In a unique configuration, emerging economies will hold the G20 presidency for the next three years.

Accelerating SDGs

The focus on SDGs was evident from the word go. A side event on 'Sustainable Development Goals: Transforming Lives at the Midpoint of the 2030 Agenda' was organised, which focused on accelerating completing SDG targets, one of major priorities of India's G20 presidency. The sherpas' meeting saw a consensus on accelerating financing for completion of SDGs which have been hampered by cascading and multiple crises facing the world. The key takeaway that emerged from the sherpa meeting was the capacity of G20 to provide leadership and financial resources to bring the world back on track to achieve the SDGs, which have been badly derailed by the festering financial crisis.



Blending Culture & Soft Power

The orchestration of the first sherpa meeting in Udaipur under India's G20 presidency saw an interweaving of culture and soft power projection with more substantive issues revolving around Triple F (Food, Fuel and Fertilisers security). The cultural show had many elements, but what stood out was the motif of oneness, the master theme of India's presidency – One Earth, One Family, One Future and the message of unity in diversity. In many ways, the sherpas meeting was suffused with India's fabled soft power, with Manek Chowk, the main courtyard in the iconic City Palace, becoming the stage for a mesmerising light-and-sound show and a melange of dance forms on the last day of the meeting. Classical dance forms like kathak and Kuchipudi mingled with an artfully curated



Sherpas acknowledged that India's status as the largest emerging economy and the world's largest democracy makes India an indispensable bridge builder in the conflict-ridden international environment. This kind of across-the-board global support will be crucial in making 2023 a defining year for G20 and India.

fashion show to provide a perfect blend of the traditional and the modern.

Ukraine Understanding

Looking ahead, the biggest takeaway of the Udaipur meeting of sherpas was not to let divisive issues such as the Ukraine crisis hijack the discussions, but to refocus energies of G20 on finding creative and constructive solutions to a host of global crises. This is significant as unlike during the Indonesian presidency when the meetings ended without even a group photo, this time around, sherpas, dressed in colourful Rajasthani turbans, happily smiled and posed for photos. The Ukraine issue figured in discussions but more in the context of Triple F factor - promoting the security of food, fuel and fertiliser supplies, which have been badly disrupted by the

Ukraine war. Overall, India's G20 presidency has begun on a high note, with the sherpa meeting striking the right notes to compose a new symphony of global public good, the overarching goal of India's G20 presidency, in Prime Minister Modi's words. ■



Manish Chand is Founder-CEO and Editor-in-Chief, "India and The World," an influential magazine-journal focused on international affairs and India Writes Network (www.indiawrites.org), a portal on global affairs. He is also Director, Centre for Global India Insights (CGII), a think tank focused on global affairs. He has authored and edited several books, including "Journeys Across Continents: A New India on the Global Stage," and "Two Billion Dreams: Celebrating India-Africa Friendship."

Under India's Presidency, G20 will become Relevant to Common People: Indonesian Co-Sherpa



Indonesia's G20 co-Sherpa Dian Triansyah Djani with India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Bali. India's G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant looks on.

Indonesia and India share a civilisational way of looking at the world and have an innate talent for forging consensus in international organisations. In this wide-ranging conversation with Manish Chand, Indonesia's G20 Sherpa Dian Triansyah Djani underlined the imperative of working together collaboratively to address pressing global issues and crises. Veteran Indonesian diplomat, who served as Indonesia's Permanent Representative to UN, also expressed confidence that India, like Indonesia, will champion the interests of developing countries in G20.

Q The Sherpa Meeting in Udaipur is the first major event under India's G20 presidency. What are your expectations from India's G20 presidency?

A Indonesia and India have been working together in many multilateral forums, including in Non-Aligned Movement. We have always been pushing for the interests of developing countries. We have always championed interests of developing countries. I am quite confident that India's presidency will continue these excellent efforts. The good thing about India's presidency is also that the Troika consists of Indonesia, India, and Brazil, which are all developing countries. So, the agenda of development, women's agenda, and combating poverty, as well as achieving the SDG target, will certainly be followed through by India. In Bali, we came up with concrete deliverables and the list of program projects, and we hope this will continue also. It will be important for the G20 to be relevant by trying to help other countries outside the G20.

Q The Ukraine issue proved to be very divisive under Indonesia's G20 presidency, but the Bali Declaration managed to strike an acceptable formulation on the Ukraine issue. Going forward, do you think the unity and solidarity within G20 will grow under India's presidency?

A Indonesia has always been trying to find solutions. We have always

been bridge-builder and believe in forging consensus. If you ask me the reason behind the success story of Indonesia's presidency, it was in getting the Leaders Declaration. This could happen because we listen to everyone. India is also good at listening. And that is where as a non-aligned country, you will be able to play a very important role in trying to bridge the differences because Indonesia and India share the same position on many issues. Our brand of diplomacy is also same.

Q India and Indonesia share a larger civilisational way of looking at things. Indonesia's first President Sukarno and Prime Minister Nehru were the co-founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. In today's polarized world, how do you look at this ideological convergence between India and Indonesia, which can bring benefits to the world?

A India has the second largest population in the world and Indonesia has the fourth largest. In terms of economic growth and in terms of doing business, we share the same values in every way, not only in the political, but in the economic realm and that is an important part. What is more important is that we always push for collaboration, despite all the differences. We believe that nobody can survive the crisis without working together collaboratively. The G20 was created as a global response to a global crisis and that is where you do not have any choice but to work together.

G20 CONVERSATION

Q Today, the world order is very fragmented. The UN is also not quite living up to expectations. That makes the G20 more important. Looking ahead, how can India and Indonesia cooperate to advance reform of global governance?

A We are all members of G7, we are members of the G20, we are members of many international groupings where India and Indonesia are major players. Multilateralism is the way to go; we do not have any choice. That is where we need to make sure that the UN measures up to the task; we must make sure that the IMF, WTO as well as other international organizations do the work for which they are created. The health crisis clearly shows that unless we work together together to combat the pandemic like COVID-19, the world will continue to suffer. Under Indian presidency, we hope that we are able to find a

mechanism to safeguard the world against pandemics.

Q Looking back at Indonesia's G20 presidency, what do you think are the lessons for India?

A India knows what is best to be done. Indian diplomats are among the best in the world. The lesson learned from G20 is to listen to everyone. We must consider everyone's views and we try to merge it into a global collaborative effort.

Q India's G20 presidency will carry forward the legacy of Indonesia's presidency. What do you think will be major contributions of India's presidency of G20?

A In G20, for instance, India is coming up with a new working group on disasters. As a country, we have faced all



Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Indonesian President Joko Widodo fly kites at National Monument in Jakarta, Indonesia, in May 2018.

Under India’s presidency, we must make sure that G20 becomes relevant to ordinary people. Otherwise, people will see this as only a meeting of bosses and heads of state. We are trying to translate it into concrete things that normal people can connect with.

the major disasters in the world. Whether an earthquake, tsunami, cyclones and droughts, India is well-positioned to push for that issue. India is a major player on energy and climate issues. The world is looking to India to take the lead in addressing these issues. There is still going to be a lot of crisis, and hopefully under the Indian presidency, the economic downturn that the world has experienced will be overcome.

Q Prime Minister Narendra Modi has spoken about making G20 into “People’s G20.” What are your views on enhancing people’s participation in G20?

A We support India’s pro-people initiatives all the way. That is why we came up with concrete deliverables because President Joko Widodo gave the instruction at the start of our presidency, that it should not be only a narrative, a policy type of document, but we must come up with concrete things. Under India’s presidency, we must make sure that G20 becomes relevant to ordinary people. Otherwise, people will see this as only a meeting of bosses and heads of state. We are trying to translate it into concrete things that normal people can connect with. For instance, we did that in terms of working together with



Union Minister for Health and Family Welfare Dr Mansukh Mandaviya at the second G20 Health Ministers Meeting in Bali, Indonesia.

many G20 nations in addressing health vaccination. This is something that normal people will certainly appreciate. Thus, rather than coming up with a global health policy, we are both working together in trying to have a hub, not only of production of vaccines, but also of therapeutic medicine. Under India’s presidency, the health agenda will be advanced.

Q How is the India-Indonesia strategic partnership going to progress in the years ahead?

A We are always on the right track. We have been working closely together in the Security Council and in the UN. We are working together in ASEAN. ASEAN and India are working together on a range of issues in the Indian Ocean. So, I am quite confident that our historic brotherhood will nurture favourable results.

With Dance & Dhols, DWG Meeting in Mumbai Focuses on Accelerating SDGs



Blending spectacle with substantive talks, the first meeting of the Development Working Group (DWG) under the G20 Sherpa Track was held in India's financial capital Mumbai (December 13-16). The iconic Gateway of India and Taj Mahal Palace Hotel were lit up to welcome G20 delegates out on a walk. Delegates beat "dhols" and dances with local dancers, creating a joyous atmosphere for the event.

The meeting began with a side event on Data for Development in Mumbai on December 13. Queen Maxima of Netherlands, UN Special Envoy for Inclusive Finance for Development and Union Minister for State, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology (MeitY) Rajiv Chandrashekhkar delivered remarks at the event.

The discussions of DWG kicked off with opening remarks from India's

Foreign Secretary Vinay Mohan Kwatra. The country's top diplomat highlighted India's role as the voice of the Global South and outlined the key priorities of the working group. These included harnessing data for development, mainstreaming Lifestyle for Environment (LiFE) globally, and accelerating progress on SDGs through the levers of women-led development, digital transformation, and just green transitions.

Sessions 1 and 2 focused on 'Accelerating Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals'. After presentations made by Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and International Labour Organization (ILO) on gender discrimination, just green transitions and digital transformation, G20 delegates brainstormed on accessing sustainable finance, and the need to

The discussions of DWG kicked off with opening remarks from India's Foreign Secretary Vinay Mohan Kwatra. The country's top diplomat highlighted India's role as the voice of the Global South and outlined the key priorities of the working group.

strengthen efforts to achieve gender equality.

Session 3 on 'Data for Development' included presentations by MeitY and a representative of the G20 Digital Economy Working Group (DEWG), UN Secretary General's Special Envoy on Technology, and a representative from UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Delegates discussed the need for quality data and data with trust, role of private sector and civil society, capacity building, and aligning the work of DWG with DEWG.



MUMBAI CALLING



Foreign Secretary Vinay Mohan Kwatra digitally addresses the Development Working Group meeting in Mumbai.

Session 4 of the DWG meeting discussed LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment), a central priority for India's G20 Presidency. G20 delegates welcomed the focus on SDG 12 and LiFE, and discussed ways to integrate it with localized realities and knowledge, identify policy measures, and to incentivize policy shifts. The last session discussed the preparation of the 2023 G20 New Delhi Update and the terms of reference for the outcome document. The meeting concluded with remarks by the Chair on December 15 2022.

In his interaction with the media, India's G20 Sherpa underscored that India's priorities reflect not only the aspirations of G20 Members, but also of the Global South. Mr Kant outlined India's major DWG priorities as (i) Green Development including climate action and financing, just energy transitions and LiFE (LifeStyle for Environment); (ii) Accelerating implementation of SDGs; and (iii) Digital Public Goods/Data for Development. He added that DWG conversations would also include debt

distress, reformed multilateralism and women-led development, and that India will highlight the importance of inclusive growth and collective action to achieve it.

Mr Kant highlighted that a new workstream on Disaster Risk Reduction has been established under India's Presidency to encourage collective work, multi-disciplinary research and exchange of best practices on disaster risk reduction. In addition, a new Startup20 Engagement Group has also been initiated under India's G20 Presidency, recognizing the role of Startups in driving innovation that responds to a rapidly changing global scenario.

Showcasing Culture

During the DWG Meeting in Mumbai, an exhibition of local Maharashtrian handicrafts and start-ups was also held. G20 delegates also visited a pottery-making stall that was set up at the venue. With a view to providing an Indian experience to G20 delegates, an excursion to the Kanheri Caves in Sanjay Gandhi National Park was also arranged on 16 December 2022. ■

First Finance Track Meeting Focuses on Rekindling Global Growth

In India's IT city, Finance and Central Bank Deputies of the world's twenty most powerful economies gathered on December 13-14, with an overarching agenda of reviving global growth and bolstering policy coordination for international financial stability. Kicking off the G20 Finance Track under the Indian

Presidency, the First G20 Finance and Central Bank Deputies Meeting, held in Bengaluru, was co-chaired by Secretary, Economic Affairs Ajay Seth and Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India, Dr. Michael Patra.

Over 160 foreign delegates including Deputies from G20 member countries,



BENGALURU BONDING

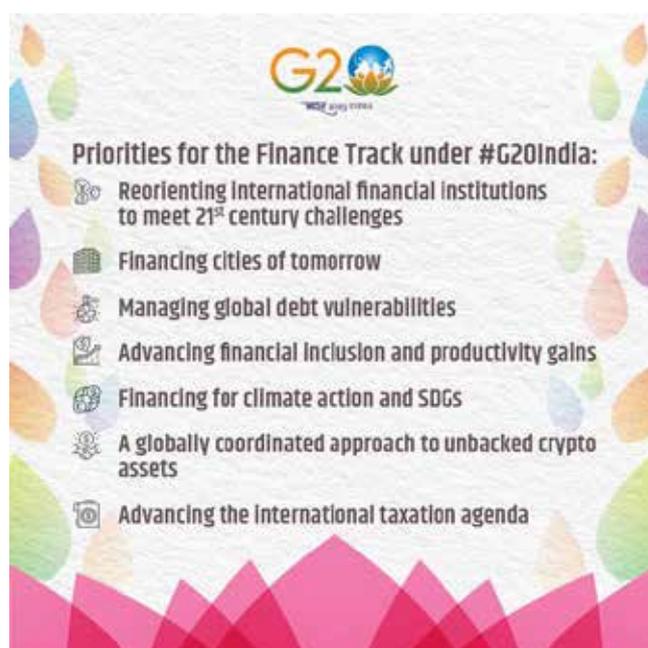


Ajay Seth, Secretary (Economic Affairs), co-chaired the G20 Finance and Central Bank Deputies Meeting in Bengaluru.

The meeting was marked by across-the-board support for the key priorities of India's G20 Finance Track agenda for 2023. These discussions have paved the way for the First G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting, which will be held on February 23-25, in Bengaluru, Karnataka.

invitee countries, and International Organisations, attended the meeting. The meeting was marked by across-the-board support for the key priorities of India's G20 Finance Track agenda for 2023. These discussions have paved the way for the First G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting, which will be held on February 23-25, in Bengaluru, Karnataka.

Over the course of two days, seven discussion sessions and two side events were organised. The



delegates were also given a glimpse of the traditional as well as the contemporary culture of Karnataka through a vivid display of different art forms.

The meeting was conducted with the aim of seeking the views of G20 members on India's G20 Finance Track priorities for 2023 across various workstreams. A side event on 'Strengthening MDBs to Address Shared Global Challenges of the 21st century' was held on the sidelines of the Deputies meeting. This event, moderated by Suman Bery, Vice Chairperson, NITI Aayog, focused on discussing how MDBs can help countries in addressing trans-boundary challenges. Another side event on 'Role of Central Banks in Managing Climate Risk and in Green Financing' was also held.

Physical presence of most G20 delegations, invitees and

The meeting was conducted with the aim of seeking the views of G20 members on India's G20 Finance Track priorities for 2023 across various workstreams.

international organisations in Bengaluru demonstrates the global commitment to supporting India's G20 Presidency, particularly amidst the challenging global economic environment, said India's G20 Secretariat.

The discussions focused on interlinked issues relating to the global economy and risks, strengthening Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs), managing global debt vulnerabilities, financing climate action and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and building resilient, inclusive and sustainable cities of tomorrow. ■



THE G20 FACTS & FIGURES

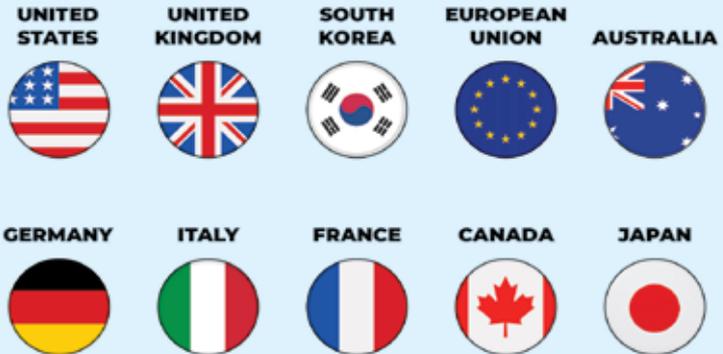
Set up in 1999 in the wake of the Asian financial crisis, the Group of 20 includes developed and developing nations. Initially a forum for finance ministers, it was elevated to summit level in 2008 with heads of states as representatives

G20 REPRESENTS



43 heads of states/ governments/international organisations will participate in the New Delhi summit, the largest ever in G20

DEVELOPED MEMBER COUNTRIES



DEVELOPING MEMBER COUNTRIES



SPECIAL INVITES TO THE DELHI SUMMIT

Bangladesh, Egypt, Mauritius, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Oman, Singapore, Spain, the UAE

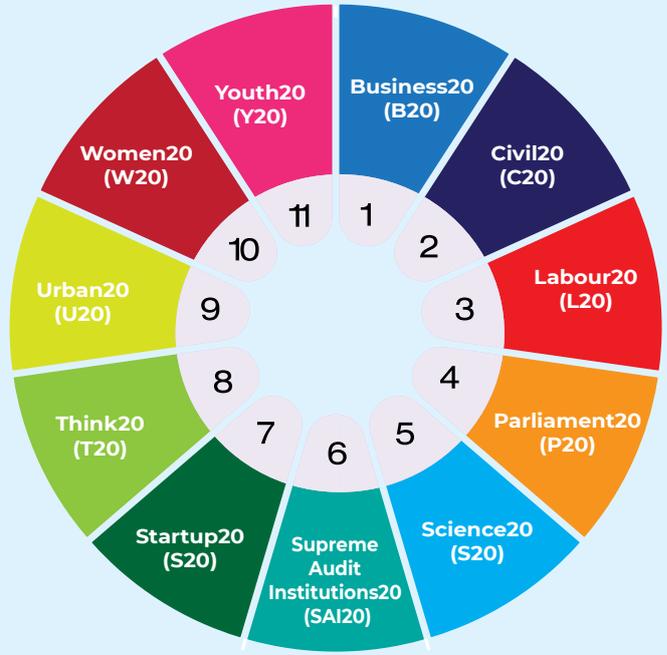
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

UN, IMF, World Bank, WHO, WTO, ILO, FSB, OECD

G20 Working Groups (Indian Presidency)



G20 Engagement Groups (Indian Presidency)



ENERGY TRANSITION

SHAPING A GREEN WORLD



Creating a green and clean world, based on accelerating energy transition and low-carbon growth, will figure prominently on the agenda of India's G20 presidency. Setting new benchmarks and targets, India has already declared that half of its electricity will be generated from renewable sources. To facilitate inclusive energy transition, India will press for time-bound delivery of affordable finance and sustainable supply of technology to developing countries.

India's advocacy of energy transition has acquired more resonance and

Panchamrit: Five-Pronged Plan

Prime Minister Modi unveiled his vision of inclusive energy transition at the COP26 global climate summit in Glasgow in November 2021, where he introduced the world to the concept of “panchamrit: (five nectars). This five-pronged plan includes:

- India will reach its non-fossil energy capacity to 500 GW by 2030.
- India will meet 50% of its energy requirements from renewable energy by 2030.
- India will reduce the total projected carbon emissions by one billion tonnes from now onwards till 2030.
- By 2030, India will reduce the carbon intensity of its economy by less than 45%.
- By the year 2070, India will achieve the target of Net Zero. These “panchamrit” will be an unprecedented contribution of India to climate action.

This concept of “panchamrit” will underpin India's efforts to promote energy security and energy transition under its leadership of G20 for 2022-2023. For India, energy security is critically important for global growth as it is the world's fastest growing economy. This is why India opposes any restrictions on the supply of energy to ensure stability in the energy market.

credibility with path-breaking initiatives undertaken by the government to ramp up the share of renewables in the country's energy fix. India has accelerated decarbonization of its fossil fuels-driven economy by easing rules to allow commercial and industrial consumers to switch to green sources of electricity.

Looking ahead, India will leverage International Solar Alliance (ISA) to increase the production of solar energy and to make it more affordable for wider use by industry and energy consumers.

India will push for enhancing use of solar energy in the context of green growth and energy transition towards renewables. In India's view, solar energy is the renewable energy of the future which will help reduce dependence on fossil fuels significantly. Under its G20 presidency, India will promote ongoing energy transition through technology transfer and knowledge transfer. Enhancing international cooperation to promote innovation in solar and renewable technologies will be an important priority of India in the coming days. ■

A NEW LIFE

PRO-PLANET LIFESTYLE



The climate has literally changed, with global warming triggering flood, famine and typhoons, endangering our very existence. Against this impending climate apocalypse, India has pioneered a home-grown initiative for sustainable and healthy lifestyle called LiFE - Lifestyle For the Environment - and placed it on the global agenda, including at G20. The concept was unveiled by Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi at the annual global climate summit, COP26 in Glasgow on November 1, 2021. In his speech, PM Modi called upon the global community to drive LiFE as an international mass movement towards “mindful and deliberate utilisation, instead of mindless and destructive consumption” to protect and preserve the environment.

LiFE places an individual at the centre of action against climate change by pursuing “Lifestyle of the planet, for the planet and by the planet.” According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), if one billion people out of

LiFE places an individual at the centre of action against climate change by pursuing “Lifestyle of the planet, for the planet and by the planet.”

G20 PRESIDENCY KEY PRIORITIES

PM Modi illuminated the significance of LiFE in his remarks at the G20 summit in Bali on November 15, 2022. “For the safe future of the planet, the sense of trusteeship is the solution. LiFE campaign can make a big contribution to this. Its purpose is to make sustainable lifestyles a mass movement”.

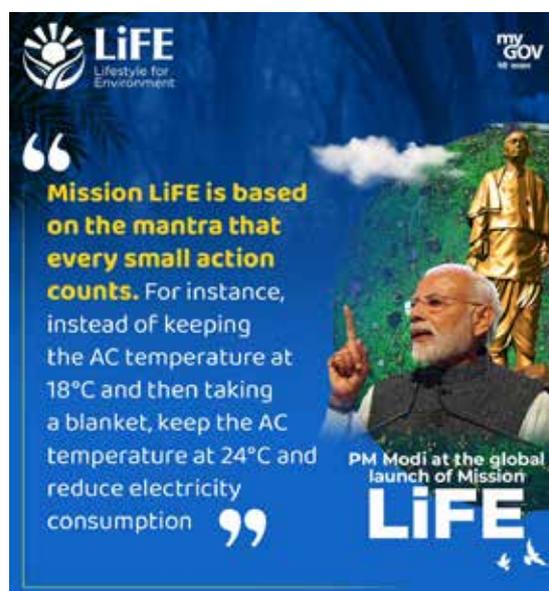
the global population of eight billion adopt environment-friendly behaviours in their daily lives, global carbon emissions could drop by approximately 20%. In this new scheme, those who practice such a lifestyle are recognised as Pro Planet People under LiFE.

Breathing a new life into his mission to promote sustainable life-style, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, in the presence of U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, launched ‘Mission LiFE’ in Kevadia, a scenic Gujarati town famous for the giant Statue of Unity. Mission LiFE, according to PM Modi, makes the fight against climate change democratic with the contribution of everyone in per own capacity. Underlining that ‘Mission LiFE’ will strengthen the concept of a pro-people planet, PM Modi hoped that this will strengthen the spirit of the P3 model, i.e. Pro-Planet People.” Reuse, reduce and recycling, an integral part of India’s traditions and culture, is also part of Mission LiFE as it encourage people towards making sustainable choices.

Given the transformative potential of LiFE for global wellness, India has placed sustainable lifestyle on the G20 agenda. G20 accounts for 80% of global GDP as well as 80% of global greenhouse gas emissions.

In India’s view, the G20 is equipped to make LiFE a global movement for green lifestyle. Mission LiFE will help the world in its fight against climate change and lead to a sustainable way of life to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals set by the UN. In this context, PM Modi illuminated the significance of LiFE in his remarks at the G20 summit in Bali on November 15, 2022. “For the safe future of the planet, the sense of trusteeship is the solution. LiFE campaign can make a big contribution to this. Its purpose is to make sustainable lifestyles a mass movement”. In a recognition of India’s efforts in changing the global debate on climate change, the G20 Bali Leaders’ Declaration has endorsed the concept of sustainable development and lifestyles, resource efficiency and circular economy.

Under India’s presidency of G20, LiFE is poised to become the global mantra for combating climate change. The motto of India’s G20 presidency – “One Earth One Family One Future” – encapsulates the essence of pro-Life planet and people. Mission LiFE is a clarion call to action for citizens and governments to save the planet. ■



TECH TRANSFORMATION

DIGITAL PUBLIC GOODS

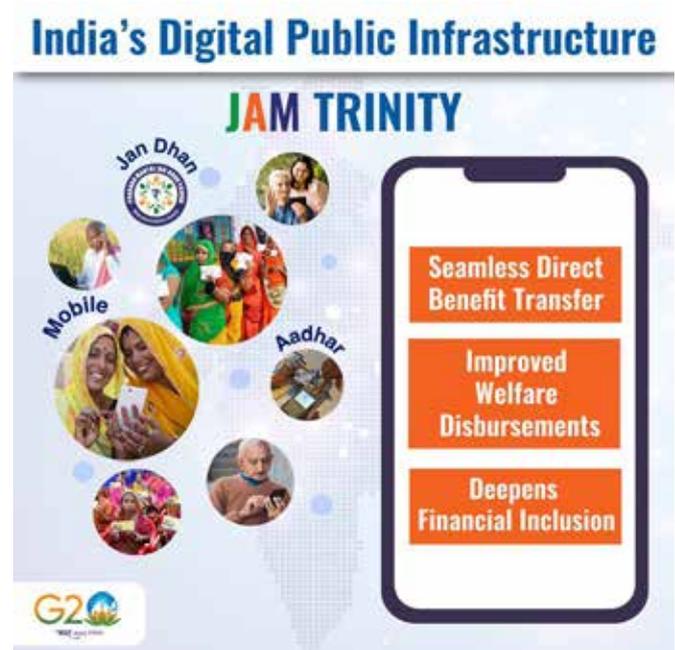
Digital transformation is the new normal in the post-COVID world. This digital transformation encompasses digital economy, digital finance, digital government, digital health, and digital education. Accelerating digital transformation across the spectrum will be a major focus area of India's G20 presidency and diplomatic outreach in months to come.

Digital technologies can also be harnessed in fight against poverty and against climate change. Against this backdrop, India can lead the way by showcasing its digital transformation story -- over 80% Indians have bank accounts as compared to about 50% in 2014 -- and share its expertise in this area with the developed and developing world.

Aadhaar, Diksha, Swayam are some of the key elements of the public digital infrastructure that India has built up over the years. India has to advance Ulip (Unified Logistics Interface Platform), and is in the process of building ONDC (Open Network for Digital Commerce).

India focuses on making digital architecture inclusive so that it can become a catalyst of socio-economic transformation. The architecture of digital public goods that India has developed is embedded with in-built democratic principles. These solutions are based on open source, open APIs, open

standards, which are interoperable and public. Unified Payment Interface (UPI), pioneered by India, is a classic example of digital public goods. Last year, over 40% of the world's real-time payment transactions took place through UPI. Similarly, 460 million new bank accounts were opened on the basis of digital identity, making India a global leader in financial inclusion today. India's open source Co-WIN platform is widely seen as the biggest vaccination campaign in human history.



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G20 PRESIDENCY KEY PRIORITIES

But while India is making digital access public, the digital divide at the international level needs to be bridged urgently. Citizens of most developing countries of the world do not have any kind of digital identity. Only 50 countries have digital payment systems. In this context, India will push for bringing digital transformation in the life of every human being, so that no person in the world will be deprived of the benefits of digital technology. In his remarks at the G20 summit in Bali, PM Modi told the world that during its G20 Presidency, India will work jointly with G20 partners towards this objective. The principle of “Data for

Development” will be an integral part of the overall theme of our Presidency “One Earth, One Family, One Future”. India will also work with other G20 countries to ensure that the benefits of digital transformation should not be confined to a small part of the human race.

Going forward, digital and going green are big opportunities. “There are 400 million people who do not have a digital identity; 200 million people do not have a bank account; as about 133 countries do not even have fast payments. So, this is a massive opportunity to use to transform the world,” says Amitabh Kant, India’s G20 Sherpa. ■

CLIMATE FINANCE

FUNDING GREEN GROWTH



Climate finance holds the master key to accelerating green transition and green development. At the global climate summit COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009, developed countries had committed to jointly mobilise

US\$100 billion per year by 2020 to help developing countries tackle the effects of climate change. But more than 14 years later, this target has only been partially met.

Fast-tracking delivery of climate finance and raising the ambition for climate finance will be a high priority for India’s G20 presidency. In India’s view, developing countries require substantive enhancement in climate finance from the floor of US\$100

In India’s view, developing countries require substantive enhancement in climate finance from the floor of US\$100 billion per year to meet their ambitious goals and rich countries need to lead the mobilisation of resources.

billion per year to meet their ambitious goals and rich countries need to lead the mobilisation of resources. In this regard, the G20 summit in Bali in November 2022 agreed to expedite the delivery of climate finance to developing countries and agreed to work on an ambitious New Collective Quantified Goal (NCQG) of climate finance from US\$100 billion per year to support developing countries.

India will also work with G20 countries to scale up the deployment of zero and low emission power generation, including renewable energy. The G20 summit in India is expected to reinforce the target to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

In a victory for India and other developing countries, the Bali Declaration urged

developed countries to at least double their collective provision of climate finance for adaptation to developing countries, from 2019 levels, by 2025, in the context of achieving a balance between mitigation and adaptation. India expects concrete action from rich countries in terms of climate finance, technology transfer and strengthening the capacity of poor and developing countries to combat climate change.

In India's view, developed countries, given their historical responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions, should lead the mobilisation of the resources for combating climate change. Going forward, under India's presidency, developed countries in G20 should walk the talk on climate finance. ■

FOOD SECURITY



THE MILLET WAY

In the wake of the double whammy of Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine crisis, food insecurity has become a major global concern, and will figure prominently on the agenda of India's G20 presidency. As the food crisis affects both developing and developed countries, India will harness its G20 presidency to enhance international collaboration and assistance across the North-South divide for bolstering global food security. In this regard, India has robust credentials to not only ensure food security of its 1.3 billion citizens, but has also emerged as a food provider to many developing

countries. In the spirit of South-South cooperation, India had sent 50,000 metric tonnes of wheat and multiple tranches of medicines and vaccines to Afghanistan, extended credits of US\$3.8 billion to Sri Lanka for fuel, essential commodities and trade settlement, supplied 10,000 metric tons of food aid and vaccine shipments to Myanmar, among others.

India, under its G20 presidency, will mobilise the international community to maintain the supply chain of both manure and food grains stable and assured. In particular, India will prioritise uninterrupted

G20 PRESIDENCY KEY PRIORITIES



Ahead of the International Year of Millets in 2023, External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar hosted United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres and other members of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for a millets-based lunch in New York on December 17.

supply of fertilisers. “Today’s fertilizer shortage is tomorrow’s food crisis for which the world will not have a solution,” said PM Modi at the G20 summit in Bali held on November 15-16, 2022.

To ease the global food crisis, India has supported Black Sea Grain Initiative for supply of Russian food products and fertilizers to the world markets. This will ensure unimpeded deliveries of grain, foodstuff, and fertilizers/inputs from Ukraine and the Russian Federation to ease tension and prevent global food insecurity and hunger in developing countries. India has opposed imposing export prohibitions or restrictions on food and fertilizers as such.

Under its G20 presidency, a key priority for India will be to promote innovations to create more synergies in agriculture, food technology and biotechnology in order improve food and nutrition security. Looking ahead, India will focus on sustainable food security and promoting natural farming. Climate-resilient and smart agriculture will be a key feature of India’s international collaboration in the field of food security. Under its presidency,

India will also re-popularise nutritious and traditional foodgrains like millets. In this regard, India will organise several events under its presidency to celebrate the International Year of Millets with great enthusiasm.

In the area of food security, India has impressive achievements to its credit, including the largest food security initiative in the world. Under Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana (PMGKAY), the Government of India provided 5 kg foodgrains per person per month, over and above the regular monthly foodgrains provided under National Food Security Act. This scheme provided food security to more than 800 million Indians at the height of the coronavirus pandemic.

Enhancing G20 efforts to make agriculture more environmentally sustainable will be critical to tackle hunger and malnutrition. In this regard, international cooperation is needed to adapt various agricultural technologies and methods which are free from pesticides, herbicides and contamination in order to ensure positive, nutritional outcomes. ■

GLOBAL FINANCIAL GOVERNANCE

DEMOCRATISING WORLD ORDER

Making global financial governance institutions more democratic and representative of ongoing shifts in the world order is a major priority of India under its G20 presidency. Institutions such as the World Bank and IMF



continue to remain the bastion of the West and need to provide greater representation and weight to emerging and developing countries in order to stay relevant. Multilateral institutions and international financing institutions, including development banks, need to reform urgently in view of the rise of emerging economies.

In his address at the G20 summit in Bali, Prime Minister Modi argued for urgent reform of multilateral institutions to address global crises. “We should not hesitate to acknowledge that multilateral institutions such as the UN have been unsuccessful on these issues (such as food crisis). And we have all failed to make suitable reforms in them,” said PM Modi. In India’s view, reforms in multilateral organizations are necessary to ensure better global governance for faster post-COVID recovery.

Currently, the governance structure of the IMF and the World Bank have a peculiar governance structure. They are controlled by boards where voting power depends on the economic size of their member states. This has led to a stark asymmetry: the US

government has a vote share of 16% while a country like Ethiopia – home to more than 100 million people – controls only 0.09% of the votes in the IMF. the World Bank is always led by a US-American and the IMF by a European.

Both organizations are headquartered in the capital of the United States of America and employ many economists from high-income countries. This governance structure favouring developed countries needs to change urgently.

India remains committed to maintaining a strong and effective Global Financial Safety Net with a strong, quota-based and adequately resourced IMF at its center. India will continue to push for advancing

Institutions such as the World Bank and IMF continue to remain the bastion of the West and need to provide greater representation and weight to emerging and developing countries in order to stay relevant. Multilateral institutions and international financing institutions, including development banks, need to reform urgently in view of the rise of emerging economies.

G20 PRESIDENCY KEY PRIORITIES

the process of IMF governance reform under the 16th General Review of Quotas, including a new quota formula as a guide, by December 15, 2023.

India's approach to revising global governance is animated by the concept of reformed multilateralism, which was first articulated by Prime Minister Modi at the Leaders Retreat in BRICS Summit 2018 at Johannesburg, South Africa. Since then, India has been relentlessly advocating reform of global governance architecture, economic and political, at various global fora including G20.

In many ways, G20 remains the most representative multilateral grouping comprising of both developed countries and emerging economies and is therefore best equipped to pursue reform of the multilateral institutions and banks.

With developing countries holding the G20 presidency till 2025 – Indonesia in 2022, India in 2023, Brazil in 2024 and South Africa in 2025 – it is an opportune moment to collectively push for and achieve significant changes in international financial institutions. India's G20 presidency is a unique opportunity to promote greater say for the global South in international governance institutions.

Going forward, bold innovations in global financial governance are urgently needed. There is a growing consensus that the Bretton Woods institutions no longer serve the purpose in the 21st century and represent the new geo-economic realities.

Enhancing the legitimacy of multilateral financial institutions is not only in the interest of the world but also the major shareholders of IMF and the World Bank.

ACCELERATING SDGS

MAKING WORLD A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE IN

With the clock ticking away for the achievement of the United Nations Sustainable Development Agenda 2030, accelerating SDGs has acquired a note of urgency. Unfortunately, progress of SDGs has been slowed down due to Covid-19, Ukraine-Russia war, uneven economic growth and high inflation. In the context of the G20 summit in Bali, UN Secretary-

General António Guterres called on the G20 leaders to respond to "an SOS" from the SDGs and to support governments of the Global South in tackling the climate crisis, prevent famine and hunger, bolster the energy transition, and promote the digital transformation.

Against this background, India will focus on accelerating progress in SDGs during

SDGs are an integral part of India's development agenda and its belief in an interconnected world, as epitomised in ethos of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam," the ethos which animates India's G20 Presidency. India played a pivotal role in the formulation of the United Nations Agenda 2030 and much of the country's National Development Agenda is mirrored in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).



its G20 presidency. The SDGs encompass inter-connected issues like poverty, food and nutrition security, health, education, women empowerment, employment and climate change.

For the past seven years, India has been at the forefront of adopting, implementing, and monitoring the SDGs and localising it to suit the subnational and local realities. While there is a long way to go, many of India's programmatic interventions have been successful in creating impact at scale.

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India played a pivotal role in the formulation of the United Nations Agenda 2030 and much of the country's National Development Agenda is mirrored in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this sense, the progress of the world to meet the SDGs largely depends on India's progress.

The central thrust of India's efforts will be on enhancing and diversifying financing of SDGs, especially for the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS). In this regard, a consensus is emerging among developing countries on the need for restructuring multilateral institutes like the World Bank, IMF and WTO to raise SDG finance. India advocates a bigger role for the private sector in accelerating SDGs by proactively increasing financial flows for it. India also supports further investments for low- and middle-income countries through innovative financing sources and instruments, including mobilising private investment to support the achievement of the SDGs.

Looking ahead, India will showcase some of the country's achievements at G20 meetings and focus on exchanging experiences and best practices in other countries. Accelerating SDGs is part of India's vision to create and shape an inclusive and prosperous planet to make it a better place to live in. ■

India and G20: The Path Ahead

The G20 presidency is a unique opportunity for India to drive an action-oriented agenda to shape a world, which is inclusive and sustainable, by building consensus for action, says Amitabh Kant.



Our nation has entered the “Amrit Kaal”, a period marked by our transformative journey to development and social progress.

It will also set the standards for a global developmental trajectory. India, now the fifth-largest economy and a leading moral force in the international community, has also taken up the G20 presidency. This has come at a time when challenges like rising inflation, geo-political tensions and climate crisis have created an urgent need for action-oriented and inclusive goals which we should achieve in an accelerated manner. The natural question, then is – what does this presidency mean for India?

The presidency of G20 – a grouping that accounts for 85% of the world’s GDP – has always been a position of great honour and

greater responsibility. It brings with it the chance to turn challenges into opportunities, especially in areas where national and international efforts amalgamate. For instance, India’s model of development has set the benchmark for social progress and inclusive growth globally. As the G20 presidency, India will look to emerge as a bridge – a “setu” – between the developed and developing states for enhanced cooperation. Inspired from our Hon’ble Prime Minister’s remarks at the Bali Summit, our presidency will aim to be inclusive, ambitious, decisive and action-oriented. At the core of our efforts, lies our commitment to inclusive growth and accelerating progress on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals in this Decade of Action. The essence of our presidency can be found in the idea of – “One World, One Family, and One Future”, highlighting our shared priorities, the need for collective action and unified goals.

Benefits for People

The key priority areas for our presidency includes Mission “LiFE” (Lifestyle for Environment), financing for SDGs, green energy transitions, food security and ensuring reliable supply chains for food and energy, and digital transformation, among



others. These cross-cutting priorities hold the potential to trigger actions that would benefit people around the world. Last-mile delivery of resources and services leveraging digital infrastructure can bolster inclusive recovery in a post-pandemic world. In this respect, India's digital transformation across sectors, has set a global benchmark. From tech-enabled education to unified payment systems and digital health under Ayushman Bharat Digital Mission, India has created an ecosystem for beneficiary identification and for transferring benefits seamlessly.

Women Power

Another key element, central to our presidency, is women-led development where we will strive to effect a paradigm shift in how the question of development and women is perceived. Women should be at the centre of development and we need to keep pushing this agenda until it becomes a norm. Reform of multilateral organisations

and working towards ensuring financing for achieving SDGs are also important priorities. The constitution of a new working group on disaster risk reduction would be a unique contribution of our presidency. In this working group, we will aim to strengthen consensus over ways in which we collectively achieve disaster resilience at national and international levels.

Digital Revolution

The G20 presidency is a unique opportunity to drive an action-oriented agenda to shape a world, which is inclusive and sustainable, by building consensus for action. Our demographic strengths, our capacity for innovation and our diversity support our emergence as a global leader. By sharing our story of digital transformation through the G20 platform, India could pave the path to a global digital revolution. The world is closely watching as India takes on the reins of the G20 presidency to shape our 'One Future'. ■



The Importance of India's G20 Presidency



The G20 Presidency is the most significant international event that India has hosted. Given the strong geopolitical polarizations that cut across the North-South and the East-West divide, the challenges and expectations from India's Presidency are onerous and exceptional. But despite these daunting challenges, what makes this moment

India has taken over the G20 presidency at a very challenging and conflicted time in international order. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, exacerbated by the Ukraine conflict, has evoked the threat of global recession, high inflation, and an energy and food crisis.

unique is that the world is more confident than ever of India's capacity and skills to bridge these divides and successfully steer what Prime Minister Modi has called "a presidency of healing, hope and harmony."

India has taken over the G20 presidency at a very challenging and conflicted time in international order. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, exacerbated by the Ukraine conflict, has evoked the threat of global recession, high inflation, and an energy and food crisis. The collateral has been the slowing down of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and climate actions. Moreover, the world is polarised more than ever before.

It's, therefore, reassuring to see that India is increasingly seen as a problem-solver and agenda-setter. The changing perception of India was evident at the first sherpa meeting held under India's presidency in the beautiful lake city of Udaipur in the first week of December. Sherpas not only got a taste of India's rich culture, but the country's digital and technological prowess.

India's G20 presidency has coincided with its month-long stint as president of the UN Security Council (UNSC) for December 2022, and presidency the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). These three signal diplomatic events has put spotlight on India's global leadership role.

In the last few years, India's global positioning has allowed it to secure a meaningful engagement with leading international partners, regional

The G20, on the other hand, brings the G7 together with other major economies as equal partners. It also brings together the P5 with other major countries.

interlocutors and the developing world. India has been a regular invitee at the G7, consisting of major developed nations; it is a member of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), consisting of the major emerging economies; Quad, with the United States (US), Japan and Australia; and the SCO, which includes Russia, China and the Central Asian nations. In addition, India has effectively engaged regional partners, as evident from recent summit-level meetings it has held with the European Union, the African Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Central Asian States.

Why G20 Matters

In these trying times, the international community will look for serious and credible measures to address uncertainties at the geopolitical and macroeconomic levels. The G20 uniquely offers a platform that has on board the world's major developed and emerging economies.

Both the G7 and the UN Security Council are reminders of the world order which prevailed immediately after the World War II. The G20, on the other hand, brings the G7 together with other major economies as equal partners. It also brings together the P5 with other major countries. This makes the G20 a relevant and



influential grouping in the world. Moreover, the regular participation of international and regional organisations such as the African Union, NEPAD and ASEAN as invitees in the G20 process makes it both inclusive and representative.

In the past, this group has delivered outcomes on issues of global importance. Its recent decisions to agree on a debt-suspension initiative for developing countries hit hard by Covid-19 and an equitable tax regime for multinationals have been well received.

However, the success of its broader composition can also contain the seeds of division. The Russia-Ukraine conflict has drawn a sharp focus on these traditional fault lines.

Resilient India

The stresses and uncertainties the world faces call for visionary leadership and great qualities of statesmanship. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's New India has steered

our country through the storm of Covid-19 and has turned India into one of the bright spots on the global landscape. It is a resilient India that has bounced back to become one of the fastest-growing economies. It is also an India that did not hesitate, in the most difficult of times, to share its resources and capacities for the greater global good.

Under the PM's vision, India's foreign policy has been inspired to work for the global common good in keeping with our ancient philosophy of Vasudeva Kutumbakkam, the world is one family with a shared future. At the G20 Summit convened by Saudi Arabia in March 2020 to respond to the pandemic, PM Modi called for a "people-centric globalisation".

In keeping with this larger vision, India's effort has been to leverage its domestic strengths and achievements to contribute globally. From Vaccine Maitri to Operation Sanjeevani and Co-WIN as an open-source digital platform for Covid-19 vaccination to the Oxygen

Express, India has offered assistance to countries during the pandemic. Its stellar achievements in developing renewable energy and disaster-resilient capacities have been extended globally through international bodies such as the International Solar Alliance and the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure. As a first responder and net-security provider, Indian assistance to its extended neighbourhood during natural calamities and other emergencies has reached from Aceh in Indonesia to Mozambique on the eastern littoral of Africa.

New Tech Order

India's vision for the global development agenda is shaped by the rapid transformation of its economy and society launched by the Prime Minister, particularly green and digital transformations. For India, technology has always been a great equalizer, where citizens from all walks of life have used a veritable toolkit of digital public goods to access public services, make payments, and even address their collective grievances. In a world splintered by polarization and technological balkanization, India will strive to ensure that the world in the coming years is a just, equitable place with prosperous, inclusive societies at its core.

India is today a nation on the move. It is the fastest growing large economy with sound macroeconomic fundamentals, robust public finances and strong manufacturing and exports growth. It is a top FDI destination.

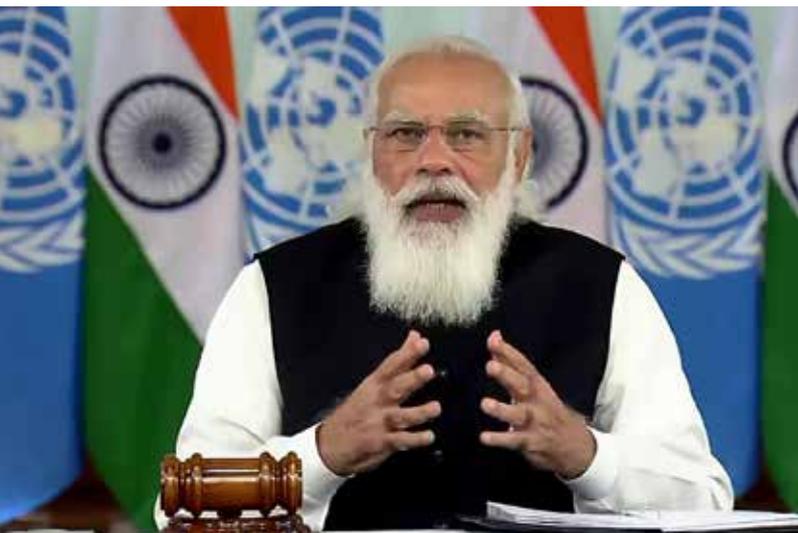
India's vision for the global development agenda is shaped by the rapid transformation of its economy and society launched by the Prime Minister, particularly green and digital transformations.

It is the largest, smart phone data consumer and Global fintech adopter demonstrating its strengths in the digital space as a source of innovation. It is a leader in climate action.

India has one of the world's best digital public infrastructure models that includes such transformative structures as the Jam Trinity, UPI, Co-WIN, Ayushman Bharat, FASTag. Citizens from all walks of life have used a veritable toolkit of digital public goods to access public services, make payments, and even address their collective grievances.

India is today the fastest growing large economy, smartphone data consumer and global fintech adopter. At the Summit in Bali, the Prime Minister pointed out that over 40% of the world's real-time payment transactions took place through UPI last year. India's digital transformation, he said, has developed digital public goods whose basic architecture has in-built democratic principles, but sadly, citizens of most developing countries do not have any kind of "digital identity". India's experience in the past few years has shown that if digital architecture is made widely accessible, it can bring about socio-economic transformation. The proper use of digital technologies can become a force

THE BIG PICTURE



multiplier in the decades-long global fight against poverty,”

Under our presidency, we would make efforts with other G20 partners to create mechanisms that strengthen the capacity of developing countries to tackle health crises like the Covid19 pandemic. India's G20 presidency will take forward efforts to create holistic, global health architecture that can respond better to future health crises like the pandemic.

At the G20, this model could be internationalized. Digital India must go global. A new tech order must combine cross-border flows of technology and investment with development and growth aspirations.

India in UNSC

India's term as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) will end in 2022. It has, however, already made its mark in this exclusive UN body. Under India's presidency in July 2021, the UNSC adopted a consensus-based presidential statement on maritime security for the first time. This was the first time in our history that an Indian PM presided over

a UNSC summit. In its two-year term at the UNSC, India has effectively engaged on various issues, from the international community's approach to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to peacekeeping and counter-terrorism. When it exits the UNSC, it will undoubtedly leave a distinctive mark of the contribution that will vindicate and reinforce the case for it to become a permanent member.

Imparting a new momentum to counter-terror cooperation, India hosted for the first time the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee in New Delhi in October this year. This special meeting of the Counter Terrorism Committee focused on “countering the use of new and emerging technologies for terrorist purposes”. Hosting this meeting in Delhi and Mumbai was a milestone as the CTC usually meets in New York. The “Delhi Declaration” that was adopted then is a landmark document that will prevent extremists, radicals, and terrorists from exploiting new-age technologies for terror attacks. Looking ahead, the international community must combat the scourge of terrorism collectively, as External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar said at a UNSC briefing on “Global Counter-Terrorism Approach.”

Prime Minister Modi's imprint on the international consciousness has been profound. His intellectual outreach through concepts such as SAGAR – Security and Growth for All in the Region; One Earth, One Health; LiFE – Lifestyle for Environment; P3 or Pro-Planet People; International Day of Yoga; Panamrit for climate commitment; One Sun One World One Grid on interconnected green grids; have created a global resonance on issues of the most significant importance

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to people not only in India but across the world, and have been institutionalised in the activities of the UN and other international organisations and bodies.

Batting for Developing Countries

India’s engagement has not been confined to the rich and influential. India enjoys the strong support of the developing world. As external affairs minister S Jaishankar pointed out, “India is widely being perceived as the voice of the global south”. As India prepares to take on the G20 presidency, it will represent the hopes and aspirations of the developing world while at the same time comfortably positioned to engage the developed world and the large emerging economies.

India’s wide acceptability in the international community, strong developing country credentials, independence in thought and action, and resilient scientific and economic base have uniquely positioned it to provide global leadership at a critical time in international affairs. We must use our presidency of the G20 to work with our key partners to replicate at a global level our recent achievements and experiences in digital transformations for socio-economic development, innovation for growth and the development of

alternative energy capacities for climate actions, among others.

As we enter the period of Amrit Kaal in the run-up to India@100, we are poised to shift trajectory to a path of high growth and inclusive development, fulfilling our collective aspirations to become a developed economy by 2047. Our inherent strengths place us in a unique position to provide constructive global leadership. India can provide solutions to the many global challenges that beset the world today, in leading us to a better tomorrow.

Going forward, India’s G20 Presidency would be a watershed moment in her history as it seeks to play an important role by finding pragmatic global solutions for the well-being of all. And in doing so, manifest the true spirit of One Earth, One Family, One Future and ‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam,’ the anthem of India’s G20 presidency. Indians have a unique opportunity in the presidency of G20 and a profound responsibility to showcase our rich cultural heritage and diversity, tourism potential and development prowess so that the world drives values from its interactions with us. ■

Harsh Vardhan Shringla is the Chief Coordinator of India’s G20 Presidency. Prior to this, he was Foreign Secretary of India. In a four-decade long Indian Foreign Service career, he has been Ambassador to the United States of America, Bangladesh and Thailand. He was also Consul General of India in Durban, South Africa and Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. He is also an experienced multilateral diplomat, having worked on two UN Security Council tenures, served in the Indian Mission to the UN in New York and as Permanent Representative to UNESCAP.



ABC of Organising G20 Meetings, the India Way

Under its year-long G20 presidency, India will be holding over 200 meetings across the country, literally from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. These meetings will bring tens of thousands of international delegates to the country for the next 12 months. Behind the media headlines and glitz, Mr Muktesh Pardeshi, the Officer on Special Duty(OSD), and the team at the G20 Secretariat, will be working quietly to ensure all these meetings take place, without a glitch. In this wide-ranging conversation with India and the World, Mr Pardeshi explains how the G20 secretariat is working literally 24x7 to translate PM’s vision of “People’s G20” by involving ordinary people in G20-related meetings.

Q More than 200 G20-related events will be held across India in the next few months. As OSD coordinating preparations and logistics, how do you organise such these meetings? What Standard Operating Procedure do you follow?

A This is a mega diplomatic event India is hosting. We are holding the G20 presidency for the first time in our history.

The approach of the government is to not only further substantive agenda of the G20, but to also showcase the strengths and potential of India as a tourist and a business destination.

A lot of careful thought and planning goes into organising these meetings all over India. No other G20 presidency has done G20 meetings on this scale. This is because India is a large country geographically. We have around 1.4 billion population. We have

more than 30 regional states and union territories. So, that gives us geographical and civilisational depth to showcase India to the world.

This meeting is taking place in the backdrop of the post-pandemic economic recovery. This is also taking place at a time when India is emerging as the world's fastest growing major economy. The world is watching India and India's G20 presidency closely.

There are two aspects when we look at the G20 presidency. One is what we call the substantive agenda. Because we are inheriting the presidency from Indonesia and there is a troika comprising past presidency, current presidency and the future presidency. This Troika consists of Indonesia, India and Brazil. So, there is a consultative mechanism. They discuss the agenda of the working group and take it forward.

In this case, since India is hosting the presidency, so all the operational and organizational part is the responsibility of the Government of India. Hence, the G20 presidency in 2023 is a unique responsibility for us. We have not done this

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kind of mega event in recent years. India had hosted NAM and CHOGM meetings, but they were done decades ago and the scale was nowhere compared to what we have today. G20 represents 20 leading economies of the world, whether in terms of population or trade volume, this group is very important. So, we are taking advantage of hosting of the G20. Summit and meetings to showcase the strength and potential of India.

Organisationally, it's also a very complex operation. We have more than 50 locations covering all states and Union Territories. That itself poses enormous infrastructural and organisational challenges before us. We have to locate suitable venues, we have to look at security aspects, we have



G20 CONVERSATION

We are also connecting to different regions by engaging through festivals. For instance, we were part of co-branding exercise in “Hornbill Festival” in Nagaland, Sangai festival in Manipur, we are going to participate in the Kite festival in Gujarat.

to look at infrastructural issues such as medical facilities, road connectivity, airport connectivity, and what that particular venue has to offer to a foreign audience in terms of cultural and touristic interest. So, my team is responsible from the hospitality to security to website management to providing all technical support to 200- plus G20 meetings.

Q What is the role of the state government and district administration in organising these meetings?

A The role of states comes from the fact that the meetings are spread all over India. India is a federal union; we have to depend on states for many things, for instance, security, medical support, and local infrastructure. Without the close involvement of the states, we cannot organise these events. So we are reaching out to states for providing venues, providing security support, providing resources and manpower for showcasing the culture and tourism potential of the states. We are also closely linked with the states, if there are any regional interests of foreign delegation, this is the time and opportunity to showcase that.

Q In the first three meetings under India’s G20 presidency held in Udaipur, Mumbai, Bengaluru, delegates were taken for sightseeing on the last day



of the meeting. What was the response of foreign delegates?

A Very good. For last two years because of COVID-19, tourism and touristic flow had gone down. So, this is the time to revive people’s interest in exploring new places. Since our meetings are happening in a physical mode, we are looking forward to welcoming foreign delegates and taking them to places which are not often on foreign tourists’ radar. People have been covering the so-called Golden Triangle - Delhi, Agra, Rajasthan, but this time these meetings are happening all over India. Delegates coming for these meetings will get exposed to new places.

For the first time so many international meetings will be happening in Northeast states. Some of these states have not received many foreign delegates, so they will get a unique opportunity to project themselves in touristic terms.

Q Prime Minister Modi has spoken about G20 in terms of “People’s G20,” “Jan Bhagidari”, a partnership with people. When you organise these meetings, how do you involve ordinary people in the G20 process?

A The first is at the institutional level, G20 has a mechanism of engagement groups. So, some 10-plus engagement groups are constituted, covering an entire range of civil society issues. You have engagement groups covering business, women empowerment, civil society, youth, start-ups and so on. This is part of the institutional G20 framework. But we are going beyond that.

We are taking G20 to people, first, by taking it to all over India. That itself is a very crucial step forward. Secondly, we are involving universities. On December 1, our Honourable External Affairs Minister launched the University Connect programme. In the first phase, we have taken up 75 universities to spread the message of G20 amongst the university students.

We are also connecting to different regions by engaging through festivals. For instance, we were part of co-branding exercise in “Hornbill Festival” in Nagaland, Sangai festival in Manipur, we are going to participate in the Kite festival in Gujarat. Recently, I had a video conference with all the cultural functionaries of G20 countries. We are going to have a food festival in Delhi, half marathon in Delhi and a flower show representing flowers of G20 and other invitee countries will also take place in Delhi. Apart from this, we are co-branding the Khajuraho Dance Festival. We are reaching out to different segments of society. This focus has come from the Prime Minister himself to take the G20 to students, especially the youth.

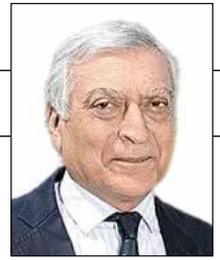
We have been conducting training programmes for taxi drivers. We have conducted training programmes for police officers and liaison officers. We have roped in students and interns from the hospitality institutes. So by doing all this, we are going to the grassroot level. The whole idea is after we have conducted G20 meetings over the next one year, we should have created capacity in the country, so whenever opportunity like this comes to India, we are well prepared.

Q What benefits G20 meetings bring to common man?

A Diplomacy brings many benefits to India. The presidency of any prestigious grouping like G20 gives India sufficient global, political and diplomatic clout. We are not only on the high table, we are presiding over that high table. So India gets a rare opportunity to shape international priorities and narrative. And the benefits will come in due course to the people of the country.

Secondly, this is a golden opportunity to showcase strengths of our economy, which will finally benefit in terms of business linkages and investment opportunities.

Thirdly, these meetings will boost people-to-people contacts. When people and delegates from these countries come, they see the strength of our democracy. India is not only the largest democracy, it is the mother of democracy. So when people come and see for themselves how democracy is thriving in a country populated by 1.4 billion people, they go back with tremendous level of satisfaction and confidence in the future of a Rising India. This brings benefits to country, including at the grassroot level. ■



India's Opportunity to Lead a New World Order

India's G20 presidency for 2023 will unfold amid major geopolitical crises. The Russia-Ukraine war has sharpened global faultlines and put the spotlight on issues relating to climate change, food shortage, energy crisis, and a worsening global economy. It is now up to India to initiate a new wave of leadership which brings together a brilliant mix of developed and developing countries, with special focus on the latter's demands, hopes, and goals, writes **Kanwal Sibal**.



PM Modi with leaders from G20 countries perform the traditional coin toss in front of the Trevi Fountain during an event for the G20 summit in Rome in October 2021.

India's presidency of G20 has come at a time when, as Prime Minister Modi said at the closing session of the Bali summit, the world is simultaneously grappling with geopolitical tensions, economic slowdown, rising food and energy prices, and the long-term ill-effects of the pandemic.

The Ukraine conflict, pitting US and Europe against Russia, seems like Cold War redux. The end game not being clear, it is likely that the conflict will continue through the course of India's G20 presidency, with all its attendant consequences at the global level. This includes pressing issues that include food, fertilizer and energy shortages, threat of famine in parts of Africa, disrupted supply chains and payment systems, the uncertainties flowing from secondary sanctions on countries seen as violating US'

Russia related sanctions that have been imposed unilaterally by the US and Europe, disregarding their impact on developing countries.

These developments test the purpose and spirit of both the G20 and G7, which is basically to stabilize global growth and finance by ensuring policy coordination between major economies. Both the G7 and G20 have over time broadened their concerns to cover climate finance issues, energy transition, digital public infrastructure, implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), inclusive growth, multilateralism, women-led development, food, fuel and energy shortages, technological transformation and green development.

In the Sherpa track discussions in December 2022 under India's presidency these issues have been put on the agenda. India intends to be the voice of the Global South on these issues, emphasizing economic concerns of rising debt, inflation and slowdown as well as progress on health and education as part of SDGs. India's approach is to set the agenda from the perspective and priorities of the developing countries rather than, as in the past, reacting to the agenda set by the developed countries. Thirteen Working Groups will be addressing all the identified issues that also include trade and investment, employment, agriculture, culture, environment, anti-corruption, besides two new groups initiated by India – the Disaster, Risk and Resilience Group and the Startup20 Engagement Group.

The Ukraine conflict, it appears, has not disrupted the initial agenda-setting discussions, but will hover over the

discussions as they advance. The economic and financial sanctions on Russia imposed by the G7 following the Russian military intervention in Ukraine disregard and undermine the objective of creating the G20, as all these steps were taken without taking into consideration the views and interests of the larger group.

G7 vs G20

The 2008 financial crisis had exposed the limitations of the G7 in containing global turmoil. It was realized that a wider coordinating platform was needed to deal with the situation and hence the elevation of the G20, earlier at the Finance Ministers level, to the summit level. In the wake of the Ukraine crisis, the G7 seems to position itself once again as the core group for western countries to shape global developments, even though the West's supremacy in this regard has been waning internationally. China, as the second largest economy and the biggest exporting country, is not a member of the G7, and Russia was expelled from the group in 2014 after its annexation of Crimea. Now that the US is treating both Russia and China as its adversaries, the functioning of G20 cannot remain unaffected. China cannot be both - a partner in G20, the biggest trade partner of most G7 countries and an object of a G7 policy as well of taking a tougher, more coordinated stance towards it for its objectionable economic policies.

Saudi Arabia, hitherto a close ally of the US, has refused the US pressure to raise oil production to control the oil price rise that was negatively impacting the global economy and agreed within OPEC to cut



PM Modi with Britain's then PM Boris Johnson and UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres at the COP 26 global climate summit in Glasgow in December 2021.

oil production. This shows the gap that has developed between G7 objectives and that of a G20 member in the critical energy area that the G20 seeks to address.

The disruption of global supply chains, caused by the Covid pandemic, has been aggravated by the Ukraine conflict. In addition, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the UN in 2015, have also been badly impacted by the pandemic and the prospects of attaining these goals have receded further. In the critical areas of food, fertilizer and energy shortages, the developing countries are facing a dire situation, especially in sub-Saharan Africa where famine looms due to prolonged drought conditions. India has been rightly pointing out that fertilizer shortages will adversely affect future food grain production and aggravate the already alarming situation in some regions.

A spike in oil prices is particularly damaging for energy-importing developing countries, affecting their financial and fiscal stability with rising inflation, indebtedness, current account deficits, lower growth

and unemployment. The geopolitical confrontation in Europe, leading to energy sanctions on Russia and the sabotage of oil pipelines, makes little sense to the oil importing non-western world. The latest US-EU decision to impose a \$ 60 price cap on Russian oil creates more uncertainty in the oil market, with Russia's insistence that it will not sell oil to any country that accepts the cap.

The other challenges that India's G20 presidency will need to grapple with are the rising inflationary trends globally, which the Fed's monetary policies have exacerbated. About climate change, the results of COP 27 in Egypt have been meagre, with serious unresolved gaps between the developed and developing countries on issues of finance and technology, ones that will be discussed under India's presidency.

Lessons from Bali

The West has shown its determination to raise the Ukraine issue in all international forums and castigate Russia. At Bali, the great risk of the summit failing to issue a Declaration because of differences on how to reflect the Ukraine issue in it - which could have well meant the demise of the group- was averted, with India's role in forging a consensus text being recognized by all sides, even if the language eventually agreed to is weighted in West's favour. India has been credited, publicly by the US, with promoting a consensus. At Bali, Modi in his statement recalled that he had repeatedly said that a way had to be found to return to the path of ceasefire and diplomacy in Ukraine. The Bali Declaration contains the phrase "Today's era must not be of war"- a slightly tweaked line

that the Prime Minister had used in his conversation with President Putin at Samarkand, and one that has resonated internationally.

The Bali Declaration states that while “other views and differing assessments of the situation and sanctions” were expressed, “Most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine and stressed it is causing immense human suffering and exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy- constraining growth, increasing inflation, disrupting supply chains, heightening energy and food security, and elevating financial security risks.” Addressing concerns expressed in the group about bringing security issues into G20 discussions, the Declaration says that “Recognizing that the G20 is not the forum to resolve security issues, we acknowledge that security issues can have significant consequences for the global economy”. This provides the security-economy linkage that can be carried forward in G20 discussions under India’s presidency.

At Bali, PM Modi offered, under India’s presidency, to the participating countries “full experience of India’s amazing diversity, inclusive traditions, and cultural richness, wishing that all G 20 members will participate in this unique celebration in India, the ‘Mother of Democracy’, as well as leave a mark of our ideas and priorities on global discussions on a host of issues. The reference to India being the ‘Mother of Democracies’ is intended to counter the narrative being propagated by some western circles about the erosion of democracy in India under the present government.

The disruption of global supply chains, caused by the Covid pandemic, has been aggravated by the Ukraine conflict. In addition, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by the UN in 2015 have also been badly impacted by the pandemic and the prospects of attaining these goals have receded further.

Indian Ideas

We have high ambitions to make the best for ourselves as G20 president. We are treating our presidency not simply as a responsibility that devolves on a country rotationally, but as an opportunity we must not miss to leave our mark on all the pathways to address the key issues confronting the international community.

At the centre of it all is the *raison d’être* of the G20, which is that of coordination of policies by the major economies to ensure global economic growth and financial stability. This is a difficult challenge in view of anti-globalization trends, the weakening of the WTO and the “nation-first” strategies now being prioritized by countries like the US. In the case of the climate change agenda, the results of COP 27 in Egypt were meagre and will affect discussions under our presidency. The issue of availability of finance and technology to developing countries to enable them to make the necessary energy transitions will be a huge challenge in view of the vast sums needed, when even the \$100 billion target per year is not being achieved at present. The launch of Mission LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) by Prime Minister Modi has had resonance internationally, but achieving it in any



PM Modi with US President Joe Biden, French President Emmanuel Macron and German Chancellor Olaf Scholz at a ceremony of planting mangroves in the Ngurah Rai Nature Park on the Indonesian island of Bali.

meaningful way will be a long haul as it will mean a change in the wasteful and consumerism-oriented lifestyles in the developed world, which the developing world seeks to replicate too with rising incomes and prosperity.

India intends to play to its strengths as G20 president by showcasing its achievements in developing digital goods for social transformation and poverty removal, inclusiveness and bridging the digital divide within and between countries. Its digital public infrastructure model that includes Jan Dhan, Aadhaar, UPI, Co-WIN, Ayushman Bharat, Direct Benefit Transfer and the like can be replicated in developing countries to achieve development goals. India will no doubt push its ideas on the subject during discussions. India will also press for new approaches to intellectual property and co-development of health technology to ensure a more inclusive response to health crises, but as we have seen at the WTO, the proposal by India and South Africa to waive IPRs under the TRIPS provisions on vaccines, therapeutics and diagnosis has been resisted by the West.

How the Ukraine conflict unfolds will of course affect G20 discussions under India's presidency. The outlook on any early resolution of the conflict is bleak. President Putin has acknowledged that it will be "a lengthy process." The EU has just imposed a 9th round of sanctions on Russia; NATO's proxy war against Russia through Ukraine continues. As at Bali, the West will seek to condemn Russia in G20 communiqués. The language agreed to in the Bali summit document on Ukraine can be reproduced in the New Delhi summit document but the West will seek to update it depending on developments. India will have to handle this as best as possible, with the positive role it played at Bali to reach a consensus, gaining it negotiating space with both sides.

We intend to showcase India and its achievements during our G20 presidency. We have acquired considerable credibility internationally to have some of our ideas reflected in the outcome. Our leadership of the Global South will become stronger with various developing countries that we have invited to the G20 discussions as guests. We should keep in mind though that the powerful G7 will press its own agenda and China with its own ambitions would be wary of India gaining too much credit and profile from a successful presidency. ■

Amb. (Retd.) Kanwal Sibal is a former foreign secretary of India and well-known commentator on foreign policy issues. Amb. Sibal joined the Indian Foreign Service in July 1966 and served as India's Ambassador to Turkey, Egypt, France and Russia. In 2017, he was conferred the Padma Shri, the fourth highest civilian award of the Republic of India, by the President of India.



Forging Consensus: Just & Equitable Growth for All

G20 presidency is a watershed moment in India's history as the country emerges as a provider of global solutions to a wide array of cross-cutting challenges. In a conflicted world, India will seek to promote just and equitable growth for all in a sustainable, holistic, responsible, and inclusive manner, says Dr Vijay Chauthaiwale.

India assumed the G20 Presidency from Indonesia on December 1, 2022. India will host the G20 Leaders' Summit for the first time in 2023 since the formation of the G20 in 1999. Globally, G20 countries account for 85% of GDP, 75% of trade and 60% of population. In addition, India has invited nine countries from the developing world, including some neighbouring countries. The G20 summit India will host on September 9-10, 2023 will

be the largest multilateral summit that India has ever hosted. For the first time, all the world's largest economies will be attending a summit in India, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Therefore, it is being considered as the watershed moment in the history of India, which is deeply committed to democracy and multilateralism.

In recent years, India has played an important role in the international arena

as it has been a key player in providing pragmatic global solutions for the wellbeing of all. Shri Narendra Modi, Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, unveiled the logo and theme of the G20 summit for the upcoming year. In his address, he stated: "The lotus in the logo symbolises India's ancient heritage, faith and thought. The Philosophy of Advaita Vedanta emphasises the oneness of all creatures and this philosophy will be a medium of resolution of today's conflicts."

Showcasing India's Diversity

To showcase India's diversity, G20 meetings will be held throughout India, including the less explored parts and the biggest cities of the country. Meetings are planned to cover each region of the country to showcase the beauty and diversity of India. Around 200 events will be organised in around 56 cities as compared to the earlier G20 summits, which were mostly confined to a few cities in a country. Through G20, the Indian government plans to connect with people from different parts of the country at all district and block levels, inspired by the Hon'ble Prime Minister Narendra Modi's unique vision for "Jan Bhagidari" (public partnership) of involving the masses in the process of development.

Consensus and Coexistence

India's G20 presidency is unfolding at a time when the world is still facing the aftereffects of the pandemic and all the countries are recalibrating their plans to survive the global economic uncertainties. As some of the nations have become bankrupt and a few are involved in the war, it is difficult to ensure all the issues are addressed and consensus is forged. India is the "Mother of Democracy" from ancient times and the concept of creating consensus

has always been part of our ethos. As a country, we believe in coexistence and has always promoted oneness. Therefore, the theme of the summit emphasizes on the idea of development for all. Prime Minister Modi has also stressed to work together on global challenges like climate change and pandemic, which can be tackled only through coordinated efforts from all the countries.

Unheard Voices

It is expected that during India's G20 presidency, there will be special focus on the "unheard voices" of the Global South in order to achieve inclusive growth in the midst of economic issues like rising debt, inflation and the Ukraine-Russia war. Discussions at various levels of the summit are expected to stress on the need for greater inclusivity of developing nations in international forums, especially ensuring an enhanced role of the Global South in global decision-making. In recent years, India has risen in the international hierarchy and is expected to become the third largest economy by 2030. Global South is a huge economic and geopolitical opportunity from India's perspective and through G20 it will try to focus more on issues pertaining to the developing world such as deglobalisation, post-pandemic complications, economic slowdown and climate change.

PM Modi is expected to interact with these countries before the G20 summit in New Delhi in September 2023. Going forward, India can be a bridge between the developed North and the developing South by bringing both on a platform like G20. India will look towards bringing a balance between the ambitions of the developed nations and the expectations of the developing countries.



PM Modi chairs an all-party meeting on India's G20 presidency in New Delhi on December 6, 2022.

Global Solutions

Today the world is looking at India from the perspective of providing solutions for global issues. India now is equipped enough to lead the world towards a better tomorrow. India believes in engaging with every player in the global arena with the intent to promote mutual interest; never before has the Indian foreign policy been this flexible. India will also look forward to share its experiences and technological advancements with the rest of the world, especially the developing countries. India will showcase its major achievement in improving the environment and health of women through schemes like Ujjwala Yojana and also its success in digital payments, direct benefit transfers, economic security and healthcare management. It will try to connect with other nations on data-related capacity-building and welfare schemes linked with digital transformation to accelerate progress of the developing world.

On global issues like Covid-19 pandemic, Russia-Ukraine war, inflation and the economic slowdown, India's presidency will take a stance to ensure perspective and interests of the Global South are reflected

in discussions and outcomes in the run-up to the summit in Delhi.

Above all, India will showcase its civilisational values and the philosophy of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam," from which the theme of India's G20 presidency -- "One Earth, One Family, One Future" - is derived. In a divided and conflicted world, the G20 presidency and the upcoming G20 summit will strive for just and equitable growth for all in a sustainable, holistic, responsible, and inclusive manner. ■



Vijay Chauthaiwale is In-Charge Department of Foreign Affairs and Member National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) since November 2014. In this role, he coordinates with the Indian Diaspora worldwide through BJP's global outreach platform, Overseas Friends of BJP (OFBJP). He is coordinating 'Know BJP' initiative to enhance external outreach of the party. A micro-biologist by training, he has authored scientific papers and is co-inventor of several global patents. He is also co-editor of *Hindutva in Present Context* and *The Modi Doctrine: New Paradigms in India's Foreign Policy*.

G20 Presidency is India's Moment



The recent G20 Summit in Bali echoed PM Modi's call for putting an end to the Russia-Ukraine war, a sentiment anchored in the legacy of Gandhi and Buddha. Under its presidency, India will leverage its good relations with all countries to forge a broader consensus to promote peace and advance international economic stability, says Sujan R. Chinoy.

On December 1, India officially took over the presidency of G20. The build-up towards it has been palpable. On November 8, PM Narendra Modi launched the logo, website and theme for India's Presidency. "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" is the quintessence of India's slogan for the G20, eloquently captured by the theme- "One Earth, One Family, One Future". Apart from

the national flag's colours, the logo depicts a lotus flower with seven petals on which symbolically rests the earth, its oceans and the seven continents signalling a pro-planet approach. Through this holistic, culturally evocative logo, India aspires to transcend geographical and other limitations and embrace the whole world in its endeavour to bring peace, development and prosperity for all.



Rise of Global South

A confident India's G20 Presidency coincides with its rising global stature and a high economic growth rate. Ever since the G20 was relaunched as an annual apex level summit in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial and economic crises, developing countries have chaired it only on four occasions- Mexico in 2012, China in 2016, Argentina in 2018 and now, Indonesia in 2022. India's Presidency marks the fifth such occasion. India will be followed by Brazil in 2024 and later by South Africa in 2025. Seldom does the G20 Troika comprise a full complement of developing countries but in a historic first this will indeed be the

case for two successive years. In 2023, the Troika will include India, Indonesia and Brazil, and in 2024 it will comprise Brazil, India and South Africa.

India's leadership is a moment for the Global South to consolidate further and expand upon the theme of the Bali Summit which emphasised "Recovering Together and Recovering Stronger". It is also a moment for regions like Southeast Asia, South Asia and others to seek greater economic convergence on sustainable developmental goals.

India's commitment to advancing high-impact South-South cooperation is well acknowledged. Even at the height of the

The impasse over structural changes in the apex UN decision-making body and the glacial pace that defines the agenda of reform of multilateral institutions in general have provided a new salience to the G20. It is certainly more representative than the UN Security Council.

Covid-19 pandemic, India provided 250 million vaccine doses to 101 countries, apart from other medical assistance.

Relevance of G20

The world is deeply divided over the situation in Ukraine, leaving developing countries to suffer most from the shortages of food, fuel and fertilisers. Across Asia, Africa, Latin America and vulnerable island nations, the overwhelming preoccupations today centre around these everyday challenges, not the distant drums of war.

The G20 Presidency offers India a platform to share its weltanschauung with the world and articulate a future for humanity based on an alternative and inclusive vision. Today, the UN is wracked by internal wrangling among the permanent members of the Security Council, who have been acting as the final arbiters on matters of peace and security since the end of the Second World War. But they have failed to provide lasting peace. Efforts to reform multilateral institutions such as the Security Council have come to nought because of their vested interest in preserving a monopoly over power. The common denominators that emerge at the United Nations are anodyne and hardly capable of providing the thrust that the world needs today to meet the multiple challenges of economic growth, climate change and equitable access to global goods, including

progress in high-tech areas.

The impasse over structural changes in the apex UN decision-making body and the glacial pace that defines the agenda of reform of multilateral institutions in general have provided a new salience to the G20. It is certainly more representative than the UN Security Council. It is also an alternative to addressing some pressing challenges before the global community even though it does not handle matters concerning international peace and security.

The only other grouping that comes close to the G20 in its global economic and demographic footprint is perhaps the East Asia Summit. The latter comprises the ASEAN plus its six dialogue partners, as well as the US and Russia.

Honest Broker

Powers such as the US and major European countries are partisans in the war in Ukraine. China remains a tacit supporter of Russia. That leaves only India, with its consistent and objective positions, maintaining good relations with all belligerent parties and their camps of supporters. India has the credibility to work behind the scenes over the next year to build a broader consensus within the G20 and around the world, and also push for a peaceful end to the war in Ukraine. It is noteworthy that even the APEC 2022 declaration in Bangkok is almost identical

to the G20 declaration in Bali. Both declarations recognised that G20 and APEC were not forums to resolve security issues and that “most” members condemned the war but that there were “other” views and assessments. What this shows essentially is that the world is fractured today on the question of Ukraine, and on several fronts, with cross-cutting loyalties and commitments when it comes to challenges in the Indo-Pacific.

To navigate such choppy seas and to build consensus on broader themes calls for an honest broker. Led by PM Narendra Modi, India appears ready to take on this role. It is a repositioning that is at the confluence of India’s emergence as a rapidly growing economy, an alternative destination for global supply chains and a source of a new moral compass.

Continuity and Change

India’s stewardship of the G20 will be defined by continuity and change. Differences over energy diversification and the emerging challenges in trade and technology will need reconciliation. Concerns over stagflation in the US, China and Europe threaten to affect global economic outlook. Policy coherence in macroeconomics and trade is an imperative.

Modi’s address at the G20 Summit in Bali was a precursor to the issues that are likely to shape India’s G20 presidency. Food security, for instance, is a key challenge that the world is currently grappling with. As early as 2018, India had proposed the observing of 2023 as the International Year of Millets. This was approved by the FAO and subsequently endorsed by the UNGA at its 75th session in March 2021. As one of the world’s largest producers



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As one of the world's largest producers of millets, India should form an alliance of major millets producers for sharing of technologies and best practices in agriculture. India's should seek to replicate its experience in creating Centres of Excellence (COE) for production of millets in other parts of the world, supported by appropriate global financing mechanisms.

of millets, India should form an alliance of major millets producers for sharing of technologies and best practices in agriculture. India should seek to replicate its experience in creating Centres of Excellence (COE) for production of millets in other parts of the world, supported by appropriate global financing mechanisms.

India's commitment to digital transformation and to accessible and inclusive digital public architecture is well-known. India's exemplary success with the Unified Payments Interface (UPI), the Direct Benefits Transfer and Aadhaar authentication in various welfare schemes is of growing relevance to the developing world. So is India's success with digital delivery of vaccines via the Co-WIN platform to its large population.

Developing a consensus on open source, open Application Programming Interface (API) and an interoperable framework for public digital platforms in which the private sector can freely innovate will remain a challenge during India's presidency. Its relevance to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) cannot be overestimated. Climate change is also an abiding theme. At COP26 in Glasgow, Modi proposed Mission LiFE, which places individual behaviour at the heart of the global climate action narrative. The Mission intends to establish and nurture a global

network of individuals known as 'Pro-Planet People' (P3), committed to adopting and promoting environment-friendly lifestyles. This is a profound idea that links the tiniest of irresponsible human action to damage wrought upon Nature.

The urgency to resolve the matter of funding for climate change mitigation, adaptation and transition in the next few years is a common thread that runs through the COP27 as well as the G20 deliberations. A balance must be struck between growth and green energy. Developing countries will have to protect their basic position of CBDR (Common But Differentiated Responsibilities) from being eroded by those that have already developed, but now seek to put the burden of future growth in the Global South on developing countries without accepting their historical role in creating the problem of climate change.

The challenge of climate change can be met in a time-bound manner only if the world acts in unison. As PM Modi said, the achievement of inclusive energy transition requires affordable sources of finance and technological assistance.

The G20 presidency will provide India an opportunity to give a fresh impetus to several of its initiatives for clean energy partnerships and green transitions, especially solar, wind and hydrogen, in



tandem with the EU, Japan and the US. It will provide a platform to give a fillip to the idea of “One Sun, One World, One Grid (OSOWOG)”, first mooted by PM Modi at the International Solar Alliance (ISA) in 2018.

Clean energy and achievement of SDGs can be mutually reinforcing. Green Hydrogen (GH₂) can credibly replace fossil fuels on a large, industrial scale, including in hard-to-abate sectors such as refineries, fertilizers, transport and cement. India has the scale and capacity to set a shining example of rapid and decarbonized economic growth, to help realize the G20’s global net zero ambitions.

A Better Future

G20 may not be perfect in providing a panacea to all the major global challenges. It is, nevertheless, a powerful, representative forum with a progressive and resilient structure. India’s G20 presidency should infuse a new hope through a values-based leadership, reconcile contradictions and enable the global community to create a better world.

As the Think-20 Chair during India’s G20 presidency, I would endeavour to work together with the widest possible constituencies in India and around the world to realise that objective. ■



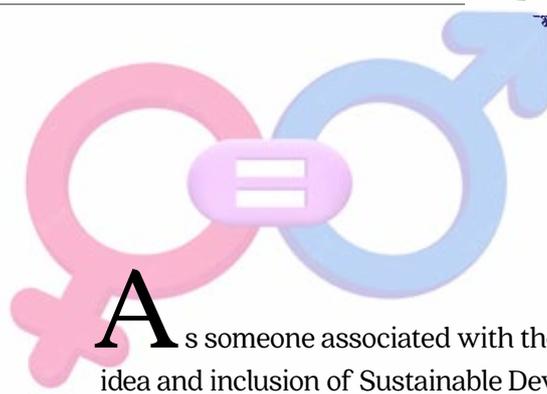
Sujan R. Chinoy is the Director General of the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA), New Delhi. He is the Indian Chair of the Think-20 Core Group during India’s G20 Presidency. A career diplomat from 1981-2018, he served as Ambassador to Japan. A specialist on East Asia, India’s China and politico-security issues, he anchored negotiations with China on the boundary dispute in the Ministry of External Affairs.



Shakti: Promoting women-led Development in G20



Prime Minister Modi has identified women-led development as a key priority of India's G20 presidency. In this big-picture article, Lakshmi Puri offers a slew of suggestions for advancing gender equality and women empowerment within the G20 ambit and argues that by doing so, India can advance one of humanity's most transformational projects of the 21st century.



As someone associated with the very idea and inclusion of Sustainable Development Goal 5 on “achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls” and with the launch of the Women20 Engagement Group in 2015 in Turkey, I am proud that PM Modi has identified “women-led development” as a priority theme for India’s G20 presidency. The universe seems to be coming together for India to blaze a trail and make a lasting global contribution to one of humanity’s biggest and most transformational projects of the 21st century.

In 2015, UNWOMEN ensured that Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development recognised that gender equality must be both a critical enabler and accelerator as well as a prime beneficiary of SDG progress. A dedicated SDG 5 with 9 targets cover following areas:

- 1) Ending all forms of discrimination and violence against women and harmful practices like child marriage.
- 2) Ensuring women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life.
- 3) Universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights.
- 4) Women’s equal rights to economic resources, access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance, and natural resources.
- 5) Enhancing the use of enabling technology, in particular ICT to promote women’s empowerment.



6) Recognising and valuing unpaid care and domestic work, through the provision of public services, infrastructure, social protection policies and burden sharing.

7) Adopt policies and enforceable laws to advance gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

In addition, we ensured that gender-responsive targets be included in 11 key SDGs from poverty eradication, health, education, food & nutrition, WASH, Energy, employment, economic growth, inequality to sustainable cities. The entire body of gender equality commitments in Agenda 2030 was the coping stone to what I have called a comprehensive, high standards, UN's Global Gender Equality Compact - GGEC. It builds on the motherboard of the Convention on the Elimination of the Discrimination against Women, signed by 187 countries Beijing Platform for Action, other UN resolutions, Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development et al.

Fortuitously, PM Modi's vision for a new India is that of achieving SDGs including SDG5. In his \$ 10 trillion economy by 2030 ambition for India, women are seen as equal and indispensable actors. With a life cycle continuum approach, the Government of India has tried to ensure that women's voice and agency is supreme in India's development aspiration of an 'Atma Nirbhar Bharat' or "self-reliant India" not just for her own sake, but in the interest of the entire global community in a post-COVID world. This presents an unprecedented opportunity to decisively advance the "normative of implementation" of the UN's Global Gender Equality Compact, individually, and collectively by G20 countries and drive global action and achievement.

At the midpoint of SDGs, all UN reports point to the world being off track to achieving gender equality related goals and targets. Daunting historical, structural economic, social, political and mindset-related barriers block progress. The COVID

If India and G20 countries which are global economic and political powerhouses can accelerate the implementation and achievement of the goals of women led development, it will telescope the achievement of Gender Equality Goals from the current 40-100 years or more to 15 years.

pandemic and now the Russia-Ukraine war has further worsened the women's economic empowerment challenges.

If India and G20 countries which are global economic and political powerhouses can accelerate the implementation and achievement of the goals of women-led development, it will telescope the achievement of Gender Equality Goals from the current 40-100 years or more to 15 years. The 18th G20 Summit in 2023 can signal that this is a "mission possible".

The W20 or the Women Engagement group has been the locus of defining and advancing the women's empowerment agenda of G20 and have done creditable work. I am happy to note that since 2021 a Women's Conference/Summit of G20 Women's Affairs Ministers is being held. Maybe it is time to initiate a proper work stream through a Working Group on women's empowerment as an institutional strengthening and gender-mainstreaming engine.

The G20 process and Summit communique, its 10 finance and economy working groups, some dozen other work streams and 11 others Engagement Groups, the other priority themes like technological transformation, green development & LiFE and accelerated, inclusive and resilient



growth, must be gender mainstreamed and women must be equally represented in all panels/mechanisms. It is imperative that the G20's overarching priority of economic and financial management for global good, including crisis response which was the raison d'être of G20, must also be gender-responsive. Most importantly, the actionable outcomes and deliverables must target accelerated achievement of gender equality.

10-Point Action Plan

I recommend 10-point Action plan or the ten I's for G20's implementation of SDGs and the related Global Gender Equality Compact by the G20 individually, collectively and for driving global action and transformation.

- i. **Inspiration** of the UN's GEOWE global Compact in delivering the global public goods of peace and security, human rights, humanitarian action and sustainable development - economic, social, and environmental



- ii. **Indivisibility:** Vertical and horizontal of SDG5 and other SDGs in treatment.
- iii. **Integration:** Involving the systematic gender mainstreaming into all key decisions, laws, policies, activities, initiatives for SDG achievement.
- iv. **Institutions:** Creating, empowering, strengthening, and resourcing dedicated GEWE institutions at all levels-global, G20, regional, national, local, and ensuring transversal institutions are gender responsive.
- v. **Investment:** Significantly increased and enhanced financial investment from all sources targeted and mainstreamed, and transformative actions for financing gender equality policies and programs.
- vi. **Information:** Gender segregated Data Revolution should form the basis of the pyramid of statistics, analysis, and monitoring and 50 GEWE indicators in UN's Global Indicators framework of SDGs should be backed up.
- vii. **Innovation:** In all areas - socioeconomic and political and putting Science and technology/ Digital/Tech 4.0 in the service of GEWE and STEM educated and skilled women and girls.
- viii. **Implementation:** Carrying forward and implementing reformed women's empowerment laws, policies and programs including Temporary Special Measures to overcome structural barriers.
- ix. **Inclusion:** Bringing together multi-stakeholder actors-civil society organisations especially women's movements, faith groups, men and boys and private sector for "reengineering mindsets" and bring about behavioural change through a people's movement.
- x. **Impact:** G20 commitments must make actual impact – systemic and substantive in the empowerment of all women and girls – especially those most marginalised to have voice, participation and leadership in driving SDGs achievement and becoming their prime beneficiaries.

There are close to a dozen women's empowerment-related outcomes of G20 Summits so far, including the Empower Mechanism. India's G20 presidency needs to harvest them, build on them and launch new actionable initiatives based on PM Modi's women-led development projects in India which can act as lighthouses, especially for the Global South.

Potential Deliverables

I would like to suggest some specific deliverables the Delhi Summit could consider launching and strengthening with the “Amrit” of financial infusion and political will coursing through the veins of each initiative.

Transformative Financing Initiatives:

- a) Platform for funding-women led startups and linking with angel investors- inspired by Start Up India.
- b) Facility for funding Women MSMEs to grow - building on WE FI adopted earlier by G20 and PM Modi’s Stand-up India, Mudra etc.
- c) Gender-Responsive budgeting and government procurement commitment.

The corporate Sector should be incentivized to commit to the UN’s Women’s Empowerment Principles. They must hold themselves accountable to gender equality within the organization by recruiting and promoting women to leadership positions, in the marketplace through sourcing from women suppliers and in the community through targeted CSR spending on women’s empowerment projects.

Build on the steps taken at the Bali conference and launch a comprehensive Women’s Edge - Engage in Digital Empowerment Ecosystem for bridging the digital gap through access to public infrastructure, devices, education, and skills.

On Green Economy, LiFE and Climate Action, a G20 advocacy campaign valorising and supporting women’s participation and leadership especially at grassroots/ household/community levels would be valuable

Launch a Gender Data Alliance of G20 on systematic collection, analysis, monitoring and evaluation of gender data and policies.

G20 Care Economy Compact for valuing and reducing the burden of care work for women, freeing them up for formal work and generating 1 billion quality jobs of the future in the sunrise sector of the larger care economy ‘that includes child and elderly care, wellness and personal care and healthcare.

Gender equality-related transformations will not happen unless the most powerful countries and economies of the world represented in the G20 show the way. The challenges of bringing about a consensus on India’s ambitious women-led development agenda also cannot be underestimated. I wish the Indian Presidency and PM Modi, Bhagirath-like resolve and success in bringing the Ganga of gender equality for nourishing and rejuvenating our One Earth, One Family, One Future that is envisaged in our G20 aspiration. ■



Lakshmi Puri is a former IFS officer and Ambassador. She has actively engaged in multilateral diplomacy since 1981. She also served at the United Nations for 15 years as Director, International Trade Division, UNCTAD and later as Assistant Secretary General, United Nations, and the founding Deputy Executive Director of UNWOMEN. She is a Distinguished Fellow of Indian Association of International Studies (IAIS) and recipient of the prestigious Eleanor Roosevelt Prize for Human Rights.



G20 an Opportunity for Building Bridges

The G20 is not the forum to resolve geopolitical tensions as its strengths lie in the economic and financial domains. G20 presidency is a major opportunity for India to infuse new energy into the grouping by taking pioneering initiatives such as G20 Fund for skill building and an integrative approach to health and healing, says Arvind Gupta.



(From Left to Right) US President Joe Biden, PM Narendra Modi and Indonesian President Joko Widodo at the mangrove plantation ceremony in Bali.

The 17th summit of G20 Leaders concluded in Bali on November 16, 2022 successfully. The two-day summit held under the Presidency of Indonesia led with the theme of “Recover Together, Recover Stronger.” In tandem with the theme, the G20 which represents 80% of the global trade ended with the signing of a lengthy 52-paragraph Declaration. Covering a wide variety of global issues ranging from the war in Ukraine to climate change, food security, and global economic situation, the declaration aims to achieve an inclusive growth path.

The summit was held in the backdrop of acute international tensions owing to the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war. The war has adversely impacted the post-Covid economic recovery process as the world faces the grim prospects of looming economic recession amidst high global inflation, surging interest rates, and high indebtedness amongst many countries. It is

to the credit of Indonesian diplomacy that the Leaders' Declaration could be issued at all, given the highly contentious nature of the Russia-Ukraine war. The Declaration used the language of the UNSC resolution of March 2, 2022 which "deplores in strongest terms" the Russian "aggression" against Ukraine. Interestingly, despite the implied condemnation of its actions, Russia did not block the Declaration from being issued. India played a constructive role in developing the consensus. Taking the stand for "this era not meant for war," India pushed for the declaration as noted by several member countries including the United States which saved the conference from failure.

G20 Expertise

The leaders were candid in recognising that the G20 is not the "forum to resolve security issues". Therefore, it is no surprise that apart from flagging concerns at the geopolitical tension, the G20 leaders had nothing substantive to say on how to mitigate them.

Structurally, the G20 is not geared toward resolving geopolitical tension. It is not a forum for negotiations. That is the task for the UNSC. Unfortunately, on most issues of international security, the UNSC has become dysfunctional. Therefore, the public has come to expect some lead from the G20. But the G20 itself is a divided house. The US and Russia, the key members of the G20, are at loggerheads with each other. Further, the US regards China as a strategic rival. China accuses the US of constraining its rise. Although there was a long meeting between President Biden and President Xi

on the sidelines of the G20 summit, that could not bridge the vast chasm between the worldviews of the two rivals. The emergence of a new cold war is a distinct possibility.

The G20's strength lies in the economic and financial domains. In the past G20 played an important role in mitigating the 2008 global financial crisis through swift and effective coordination amongst the governors of the central banks as well as finance ministers of the member countries. Today's global economic challenges are vastly different and incomparably larger. The G20's ability to resolve these issues will be tested.

Economic Recovery

G20 leaders have committed themselves to 'support sustainable recovery, with due consideration to country-specific circumstances. In this regard, they have agreed to work to 'enhance macro policy coordination, preserve financial stability, and long-term fiscal sustainability'. The leaders endorsed OECD/G20 "two-pillar international tax package". There is already a G20 roadmap on international

G20 leaders have committed themselves to 'support sustainable recovery, with due consideration to country-specific circumstances. In this regard, they have agreed to work to "enhance macro policy coordination, preserve financial stability, and long-term fiscal sustainability".



India's Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal with WTO Director-General Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala after the closing session of the World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference at the WTO headquarters in Geneva in June 2022.

taxation but an agreed framework on international taxation is still far away. The Bali Declaration took note of various initiatives under discussions, including on issues such as the resilience of international financial architecture, sustainable capital flows, development of local currency capital market and capital flow management.

IMF and WTO are central to the global financial and trade architecture. Both need deep reform. The G20 has endorsed the IMF's efforts to mobilise US\$ 100 bn to help the countries which are most in need. The G20 countries have promised to implement the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) in a coordinated manner and look beyond. However, the G20 is silent on the key question of reforming the IMF itself to make it more representative.

The Financial Stability Board (FSB) of the G20 is the core of the G20 as it assesses the risks to global financial stability and makes recommendations. It has issued some grim warnings about the growing risks to financial stability. The G20 has endorsed FSB's final report on the impact of Covid-19 on global financial stability. It has underlined the weaknesses of non-banking financial institutions and the risks they pose to global financial stability. The Financial Stability Board in its previous report has underlined the risks posed by unregulated crypto assets and crypto currency. It has backed a comprehensive framework for the regulation of crypto assets as well as regulation, supervision and oversight of 'global stable coins.'

The G20 regards the rule-based transparent multilateral trading system with the "WTO at its core" as indispensable to global economic recovery. The leaders agreed that "reforming the WTO is key strengthening trust in the multilateral trading system." But the G20 Declaration is not specific on how the WTO should be reformed.

The Bali Declaration has given considerable attention to revitalising investment in infrastructure and has underlined the need to mobilise private sector funds in the sector. They have also emphasised the need for a "new governance model" for creating a "global infrastructure hub".

Issues like digitalisation of the global economy, cross-border data flow, digital divides, data protection, online safety and security in connectivity infrastructure have attracted the G20 attention for several years. The previous presidencies have focused on these issues extensively. The Declaration devotes a lot of attention to the transformation

of the digital ecosystem and digital economy. It also takes cognisance of the adverse impact of digitalisation and automation on labour markets. It strongly supports cross-border payments and takes note of several reports regarding interoperability of Central Bank Digital Currency for cross-border payments.

The G20 Declaration has several paragraphs relating to education, research and innovation, tourism, culture, and anti-corruption. It underlines the need to combat money laundering and terrorism financing. It has committed itself to support the FATF and its regional bodies and welcomed the initiative of the FATF to promote international standards on virtual assets.

Focus on Sustainability

Climate change, Sustainable Development Goals, food security, energy transition, and preservation of global biodiversity figure prominently in the Bali Declaration. However, these issues are being negotiated at different international fora.

The G20 is not the forum for negotiations. Therefore, G20 leaders had nothing fresh to say except for endorsing the initiatives being discussed at different fora including the COP 27. They endorsed the Paris Agreement on Climate Change and reaffirmed their readiness to work towards remaining within the 1.5 °C global warming target. They also emphasised the need to mobilise \$ 100 bn per annum fund to support the developing countries.

Though the Bali Declaration lacked novelty, it was, nevertheless, useful as it reflected the general mood in the international community on current economic, ecological and political issues. The fact, however, is that declarations by themselves do not necessarily result in

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concrete action. Political will is essential for achieving tangible outcomes. Developed countries have so far lacked the will to bridge the funding gaps that exist in boosting initiatives on climate change, biodiversity, health, education and achieving the SDG.

Message of Oneness and Unity

There is understandable excitement in India in taking over the G20 presidency. The prime minister and the external affairs minister have given indications that India will take enhance the voice of the Global South at the G20. India has an opportunity to shape the G20 agenda during its presidency and bring some new elements into it. Indian presidency has outlined 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam' i.e. 'One Earth, One Family, One Future', as the overarching theme of the G20 for the next year. The message of oneness and unity theme will resonate with the world, as everyone wants the ongoing war to end, the world economy to recover and global stability to return.

By publicly articulating that this is not an 'era of wars', Prime Minister Modi has set the stage for India's G20 presidency. India can and should mobilise the world opinion in favour of an immediate ceasefire and the resolution of the Ukraine conflict

through dialogue and diplomacy. India's presidency could initiate discussion on "conflict avoidance and environmental consciousness". This a theme which Prime Minister Modi had endorsed way back in 2015 along with Japan's then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in the framework of a Track-2 Hindu-Buddhist Samvad in which the region's leaders, scholars and civil society members participated.

The indiscriminate use of sanctions for political purposes hurts even those who have nothing to do the ongoing conflicts. The sanctions have disturbed global supply chains and worsened the plight of countries struggling with the aftereffects of the pandemic. India must initiate a wider discourse on the morality and ethics of sanctions.

In a world driven by technology, India in its presidency should push for a G20 Fund for capacity, skill building and training suitable for a knowledge economy. Such a fund could be utilised to train and skill people in digital, and space and cyber security areas. India can take initiatives in streamlining the IPR regime to address the concerns of the developing countries on health, food security, harnessing the potential of the blue economy; encouraging the international financial institutions to be sympathetic to the financial needs of developing countries in the field of infrastructure, connectivity, and energy.

The G20 is committed to "One Health" initiative. This initiative can be enriched further with the inclusion of traditional approaches to health and healing. PM Modi was instrumental in getting June 21 declared as the International Day of Yoga. This initiative has contributed to the cause of public health globally. This is the right

time to elevate Ayurveda and traditional medicine to the global level. India should work towards getting the G20 endorsement for an integrative approach to health and healing. In this regard, a G20 Task Force can be set up. India's Aayush ministry can take the initiative toward this end. Much on the lines of the International Solar Alliance (ISA) and the Coalition for Disaster Resilience Infrastructure (CDRI), India can take a separate initiative linked up with India's LIFE (Lifestyle for Environment) to build a coalition of willing countries to promote traditional medicine for well-being. Many countries, particularly in Africa, Latin America, and Asia where traditional medicine is practised, would welcome this initiative.

Indian presidency can infuse new enthusiasm in the G20 by bringing in new ideas on the table, reflecting the concerns of the wider world. The key will be the ability to build consensus on tricky issues. India would have to ensure that the G20 does not degenerate into a mere talk show. India must produce workable ideas and back them up with own experience of implementation. ■

Dr Arvind Gupta is the Director of the Vivekananda Foundation, New Delhi and a member of the T20 engagement group of the G20. He served as the Deputy National Security Adviser and Secretary, National Security Council and Director-General, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. A former career diplomat, he has served in the Ministry of External Affairs and Indian missions abroad. He is the author of many well-regarded books, including "Opportunity for India in a Changing World and How India Manages Its National Security."



Hope for a Better Tomorrow India, SDGs and G20

Intersecting crises such as COVID-19, climate change, and the Ukraine conflict have jeopardised Sustainable Development Goals, but India has performed better than many countries due to its achievements in financial inclusion and creation of unique digital public goods, says Bibek Debroy

The SDGs are Sustainable Development Goals, adopted as an agenda for nations to achieve by 2030. They are so familiar that they need not be spelt out. As with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) earlier, there is a nested structure, with 17 broad goals imparted precision through 169 targets and further refined through indicators that are tracked. As adopted in

September 2015, there are 232 indicators. To state the obvious, there are too many targets and indicators, working against focused attention by governments. But that structure is a given. Covid knocked those aspirations for a six. There was Covid and consequent adverse impact not just on mortality, but morbidity, and health and education outcomes. Global growth and recovery are fragile. This has

been accentuated by the Ukraine war. UN's SDG Report for 2022 presents a sobering picture. "Using the latest available data and estimates, it reveals that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is in grave jeopardy due to multiple, cascading and intersecting crises.

COVID-19, climate change and conflict predominate." Jeffrey Sachs and his colleagues do a parallel monitoring report and this also highlights deflection of interest from SDGs. "Yet, it is clear that these multiple and simultaneous crises have diverted policy attention and priorities away from medium and long-term goals such as the SDGs and the Paris Climate Agreement: a shift of focus towards short-term issues that threatens to slow down or even stall the adoption of ambitious and credible national and international plans but also squeezes available international funding for sustainable development."

India, SDGs and Covid

Moving towards SDGs is in conformity with what India wishes to do in its pursuit of progress and development. "Sabka Saath Sabka Vikas Sabka Vishwas" and ease of living and ease of doing business have been the government's template since May 2014, with the second Narendra Modi government continuing this approach.

The Covid pandemic caught India, like the rest of the world, unawares. It was an exogenous shock. At that time, it was the prevalent wisdom, articulated by many in the developed world, that

India would go under. Millions would die. By any metric, especially when normalised for population, India has performed remarkably well. Both infection rates and mortality rates have been low. At that time, it was the prevalent wisdom that India would never be able to develop a vaccine of its own and, regardless, wouldn't be able to vaccinate its population. Both propositions have been proved to be false. India has handled this externally-imposed disaster remarkably well, facilitated by the emphasis on a digital India and portability of welfare benefits.

In debates on fiscal policy, at that time, it was the recommended doctrine that, emerging from the lockdown and pandemic, India should increase public expenditure, meaning revenue expenditure, to stimulate the economy. With the exception of free food (Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana), nothing of the sort was done. The Union government increased capital expenditure, recognising that the multiplier effects of capital expenditure are more than twice that on revenue

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expenditure, and did not throw fiscal caution to the winds. Therefore, so far as the macroeconomic fundamentals are concerned, India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world this financial year, and will remain so in the foreseeable future. Even on inflation, caused primarily by imported inflation, India has done remarkably well. Much of what was done was a continuation of policies pursued since May 2014. First, there has been an enabling framework for growth, development and entrepreneurship to blossom and flourish. Second, there has been inclusion, interpreted as empowerment. A part of this is through provision of collective private goods – transport, education, health, electricity, gas, toilets, water, technology and financial products. This enables historically deprived and marginalized sections of society to become mainstreamed. Economic Survey 2020-21 constructed a “bare necessities” index (BNI) to quantify and measure these improvements. The remaining part was use of Socio-Economic and Caste Consensus (SECC) to target subsidies to eligible beneficiaries, with DBT (direct benefit transfers) linked to bank

accounts seeded with Aadhaar numbers. Other than government dashboards, these improvements are evident in third party audits and in responses to questions in National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5). Thus, it is no great surprise that UNDP's 2022 report, using the multi-dimensional poverty index (MDPI), found that many Indians had been raised above the poverty line.

Therefore, though all countries have deviated from SDGs, India is far better positioned than many. The afore-mentioned dashboard by Jeffrey Sachs also highlights this. One should state that the SDG indicators are adapted and modified by countries. For India, the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MOSPI) has a National Indicator Framework. What happens to India is an aggregate of what happens at the level of states. NITI Aayog scores states based on an SDG Index. It is easy to figure out which states are pulling India down on performance parameters. There is a need to prioritise public expenditure and focus it on areas that will deliver maximum outcomes. The Aspirational Districts Programme is an example of such focus, launched in 2018 to target



112 relatively underdeveloped districts, and external validation shows there have been improvements.

India and G20

On December 1, 2022, India took over the G20 presidency from Indonesia and the 18th G20 Heads of State and Government Summit will take place in September 2023 in Delhi.

At the time of taking over of the G20 presidency, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi wrote an article, spelling India's vision for G20. Parts of this should be quoted, because it sets out India's objectives and vision. "The previous 17 presidencies of the G20 delivered significant results - for ensuring macro-economic stability, rationalising international taxation, relieving debt-burden on countries, among many other outcomes. We will benefit from these achievements, and build further upon them." One

should remember that part of what happens throughout the year, is a carryover of the agenda of the previous summits. "However, as India assumes this important mantle, I ask myself - can the G20 go further still? Can we catalyse a fundamental mindset shift, to benefit humanity as a whole?... One such tradition, popular in India, sees all living beings, and even inanimate things, as composed of the same five basic elements – the panch tatva of earth, water, fire, air and space. Harmony among these elements - within us and between us - is essential for our physical, social, and environmental

Therefore, though all countries have deviated from SDGs, India is far better positioned than many. The afore-mentioned dashboard by Jeffrey Sachs et al also highlights this.

Today, the greatest challenges we face – climate change, terrorism, and pandemics – can be solved not by fighting each other, but only by acting together. Fortunately, today’s technology also gives us the means to address problems on a humanity-wide scale.

well-being. India’s G20 presidency will work to promote this universal sense of one-ness. Hence our theme - ‘One Earth, One Family, One Future’. Today, the greatest challenges we face – climate change, terrorism, and pandemics – can be solved not by fighting each other, but only by acting together. Fortunately, today’s technology also gives us the means to address problems on a humanity-wide scale. The massive virtual worlds that we inhabit today demonstrate the scalability of digital technologies.” That is what the SDGs are about.

To quote further, on the Indian successes outlined in Section 2, “We have tried to make national development not an exercise in top-down governance, but rather a citizen-led ‘people’s movement’. We have leveraged technology to create digital public goods that are open, inclusive and inter-operable. These have delivered revolutionary progress in fields as varied as social protection, financial inclusion, and electronic payments. For all these reasons, India’s experiences can provide insights for possible global

solutions. During our G20 presidency, we shall present India’s experiences, learnings and models as possible templates for others, particularly the developing world. Our G20 priorities will be shaped in consultation with not just our G20 partners, but also our fellow-travellers in the global South, whose voice often goes unheard.

There are several parallel processes under G20. There are the Sherpa and Finance Tracks, facilitated through Working Groups. There are several Engagement Groups. There will be official G20 meetings, not only in Delhi, but in various cities. This is symptomatic of the inclusion that the Indian presidency brings into the G20 process. Yes, there will be a showcasing of India’s culture and heritage and achievements. Those achievements are steps towards the SDGs, for India, and for the world. ■



A well-known economist and author, Bibek Debroy is Chairman, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (EAC-PM); and Chancellor, Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Pune, Government of Maharashtra. He has authored/edited several books, papers and popular articles and has also been a Consulting/Contributing Editor with several newspapers. He has been conferred numerous awards, including Padma Shri, the fourth highest civilian award of India.

A large, light blue world map with a grid of latitude and longitude lines, centered on the Atlantic Ocean. The map is semi-transparent and serves as a background for the title.

A Time for Global South in G20

With developing countries poised to hold the presidency of G20 for the next three years, India has a unique opportunity to redefine and refocus the G20 agenda to reflect interests and priorities of the Global South. Under India's presidency, India is looking to create mechanisms that strengthen the capacity of developing countries to tackle health crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic, says Anil Wadhwa.

The baton of the G20 presidency has been passed on to India. Collectively, the G20 nations have delivered important results in relieving debt burdens, rationalising international taxation, capital and liquidity requirements for banks, recapitalisation of the IMF, stabilising the financial situation during the 2008 global financial crisis, creating a Debt Service Suspension Initiative, ensuring overall macroeconomic stability. Over the years, the G20 has also worked to widen its agenda to include issues like corruption, terror financing, jobs and social security, drug trafficking, migration, agriculture and food security, health and climate change. Building on these achievements, India is geared up to deliver an inclusive, ambitious and action-oriented presidency. The world faces a geopolitical crisis due to the conflict in Ukraine. There is the challenge of global breakdowns in supply chains, the crisis of climate finance and climate action, and seventy countries in the world are facing a debt crisis. 200 million people in the world have gone below the poverty line while 75 million people have lost their jobs.

Inclusive Diplomacy

The UN Security Council has seen gridlocks due to geopolitics. China dominates as many as 15 of the world's multilateral institutions in a strategic and calculated takeover; the UN System badly needs reforms, and the G7 is perceived as an elitist, rich country grouping. Against this backdrop, the G20 is seen as a promising forum with the right mix of industrialized and developing

economies and more representative of the current global balance of power and influence. As the world's largest democracy, the fifth largest economy, and the second most populous nation in the world, India has pursued a policy of strategic autonomy in recent times and has the heft and credibility to act as a consensus maker. Prime Minister Modi has stated on the eve of India taking over the Presidency that India has some notable achievements to its credit, including the scalability of digital technologies, collective decision-making and democracy, a governance model of taking care of the marginalized while nurturing the creative genius of youth, and making national development a citizen-led "people's movement." India is successfully leveraging technology to create digital public goods that are open, inclusive, and interoperable which has delivered revolutionary progress in social protection, health insurance, vaccination and tracking; financial inclusion, and electronic payments. It is the only country in G20 which is well on track to achieve its Nationally Determined Contributions for climate mitigation under the Paris Agreement. PM Modi has launched the LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) movement in India, making the adoption of successful lifestyles a mass movement. These will be useful templates, as India's G20 priorities will be shaped in consultation with not only the G20 partners but also its fellow travellers in the global South, whose voice often goes unheard. India plans to host the most inclusive G20 meetings with delegates from 19 countries and the European Union plus over 800

POWER SHIFT



(From Left to Right) Icons of Non-Aligned Movement, including India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Indonesian President Sukarno and Yugoslavia's leader Marshal Josip Broz Tito at the Bandung Conference in 1955.

special invitees from Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria, Oman, Singapore, Mauritius, the Netherlands, Spain and the UAE, many international bodies, and business leaders who will attend the 200 meetings in 55 cities over the coming year.

New Initiatives

India has already outlined a vision of shaping a new paradigm of human-centric globalisation. According to Prime Minister Modi, this is to be achieved by encouraging sustainable and environment-friendly lifestyles, depoliticizing the global supply of food, fertilizers, and medical products to avoid humanitarian crises, and encouraging an honest conversation on mitigating risks posed by weapons of mass destruction which will contribute to global security. But most importantly, according to External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar, India is emphasising the role of technology in deciding India's geopolitical

positioning as it would play a key role in striking technological and strategic alliances in a multipolar world.

As Prime Minister Modi has said, all living beings and inanimate objects are composed of the five basic elements of earth, water, fire, air and space. India's G20 presidency will promote this universal sense of oneness, which is embodied in the theme – "One Earth, One Family, One Future" and the Vedantic doctrine of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" – the world is one family.

India has identified some priority issues – growth and prosperity, resilient global supply chains, small and medium enterprises, logistics, reforms in multilateral institutions like WTO, IMF and World Bank and women-led development under its G 20 presidency. India is expected to take the lead in setting up new initiatives on disaster risk and resilience and Start Up 20. India is likely to propose a common

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digital platform for ease of cross-border trade, a legal aid system for developing countries for dispute settlement in WTO, ways to eliminate distortionary non-tariff measures for developing countries and LDCs, and a framework to address crucial issues at the WTO in clearly defined circumstances like the Covid 19 pandemic.

Establishing an online digital portal that offers integrated trade and business information for market research by MSMEs is another proposal under consideration. It is also proposed to evolve common principles to facilitate decentralised trading, and inclusive trade action plan that defines clear objectives for driving inclusion in goods and services trade, and evolving principles to ensure food security through remunerative prices of farm goods.

Geospatial mapping of global value chains for critical and essential sectors, network restructuring, supply chain management solutions and building awareness of risks of acute supply chain disruptions is another priority.

India has a critical role in ensuring global health security and the production and distribution of vaccines and can act as a credible voice of the developing world on the issue of food security, Sustainable Development Goals and climate finance. It has taken the lead in

WTO with South Africa for a waiver from intellectual property protections of Covid-19-related medical technologies as well as related equipment.

South-South Agenda

In Africa and Latin America, and more widely in the global South, there has been a lot of interest in the digitally enabled delivery platforms developed by India, which has shown that social security is not just a wealthy society's prerogative. The Global South has proved by example the usefulness of digital advancement by distributing free foodgrains to 800 million poor and direct benefit transfer to 450 million beneficiaries. Citizens of most developing countries do not have any kind of digital identity. Almost 2 billion people do not have bank accounts and around 130 countries do not have fast payment mechanisms. As G20 Chief coordinator Harsh Vardhan Shringla notes "India's experience has shown that if digital architecture is made widely accessible, it can bring about socio-economic transformation. The use of digital technologies, if used judiciously, can become a force multiplier in the fight against poverty". India's success with the Unified Payments Interface (UPI), Direct Benefits Transfer and Aadhar authentication in welfare schemes has growing relevance to the developing

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world. The use of the CoWIN platform has enhanced vaccine accessibility and equity. Digital India could provide a technological model for global solutions of development and welfare at a low cost, which in turn will facilitate growth. The principle of “data for development” will therefore be an integral part of the overall theme of India’s tenure.

Under its presidency, India is determined to create mechanisms that strengthen the capacity of developing countries to tackle health crises such as the Covid 19 pandemic.

India will work with the developing world to create a holistic, global health architecture that can respond better to future health crises. According to Shringla, India’s G20 Chief Coordinator, “new approaches are needed to intellectual property, innovation and co-development of health technology to ensure a more inclusive response to health crises”. “The focus”, he says, must be on “the benefits that technological progress and evidence-based policy can provide us when it comes to expanding access to health”.

India will hope to emerge from its G20 presidency as a global

agenda setter, a driver of inclusive global growth for global good, and a constructive consensus maker.

The well-developed and efficiently functional Development Promotion Programmes of India in Africa and Asia, the Pacific as well as Latin America, including ITEC which enhances education, skilling and specialisation, can be used to promote a South-South Agenda and create constituencies for India in these countries. The Lines of Credit can be focused to advance the G20 agenda for common development. But for all this to come together and succeed, India will need to ensure that the government, business, academia, educational institutions, opinion makers, media and the public at large work in unison. India’s G20 presidency will represent the most vulnerable in the world and will aim to enhance inclusivity and intra-South economic integration. ■

Anil Wadhwa was Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs, and has served as Ambassador to Poland, Oman, Thailand and Italy. Currently, he is a Distinguished Fellow with the New Delhi-based Vivekananda International Foundation.

Reimagining G20: Bridging North-South Gap

India should not allow the Ukraine crisis to distract from the core objectives of the G20 and leverage its emerging position as a bridge builder to forge unique solutions to global crises. Going by its civilisational ethos and growing global stature, India is poised to leave its stamp on the evolution of the G20, says Pankaj Saran.

The G20 is a self-selected grouping of the systemically most important economies in the world. While its creation predates the 2008 financial crisis, its upgradation to the level of leaders took place in the aftermath of that crisis. It was for the first time that domestic and international economic and financial issues found place on the agenda of world leaders, going beyond the traditional G7 grouping. Such escalation of what were considered to be country-specific or domestic issues best handled by Finance Ministries and Central Banks was extraordinary. In one swoop, the global economic agenda became a political agenda, requiring state intervention and driven by hard interests and calculations. Since the creation of the G20 group at the

leaders' level was the result of a crisis, the mood in its initial years was one of rallying around each other, doing the requisite firefighting and when the markets had settled, focussing on systemic issues and long-term solutions.

For India some similarities to the events leading up to the 2008 crisis and emergence of the G20 in its current form and the global situation as it exists today are worth noting. First, the crisis of 2008 was created in the West. India and the "Global South" had no role to play in the origin of the crisis, just as they had no role to play in the Ukraine conflict. Yet, in both instances, this set of countries became collateral damage. Second, then, as now, India was seen as part of the solution as evidenced by its immediate membership of the G20,



PM Modi with the leaders of G7 countries and invitee countries in Scholss Elmau near Munich in June 2022.

during the tenure of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

Insulating G20 from Ukraine

The world has changed significantly since 2008. It would have been unthinkable to those of the 2008 generation that the G20 would one day be looked upon as a forum for also addressing issues of war, security, and geopolitical conflicts. India and the “global South” have, however, made their preference known that they do not want the G20 agenda to be derailed by the ongoing tensions between Russia and the West. This was the primary challenge that Indonesia faced throughout its presidency and at the Summit itself.

India should not allow the war to distract world attention from the core objectives and purposes of the G20. It is true there are short term dangers and dislocations, which call for a response, but India’s stakes are long-term. Its needs are just beginning to

India and the “global South” have, however, made their preference known that they do not want the G20 agenda to be derailed by the ongoing tensions between Russia and the West. This was the primary challenge that Indonesia faced throughout its presidency and at the Summit itself.

make their presence felt on every facet of the global agenda, along with its capabilities, potential and role as a solution provider to global challenges. India has, rightly, taken the decision at the level of Prime Minister Modi to be the voice of reason and harmony in a highly fractious world and to keep the focus on issues which affect the economic well-being and future of humankind, such as global warming.

The problem is not just the global economic dislocation caused by the Ukraine

conflict, which is obviously bad enough by itself, but to inject sustainability, predictability, equity, and transparency in the international economic order. The presidency of the G20 gives India precisely the opportunity it needed to deal with these issues. As India's economy grows and the country integrates with the world, its stake in the health of this order will also grow. The call of "One Earth, One Family, One Future" by Prime Minister Modi could not have been timelier. It is a message that resonates in all corners of the world.

Bridge-Builder

India's relations with Russia are well known to all sides, just as our relations with the West are known to Russia and China. All moves and initiatives by India to wind down the conflict would be welcome. Having said this, India is acutely conscious of the power dynamics at play between the parties to the conflict and the room it has for manoeuvre. While it will play a helpful role, it is unlikely to allow its political capital to be consumed in mediation or dispute settlement.

What India can be expected to do (and is the more desired path) is to stretch itself fully to shape a world order and commensurate global institutions that catalyse growth and create an environment that helps its own transformation. Steering the G20 in directions that are supportive of India's primary task of transforming the lives of 1.4 billion people will be its top priority. This will be nothing less than a



PM Modi with US President Joe Biden at Nusa Dua on the sidelines of the G7 summit in Bali in November, 2022.

global good by itself. Fifteen years after the first G20 summit in 2008, all eyes are on India as the next driver of global growth. This is a unique position to be in, especially when traditional growth centres like China, US and Europe are in slowdown, or worse.

In addition, India will play the role of bridging the gap between the rich and the "global South," without being polemical. Developing countries want to make their voice heard and concerns addressed. In this regard, we can expect India to lead the campaign for meaningful reform of international institutions, including the UN. India has the good fortune of inheriting the presidency from another large developing country and passing it on to yet another. The current G20 troika

Fifteen years after the first G20 summit in 2008, all eyes are on India as the next driver of global growth. This is a unique position to be in, especially when traditional growth centres like China, US and Europe are in slowdown, or worse.

consisting of Indonesia, India and Brazil is thus a powerful group representing the “global South”. In fact, South Africa will further reinforce the South’s perspective in 2025. The key areas of focus that suggest themselves are climate finance, food security, health, energy, digital public infrastructure, and debt management, among several others.

Managing China Challenge

Amid our preoccupation with the West, both in the context of its control over the international economic, financial, and technological system, as well the Ukraine conflict, it is critical to also pay attention to the impact of the shift in the global power balance in favour of China within the G20. With or without G20, managing China remains the most important strategic challenge for India. No dramatic moves are expected on this front by India during its presidency, but the dogged determination to diversify supply chains and attract foreign investment and technology into India will remain a defining feature of India’s economic policy. Decoupling from China is not easy. Policy makers in India know this. Yet India cannot afford to outsource its manufacturing or export jobs to China. The strategy will instead be to promote India as an alternative factory, market, technology, and services global hub. This is not easy, but certain impulses

have been unleashed in India which will propel India in this direction. A lot will also depend on how China behaves. It can either treat India as an equal partner or view it through the American lens. If it chooses the latter, it will end up in a self-fulfilling prophecy. China should also know that if India can stand up to intense Western pressure on Ukraine, it can withstand Chinese pressure with much less effort. This is China’s opportunity to support a fellow Asian nation, in deeds, not words.

Financing of Terror

The subject of terrorism is not part of the traditional G20 agenda. Yet the threat from terrorism is a reality for India. In 2021, India had presented an 8-point Plan in the United Nations Security Council on threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist attacks, which included the strengthening of the FATF. As the current President of G20, India can be expected to highlight the problem of financing of terrorism which is the life blood of terrorism, and forge a consensus on the issue. Several steps in this regard have been taken. In October this year, India hosted the Special Meeting of the UNSC’s Counter-Terrorism Committee in Mumbai and Delhi. In November, India hosted the ‘No Money for Terror’ Ministerial Conference on Counter-Terrorism Financing in which PM Modi underlined that only a



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with Russian President Vladimir Putin on the sidelines of the SCO summit in Samarkand.

uniform, unified and zero-tolerance based approach can defeat terrorism, and there was a need for a uniform understanding of new finance technologies. Recently, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said that India would push for international regulation of crypto assets to stop the funding of terrorism and there was need for global regulation to prevent their misuse for terror funding.

Indian Imprint in G20

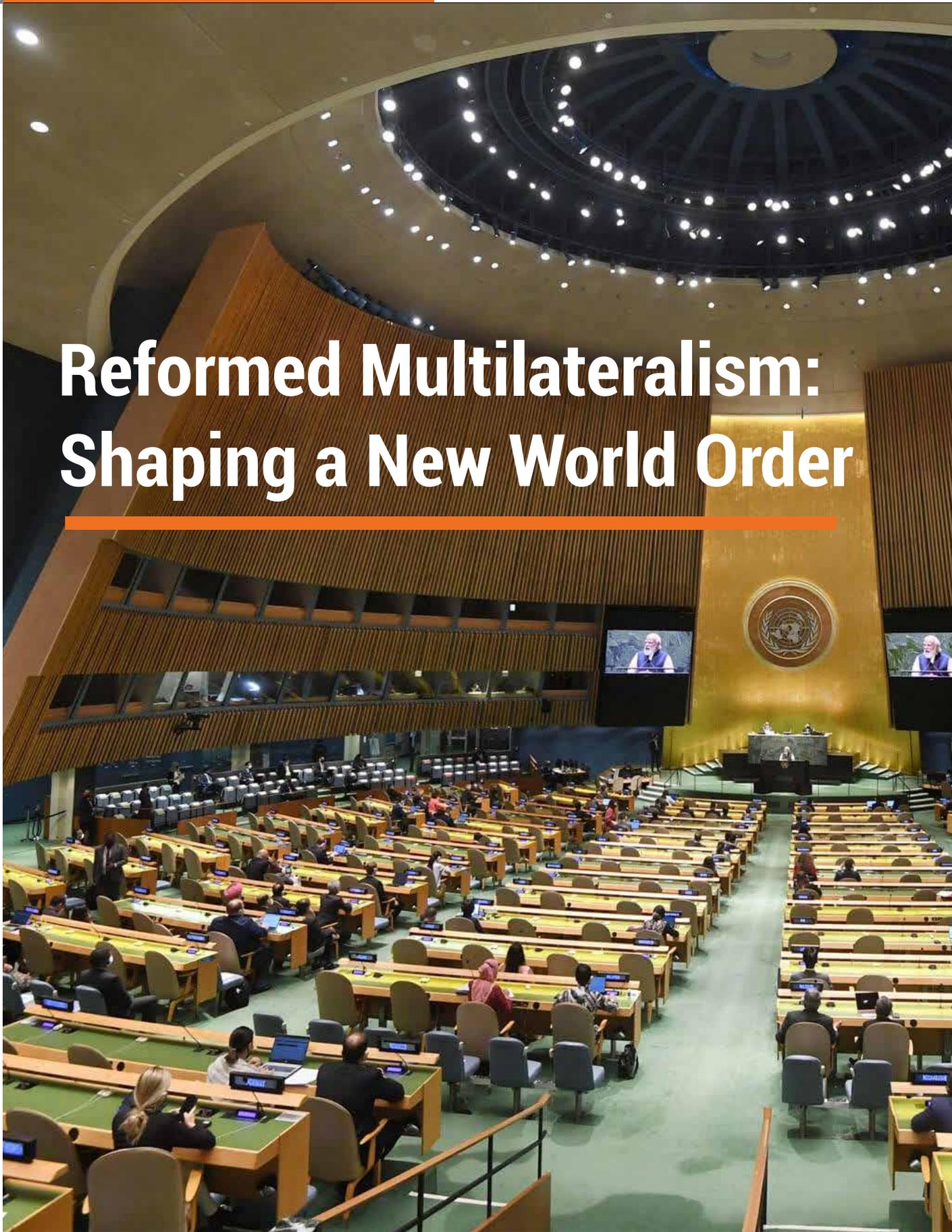
One year is too short a time to change the world. Yet through the force of example, staying true to its civilisational ethos and honest articulation of solutions to the world's problems India is well positioned to leave its stamp on the evolution of the G20. India's socio-economic transformation will be of profound proportions and scale. It will increase its weight on the global stage. The real hard work for this lies within India – in its states, in its vast human resources and commitment to the values

of democracy and rule of law. Whether in 2008 or in 2022, India has succeeded in insulating itself from external shocks, and proving the resilience of its economy, polity, and society. It is reasonable to assume that this will remain the case beyond 2023. ■



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Reformed Multilateralism: Shaping a New World Order





Multilateralism is suffering an unprecedented crisis, with multilateral institutions increasingly unable to deal effectively with geopolitical and other socio-economic and financial challenges. Against this backdrop, the G20 remains the best forum to pursue reform of financial and economic multilateral institutions to modernise the outdated 1945 global architecture, says T.S. Tirumurti.

Reformed multilateralism was first articulated by Prime Minister Modi at the Leaders Retreat in BRICS Summit 2018 in Johannesburg, South Africa. It was underlined at that time that BRICS was formed ten years earlier, inter alia, to push the reform agenda on multilateralism and in multilateral bodies which were not reflective of contemporary realities i.e., to give greater voice in governance to other major economies like BRICS. The idea found ready resonance with the then BRICS Chair, President Cyril Ramaphosa, and with Brazil. But the other two were more circumspect regarding the concept of reformed multilateralism.



Reform has become even more urgent since the Council now is taking an expansive view of what constitutes international peace and security by including purely socio-economic and environmental issues under this rubric as well so that the P-5 can become arbiters of others' destiny without representation.

Roadblocks to Multilateral Reforms

The phrase “reform of multilateral system” crept into the BRICS text only in 2019 in Brazil. But, by this time, BRICS was being weighed down by its own internal contradictions on the reform agenda. As External Affairs Minister Dr S. Jaishankar said recently “As the international order evolves, this desire to selectively retain elements of the 1945 situation while transforming others – and we see that in the UN as well – complicates world politics.” China, and to a much lesser extent Russia, were willing to go for reform of World War II institutions only as long as it suited their objectives. Their objectives did not go as far as embracing the desire of the three IBSA countries (India, Brazil and South Africa) to

If China and Chinese-led multilateral institutions have started stepping into the multilateral financial and economic space, it's because of the procrastination of the developed world to ensure a more inclusive and considered decision-making in IMF and multilateral banks.

become permanent members of the UN Security Council. While BRICS certainly notched up achievements like the New Development Bank and Contingency Reserve Agreement, it could have become a strong voice for reforms but for these contradictions.

The UN Security Council stands diminished for various reasons most of which can be traced back to its unrepresentative and anachronistic nature. For example, nearly 70% of the agenda of the Council concerns Africa. But without permanent African representation, what credibility does the Council have if former colonial masters (however well-intentioned they may be) decide what is good for Africa? Or the new 'development' and/or "security" partners decide what is good for Africa? As Dr Jaishankar mentioned in the UN General Assembly "It is also perceived as deeply unfair, denying entire continents and regions a voice in a forum that deliberates their future." Reform has become even more urgent since the Council now is taking an expansive view of what constitutes international peace and security by including purely socio-economic and environmental issues under this rubric as well so that the P-5 can become arbiters of others' destiny without representation. This is clearly

not desirable. The Council needs to be reformed to reflect contemporary realities by bringing in more permanent members from developing countries. But with a group of 'nay sayers' determined to block any reform of the Council, it has been a futile exercise for 14 years to push for reform in the so-called Inter-governmental Negotiating Committee set up by the UN General Assembly.

Rise of Plurilateralism

Inability of multilateral institutions to deal effectively with geopolitical and other socio-economic and financial challenges, which includes lack of reforms in IMF, World Bank and WTO, has spawned several plurilateral groups seeking to address some specific areas or regions of interest. For them, it is a way to negotiate new rules and regulations and influence the larger context of multilateralism. This is a direct fall out of the burgeoning variety of challenges and the inability of current multilateral governance structures to tackle them. If China and Chinese-led multilateral institutions have started stepping into the multilateral financial and economic space, it's because of the procrastination of the developed world to ensure a more inclusive and considered decision-

Since it works by consensus, the G20 countries are forced to compromise for arriving at an acceptable decision. In effect, everyone has a veto and no one has a veto. Consensus decisions make for prompt implementation even if these decisions don't necessarily have a binding force.

making in IMF and multilateral banks. The expansion of the New Development Bank is an effort to address this gap as well. The downside has been that plurilateral groups have largely been formed by bigger high-income countries to influence multilateral architecture in their favour, making it even more difficult for the smaller developing countries in the Global South to have any influence in the outcome. Plurilaterallism per se cannot usher in the reformed multilateralism we seek.

However, multilateralism goes beyond the UN and economic and financial institutions. In the Ukraine conflict, we have seen the weaponization of almost everything and that too, unilaterally. In other regions, we have also witnessed how unilateral sanctions affect large parts of the developing world. That is because of the confidence that those undertaking such unilateral "weaponization" will never be called to account. Their actions in Ukraine have been taken in disregard of the welfare and interests of the developing world whether oil, food, fertilizers or finance.

We need to induce greater accountability for such actions. Consequently, we need a reformed and inclusive multilateral architecture to prevent this "weaponization" of almost everything.

Is G20 Really the Answer?

That brings us to G20. Can G20 become the fulcrum around which the multilateral reform process revolves? In some ways it already has, by its very existence. G20 is now probably the most representative of the various plurilateral groups. All regions find representation though EU is overrepresented, Africa is under-represented and there is no small island state in sight. Its creation in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 1997-98, and its decisions including during the 2008 economic crisis and now during COVID have had their desired socio-economic and environmental impact. Since it works by consensus, the G20 countries are forced to compromise for arriving at an acceptable decision. In effect, everyone has a veto and no one has a veto. Consensus decisions make for prompt implementation even if these decisions don't necessarily have a binding force. Therefore, process-wise, G20 has all the ingredients for replication with proper tweaking of the numbers and the membership list. But substance-wise? There can be little doubt that G20 remains the best forum to pursue reform of financial and economic multilateral institutions and banks and effect changes in the outdated 1945 architecture. For example, the drying



India's External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar with UN Secretary-General António Guterres.

up of funds, inter alia, for tackling Covid fall-out, for strengthening climate action and for pursuing SDGs remains a serious concern.

Donors understandably do not want others to decide on how their money should be deployed, especially when there are burgeoning and conflicting demands from conflicts, new and old, and huge humanitarian requirements especially after Covid. We have seen how the COVAX Facility failed when the West decided to hoard vaccines for themselves and did not put in any funding into COVAX, thereby depriving the Global South of the much-needed life-saving vaccines. G20 provides just the right mix and balance to deal with these issues in a serious and inclusive manner, initiate action to reform and address these gaps in governance.

The Ukraine conflict has also changed the way some have started seeing G20. Just as work was stopped by the EU, the US and the West in the UN and the UN Security Council was rendered impotent by the Russian veto, so have the outcomes from the various G20 work streams been stymied under the Indonesian presidency. G7 countries have so far not let consensus decisions be reached in any work stream barring one. Rest are all Chair's summaries,

As External Affairs Minister Dr S. Jaishankar said recently “As the international order evolves, this desire to selectively retain elements of the 1945 situation while transforming others – and we see that in the UN as well – complicates world politics.”

In a happy coincidence, we are now witnessing four consecutive years of G20 Presidency by developing countries – Indonesia, India, Brazil and South Africa, which gives the Global South the possibility of leaving their imprint on the themes and deliberations in G20.

which have far less binding force. Politicisation of G20 is now in full public glare and G20 has also been weaponized! We now see G20 taking hesitant steps into political issues and the door has been pried open.

Therefore, when it comes to how much and how far G20 can go to bring about reformed multilateralism, the jury is still out. But the fact that G20 has become a more representative and inclusive governance structure is undeniable. And the fact that all major powers have taken the G20 seriously augurs well for the future. The centre of gravity has shifted towards G20. Maybe the seeds of UN Security Council's expansion have unwittingly been sown.

Southern Presidencies

In a happy coincidence, we are now witnessing four consecutive years of G20 presidency by developing countries – Indonesia, India, Brazil and South Africa, which gives the Global South the possibility of leaving their imprint on the themes and deliberations in G20. The least these presidencies can do is to address the issues of the developing world in a more direct and positive way.

India's presidency, therefore, gives a unique opportunity to channelize the demands and interests of the Global South into G20 deliberations. It gives an opportunity to handle an almost universal fall-out from the Ukraine conflict. And India's priorities for G20 reflects the

keen interest we have in reformed multilateralism. One of our five priorities is 'Need for reformed 21st century institutions.' No doubt that this will be a peg to hang some important reform initiatives for the developing world. Showcasing some of India's success stories for public good, like our digital and green initiatives, will be a game changer. Further, India has invited 9 guest countries to bring greater balance in the participation. Overall, India is particularly well poised to lead the G20 with an agenda for reform, greener and gender sensitive development, inclusivity, growth, change and innovation. ■



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Continent of Hope: It's Time for Compact with Africa 2.0

Africa hasn't loomed large in the G20 agenda so far. India's G20 presidency is an opportunity to focus global attention on myriad challenges facing the African continent in the aftermath of COVID-19 and the Ukraine crisis. India should not only project aspirations of African resurgence on the G20 platform, but should work with its partners to secure a full membership for African Union in G20, says Rajiv Bhatia.

G20, the world's premier forum for dialogue and cooperation on international economic and financial issues, is set to evolve further under India's presidency for a year from December 1, 2022. Fifteen years after it held its first Leaders' Summit (Washington, November 2008), India will host the next summit in September 2023. It is an

unprecedented responsibility. While different constituencies within the G20 and outside have been busy promoting their respective agendas, New Delhi can be relied upon to adopt a holistic and inclusive strategy.

Harsh Vardhan Shringla, India's G20's Chief Coordinator and former foreign secretary, gave an inkling of India's likely approach to the presidency:



India's wide acceptability in the international community, strong developing country credentials, independence in thought and action, and resilient scientific and economic base have uniquely positioned it to provide global leadership at a critical time in international affairs.¹

India must do justice to its diverse responsibilities as the steward of the forum which is composed of G7, the European Union (EU), and 12 other countries. There is little doubt that the interests of the developing world, especially Africa, will figure high on India's list of priorities because since its Independence in 1947 it played a seminal role in creating and nurturing the Non-Aligned Movement, G77, solidarity among developing countries, and driving impulses of the Global South.

This essay focuses attention on Africa, as part of the developing world, and its relative marginalisation in the work of G20 so far. It analyses the treatment accorded to African causes in the past, examines Africa's specific situation in the current decade, and attempts to present a realistic picture of how the Indian presidency may advance the African agenda while serving as a powerful bridge between the developed and developing parts of our planet.

Africa @ G20

A critical perusal of the Leaders' Declarations and related documents of the past summits between 2008 and 2022 shows that developing countries, especially Africa, received minimal attention. But there have been at least four notable exceptions to this trend.

First, the Seoul Summit (November 2010) took a clear-cut line that the goal to narrow the development gap and reduce

poverty was integral to achieving strong, sustainable, and balanced growth of the world economy. The trick, it underscored, was to create new poles of growth and contribute to global balancing. It proclaimed the 'Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth,' with its advocacy of six core principles,² including a responsible partnership between G20 and the Low-Income Countries (LICs). The leaders agreed on nine key pillars i.e., the areas where actions were needed to remove bottlenecks for resilient growth in developing countries. Even a 'Multi-Year Action Plan on Development' was proposed.³ However, very little of the Seoul outcome was heard in subsequent years.

Second, the Hamburg Summit (July 2017) singled out Africa for exclusive attention due to its "recognition of the opportunities and challenges in African countries as well as the goals of the 2030 Agenda."⁴ It launched the 'G20 Africa Partnership' which hinged on promises of enhanced investment from G7 countries against noticeable improvement in investment and business framework in willing African partners. 'Investment Compacts' were agreed to by seven African countries: Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Morocco, Rwanda, Senegal, and Tunisia. Later, this number increased to 12.⁵ The annex to the declaration detailed key elements of this partnership and the process to be followed.⁶ A stand-alone G20 Africa Partnership Conference was held in Berlin in June 2017, which created a buzz. Regrettably, follow-up results proved disappointing.

Third, the Osaka Summit (June 2019) raised hopes of Africa receiving special treatment, given Japan's extensive role in



PM Modi with Rwanda's President Paul Kagame in Kigali in July 2018.

Africa still clamours for effective relief from the escalating debt and interest burden. Moreover, it needs support for its development needs covering diverse sectors such as infrastructure, agriculture and food security, healthcare, education and capacity building, job creation, and safeguards against climate change.

creating close links with Africa since the 1990s.

But the Japanese presidency restricted itself to extending only general support to developing countries in their efforts to achieve progress towards the timely implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and reiterating its continued support to the Compact with Africa (CwA).⁷ Finally, under the Indonesian presidency (2021–22), a G20 Roadmap was created for stronger recovery and resilience in developing countries including the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS). It spelled out three focus areas, namely Micro, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (MSMEs), adaptive social protection, and green

economy, including blue economy through climate-resilient development.⁸

The Bali Summit Declaration referred to Africa: “We also reiterate our continued support to Africa, including through the G20 Compact with Africa and the G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and LDCs.”⁹

What Africa Needs

The G20 elite need to bring life to their words to renew Africa. The African continent is home to 17% of the world's population. Yet it accounts for about 4% of the global GDP. More specifically, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) comprises low, lower-middle, upper-middle, and high-income countries, 22 of which are “fragile or conflict-affected”, and 13 are small

states “characterized by a small population, limited human capital, and a confined land area.”¹⁰ Their economies have been badly affected by the triple shocks of COVID-19, the general economic slowdown, and the war in Ukraine. The World Bank states that the SSA economies are impacted by “higher commodity prices, higher food, fuel and headline inflation, tightening of global financial conditions and reduced financing flows into the region.”¹¹

Africa’s needs, aspirations, and plans are well-known to those who regularly monitor African developments and are open to listening to African voices. The continent’s development perspective has been fully delineated in the AU’s Agenda 2063 and the UN’s 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

The Covid era drew the world’s attention to two issues in particular: the vaccine injustice to Africa where the availability of Covid vaccines and medicines was far lower than in developed and emerging economies, and the indebtedness which grew in serious proportions. Through its laudable support for the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI), G20 attempted to provide much-needed relief. But its results remained well below the level of expectations generated earlier. Besides, the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA) saw its launch delayed during the Covid era when Africa’s external partners were distracted and busy with their problems or those of other regions.

As a result, Africa faced a serious attention deficit, as compared to the previous decade when, for example, western countries, India, and others competed with China to hold regular summit-level interactions with African leaders. In short,

the past three years saw a disruption in the attention accorded by the rest of the world to Africa.

Africa still clamours for effective relief from the escalating debt and interest burden. Moreover, it needs support for its development needs covering diverse sectors such as infrastructure, agriculture and food security, healthcare, education and capacity building, job creation, and safeguards against climate change. According to TK, “These are areas that fall within the purview of G20. Clearly, Africa needs greater attention from the world’s premier multilateral forum at this critical juncture.”¹²

One way to do it is to increase its weight in the G20. Africa, composed of 54 countries, represents 27% of the total member-states (193) of the UN. Hence, it deserves to be represented better in G20. One seat, held by South Africa, is simply not enough. The suggested upgradation of the African Union from a permanent guest to a full-fledged member of the G20 should be accepted.

India-Africa Partnership

In the post-2008 period, especially during 2015-19, India took a series of significant measures to strengthen and diversify cooperation with Africa at bilateral, regional, and multilateral levels. The latter reciprocated adequately. Spelling out the ten guiding principles that shaped India’s Africa policy, Prime Minister Narendra Modi stated before the Ugandan parliament, “Africa will be at the top of our priorities.” He conveyed to the African side that the India-Africa development partnership would be “guided by your priorities.” India’s friends in Africa are now hopeful that, as the president of G20 for the year 2022- 23, India will do its

utmost to support Africa's interests in this forum.

However, this needs to be placed in the larger backdrop. India has the responsibility to take care of the interests of friendly countries in other regions too such as the Indian Ocean region, South Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, South Pacific, and Latin America. Taken together with Africa, this entire space is best represented by the 'Global South' - a term that Nour Dados and Raewyn Connell describe as below:

*The term Global South functions as more than a metaphor for underdevelopment. It references an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access to resources are maintained.*¹³

This description must change, and the time is right, given the global schism over the European crisis and the Ukraine conflict, where developed countries are concerned with ideology and developing countries are distressed by the economic impact thereof on their countries. While being fully supportive of critical elements of the African agenda, India will be expected to balance the diverse dimensions of its responsibilities as the president of G20. However, it is natural for India to position itself as one of the foremost leaders of the Global South, and its intentions lean in that direction. Sujan Chinoy, chair of the Think-20 Core Group of India's G20 presidency, observed, "India will work to deliver global goods as a voice of the Global South," stressing that the "development agenda must receive the first billing."¹⁴

What India Can Do

While balancing its obligations as the G20 president, India should aim at delivering an outcome that helps African countries and other segments of the Global South. Implementing the previous commitments made to Africa is necessary, rather than making new ones that may never materialize. A concrete focus on short-term and long-term requirements, backed by an implementable programme covering the critical needs mentioned above, is a must. But this will not be enough.

Three additional steps are desirable in this context.

First, New Delhi should be seen to be consulting Africa and other partners in the developing world. As it holds a series of preparatory consultations in the build-up to the summit next year, it should develop a new version of the 'Compact with Africa,' or 'Compact with Africa 2.0.'

Second, it must closely engage with Brazil and South Africa, the next two presidents of G20 so that they remain fully motivated to carry forward the process and implement its outcomes. This will immensely help developing economies. Optimal support from the IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) Forum comprising the leading democracies from Asia, Latin America, and Africa will be an invaluable asset. Of course, the third member of the current troika – Indonesia, an important emerging economy – should also be associated with this exercise.

Third, the Indian government should lobby effectively with G7, China, Russia, and other G20 members to secure a full membership of G20 for the AU. Though

of symbolic value, a positive decision on this score will be widely welcomed in Africa.

The Way Ahead

Recently Prime Minister Modi provided ample clarity on the essential philosophy that will drive India's G20 presidency at a time when the world is hungry for creative and "collective" leadership. He observed:

India, on the one hand, maintains close relations with developed countries, and at the same time understands and articulates well, the point of view of developing countries. On this basis, we will outline our G20 Presidency with all the friends of the 'Global South' who have been India's co-passengers for decades on the path of development. Our effort will be that there should not be any first world or third world in the world, but only one world. India is working on a vision to bring the whole world together for a common objective, for a better future.¹⁵

A fusion of goodwill of India's numerous partners across the regions, marshalled by the nation's diplomatic, scholarly, and business talents, will be crucial in translating this enticing vision into reality. ■

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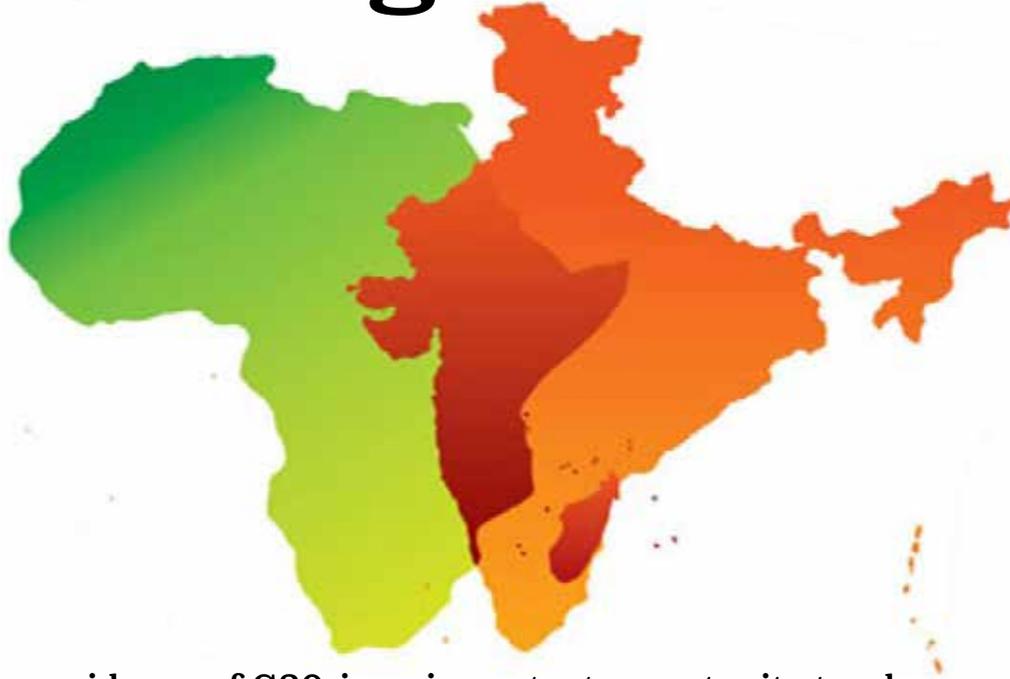


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Mainstreaming Africa in G20 Agenda



India's presidency of G20 is an important opportunity to advance the core interests of the developing world and promote Africa's development by leveraging partnerships within G20 and beyond, says Prof. Anil Sooklal.

India assumes the G20 presidency at a very challenging period in modern human history. Not since the end of the cold war has the world been so fractured and polarized as a result of several simultaneous challenges. Thomas Friedman has described the current era as the 'Age of Acceleration.' Several global issues are cascading on the human psyche all at the same time creating a dilemma on how to effectively address these challenges simultaneously. These include the advent of new technologies, climate change, biodiversity loss as well as globalisation. More recently, the impact of the Covid pandemic as well as the Russia-Ukraine

conflict has all collectively contributed to a devastating impact on the global community.

All of the above issues are receiving attention within the G20 agenda. However, the impact of these challenges is felt most among the most vulnerable countries, especially the Least Developed (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS) as well as Africa. In Africa itself, over 30 million people were pushed into extreme poverty in 2021 and about 22 million jobs were lost due to the Pandemic. Furthermore, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is expected to push another 1.8 million Africans into extreme poverty in 2022 rising to over



PM Modi with the leaders of African countries attired in traditional Indian clothes at the Third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi in October 2015.

2.3 million in 2023. The dire plight of developing countries in containing and addressing the severe impact of the pandemic and the conflict as well as the challenges posed by climate change must receive priority attention in the G20 Development Agenda under India's presidency. India as a developing country must prioritise the development agenda and ensure that it assumes center stage within the G20. The Global South will look to India to ensure that issues of development that are critical in advancing their development, including meeting the UN Sustainable

Development Goals (SDGs), receive priority attention in the G20 in 2023.

Development Agenda

In 2010 the G20 leaders identified the need to establish the G20 DWG with a mandate to lead in the implementation of the group's development agenda. At the Seoul Summit in November 2010, G20 leaders adopted the multi-year action plan on Development and the Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth. These two documents guide the work of the DWG. South Africa serves as a permanent co-chair of the DWG

In Africa itself, over 30 million people were pushed into extreme poverty in 2021 and about 22 million jobs were lost due to the Pandemic. Furthermore, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is expected to push another 1.8 million Africans into extreme poverty in 2022 rising to over 2.3 million in 2023.

since its inception. Since 2010 each successive presidency of the G20 has placed specific development issues as the core focus of the DWG during its presidency, whilst also following up on commitments already made. The Comprehensive Accountability Report released in 2013 for the first time served to inform on G20 commitments annually, namely, an update of the G20 Action plan and an assessment of the progress on the development commitments undertaken by G20 leaders.

AU's Agenda 2063

How has Africa benefited from the G20's programs and commitments in addressing its developmental challenges? South Africa is the only African country that is a G20 member. The Chair of the African Union (AU) and the Chair of the African Union Development Agency - New Partnership for Africa's Development (AUDA – NEPAD) both serve on the G20 as observers. Within the G20, South Africa has consistently advocated for the advancement of the AU's Agenda 2063.

Since its inception, the DWG has become an important instrument in addressing the most critical development challenges of the global South, including Africa. DWG programs over the years have focused on a whole range of development issues including human resource development, women's economic empowerment, climate action, infrastructure, green energy, food security, industrialization, digitalization, trade, private investments as well as job creation. The 2012 progress report of the DWG notes that the G20 must serve as a relevant coordination forum for international economic cooperation. Effective contributions by international organisations and G20 countries, supported by concerted actions of G20 members are fundamental to supporting national efforts of developing countries in overcoming hunger and poverty and promoting sustainable development.

Following the repeated calls by South Africa as well the Chairs of the AU and the AUDA-NEPAD for Africa's development agenda to receive support from the G20, there

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emerged an Africa-specific program in the DWG under the Chinese and German presidencies of the G20 respectively in 2016 and 2017.

The G20 Leaders Summit in Hangzhou, China in September 2016 launched the G20 initiative on supporting industrialisation in Africa and Least Developed Countries. This initiative was welcomed by African countries as it addressed a critical gap in Africa's economic regeneration. Although this was a voluntary initiative that has had a limited direct impact in addressing Africa's industrialisation, it nonetheless brought sharp focus on the need of the global community to partner in Africa's industrialisation.

The Hangzhou Leaders Summit notes *"We launched the G20 initiative on supporting industrialization in Africa and LDC to strengthen their inclusive growth and development potential through voluntary actions."* To date not much

has been achieved in advancing Africa's industrialisation through the G20 Hangzhou commitment as it relies on voluntary actions.

An equally important initiative meant to advance Africa's development was launched during the German presidency of the G20, namely the Compact with Africa (CwA). The Compact was initiated to promote private investments in Africa including in infrastructure.

The CwA's primary objective is to increase the attractiveness of private investments through substantial improvements of the macro business and financing frameworks. It seeks to bring together reform-minded African countries, international organisations, and bilateral partners from the G20 and beyond to coordinate country-specific reform agendas, support respective policy measures and advertise investment



PM Modi tries his hand at traditional drums in Dar es Salaam, with Tanzania's President Dr. John Magufuli, in July 2016.

Through its bilateral engagements with Africa, including the AU Commission in Addis Ababa as well as the IAFS, India has a vibrant and multifaceted development cooperation engagement with Africa. Prime Minister Modi's Ten-Point Plan is aligned with the AU's Agenda 2063. It is within this prism that one must view India's G20 Presidency and its engagement with Africa.

opportunities to the private sector. The initiative is demand-driven and open to all African countries.

To date, only 12 African countries are party to the CwA. The question arises as to why so few African countries have become part of the CwA given the benefits it professes to accrue to CwA members. According to the CwA 2022 monitoring report, the outlook for CwA countries is relatively better than global and regional projections. As a group, CwA countries are expected to continue to grow despite headwinds coming from the conflict in Ukraine, potential scarring from the ongoing pandemic, and the intensification of the food and fuel shock that is already underway.

It is obvious that most African countries are reluctant to join the CwA which despite being launched some five years ago has had a very limited impact in addressing the continent's investment needs. Part of the challenge pertains to the so-called country-specific reform agenda of the CwA which is seen by African countries as an intrusive mechanism.

South-South Solidarity

India and Africa have a shared history spanning several centuries of robust economic, trade, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges. In more recent times, India was one of the chief architects of the first Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in April 1955. It was at Bandung that the foundations of South-South solidarity and cooperation were firmly laid. Since its independence in 1947, development diplomacy has become an integral part of India's foreign policy. Over the years India has strengthened its historical ties with Africa through a network of bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral engagements. The India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) is now an established and important platform for advancing India-Africa relations.

Through its bilateral engagements with Africa, including the AU Commission in Addis Ababa as well as the IAFS, India has a vibrant and multifaceted development cooperation engagement with Africa. Prime Minister Modi's Ten-Point Plan

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“We launched the G20 initiative on supporting industrialization in Africa and LDC to strengthen their inclusive growth and development potential through voluntary actions.”

is aligned with the AU's Agenda 2063. It is within this prism that one must view India's G20 presidency and its engagement with Africa. As a trusted time-honoured partner of Africa and a fellow developing country of the Global South, there is an expectation that Africa's development agenda will be one of the priority focus areas of India's presidency. This sentiment was articulated by India's G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant, while addressing the Kigali Global Dialogue held in Rwanda in August 2022. He noted that India will embed the concerns of the developing world at the heart of the G20 Agenda. He further stated that the development concerns of Africa must form the bedrock of the G20 consensus. He also highlighted that India and African nations collectively have the highest percentage of young populations in the world. This demographic dividend needs to be leveraged responsibly to ensure

that it achieves its highest potential.

India's commitment and solidarity with Africa were sharply demonstrated at the height of the Pandemic through its Vaccine Maitri initiative. While most of the developed world was focused on ensuring vaccines for its citizens which led to many of these countries being accused of vaccine nationalism and vaccine hoarding, India made available vaccines for free or at a marginal cost to the developing world including Africa.

India's theme for its G20 Presidency, *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam: One Earth, One Family, One Future* resonates with the African concept of Ubuntu: I am because you are, to be human is to recognise the humanity of others. It is these twin concepts that place the well-being of humanity at its center that should underpin the India-Africa cooperation and partnership within the G20 and





South Africa's President Cyril Ramaphosa gets traditional welcome as he arrives in Bali for the G20 summit.

beyond. The priorities identified by India for its presidency cover the key issues needing global attention and collaboration. These include issues that will also be transformational to Africa namely, health, agriculture, education, digitalization, climate financing, food security, disaster risk reduction, and multilateral reforms.

The Road Ahead

India's presidency of the G20 will be viewed as an important opportunity to ensure that development is brought back to the center of the G20 Agenda. Given India's long-standing commitment to advancing the interests of the Global South in the international arena, India as an emerging global power is well placed in ensuring the core interests of the developing world, including Africa mainstreamed during its presidency. Africa will look to India to ensure that its socio-economic regeneration as articulated in Agenda 2063 receives the attention it warrants within the G20 under India's stewardship. India's G20 presidency provides a strategic opportunity to reenergize and deepen the historic India-Africa partnership, underpinned by the joint desire to create a more inclusive and better world for all: One Earth, One Family, One Future. ■

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G20 Presidency is a Part of India's Emergence as a Global Voice



India's G20 leadership comes with its own share of challenges and opportunities. The Ukraine conflict and global economic slowdown in the post-COVID era will continue to dominate discussions as we march ahead in 2023. In this interview, Sanjeev Sanyal, a member of the Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, speaks to Manish Chand, Editor-in-Chief, India and The World and Director, Centre

for Global India Insights (CGII), on how India can leverage its leadership position of G20 to revive economic growth. A renowned author and economist, Sanyal has also served as the Chief Economic Advisor in the Union Ministry of Finance and is a member of the G20 Framework Working Group (FWG).

Excerpts from the interview:

Q India has taken over the G20 presidency at a challenging time, not only in the geopolitical sense, but also in terms of uneven and slowing economic growth. At a time like this, how do you see the relevance of G20?

A Since the end of the Second World War, a large number of institutions were created to coordinate and manage the global commons like the United Nations, World Bank and World Health Organisation. However, over time, they became increasingly more unwieldy. So, towards the end of the '70s, and early '80s, a new grouping emerged, initially called the G7. They were the largest economies of that time. Now, this grouping of largely Western economies, plus Japan, provided a certain kind of leadership relevant to that time. It became even more relevant with the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, by the late '90s, early 2000s, it was quite clear that this grouping of G7, while it was much more coherent than the UN, it was no longer representative of a large number of emerging, but increasingly relevant economies like China, India and Brazil. So, a new grouping began to take shape, called the G20 that eventually came to also include the wider landscape.

The G20 played an important role in managing the world and providing leadership during the global financial crisis of 2007-08. It proved to be a good mix between being small enough to be able to actually provide leadership and direction and at the same time representative enough – it represented some 80% of the world economy, about 2/3rd of the world

population. So it was more representative than many multilateral organisations. Several international organisations like the WHO or Bretton Woods Institutions became paralysed as the pandemic hit in February-March of 2020. G20 became the platform for being able to provide some sort of a global protocol for keeping the world economy going at a time when supply chains and health protocols were breaking down, and global travel was shutting down. Nobody quite knew how to respond. At that point, I was the co-chair of the Framework Working Group of the G20, which had put together a global action plan in April-May of 2020. It later became the common minimum programme on which the world economy was kept functioning. It was endorsed initially by the finance ministers and central bank governors, and then it was revised and again reiterated by the leaders later in 2020. This is one example of how the G20 provided global leadership. Now, it is the single most important platform that thrashes out global issues.

Q Given the post-COVID global economic slowdown, how can India leverage its leadership position of G20 to revive economic growth?

A The presidency of G20 is an opportunity, but it is not like you are a leader in the sense of the president of a country. You're a host of the platform for a year. In that sense, you are carrying together the others, including what had been done in the previous presidencies. Nonetheless, by virtue of being the host, it does allow you to curate the issues and give

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it a certain amount of direction. And that opportunity will be there in 2023 for India. It is a time where we face a lot of significant challenges. First of all, we are all just about emerging from the COVID crisis. And given events in China, this is still clearly an issue that we need to keep an eye on. There is a war in Eastern Europe. Recently, we have had periods of very unstable energy prices; although they've come down a little bit, there is still the risk of it spiking up again. The world economy is slowing down again, even though India's own economy is not, so there is a need for providing leadership. As the president of the G20, India can shape the narrative to some extent.

Q How important is reviving economic growth critical to the success of the G20 agenda?

A One of the core mandates of G20 is to have sustainable, inclusive growth. Given the disruptions caused by COVID and the huge amount of debt that has been accumulated as a result of it, including in developed countries, this is a core mandate. And one needs to ensure that all this is done in a way that is sustainable from not only an economic perspective, but also from an environmental and social perspective. This has to be done in a situation where there are geopolitical tensions, global supply chains are in flux and new technologies are coming into the picture. In many of these areas, India will be shaping the narrative.

Q How is India planning to navigate the crypto-regulation issue?

A Crypto needs strict regulation, but one country cannot do it because the

India is already the world's fifth-largest economy in terms of the dollar, and the third-largest in terms of PPP. In terms of population, India will shortly be the world's largest and most populated country. We have every reason to be heard.

system exists in the form of ether. So, we need the world to regulate it. Our efforts have been in the narrow sense of imposing taxes and so on. But let us be very clear that cryptocurrencies are not currencies at all, they are a combination of two things – one is an innovation, which is the blockchain innovation, which is a distributed ledger, and algorithmic issuance of tokens. The latter is not a technological innovation of any kind. An algorithm is just an equation. The distributed ledger is an innovation. However, it does not necessarily lead to a cryptocurrency. You can use a distributed ledger to keep track of anything. You can keep track of paintings or you can keep track of furniture. So, keeping track of tokens is just a highly specialised use of blockchain technology and therefore, we should not confuse the two. The issuance through algorithms of tokens, on the other hand, by a non-sovereign body is something that we have recently seen, as in the case of FTX, which led to unhappy outcomes.

Q India has emerged as a beacon of hope amid global gloom and doom sentiments. It is the world's fastest-growing major economy. How do you look at India's economic prospects in the coming year?

A The important thing to remember is that India has historically not punched at its own weight, and it has either been very preachy or defensive. In recent years, we have seen that change, and we have been much more articulate in expressing our interests, as happened in the case of the Russian energy issue. And, if our position is clearly articulated and if our stand is reasonable, it is, by and large, accepted by other countries. India must stand up for its interests, as well as those of the wider community. And we will now be heard: India is already the world's fifth-largest economy in terms of the dollar, and the third-largest in terms of PPP. In terms of population, India will shortly be the world's largest and most populated country. We have every reason to be heard. Looking ahead, this position will only strengthen. By the end of this decade, India will be the world's third-largest economy in dollar terms as well, hence, it is incumbent on us to provide leadership to the G20 whether we are the president or not.

Q **What will be major contributions of India's G20 presidency?**

A The key thing will be to lay out the framework of the post-COVID economic expansion. It requires many pieces, including the idea that we need to keep various global commons open and healthy. This could mean having some global protocols that we all agree on food security, energy security and the sanctity of payment systems. Now, how we go about doing that will be the topic of discussion in 2023. But these are the kinds of bigger issues that we do need to think about. Similarly, how do you manage various kinds of technologies? I

even mentioned regulating crypto. But that is also true of data protection, financial markets and terror financing.

Q **Moving ahead, how do you see the reform of global financial institutions?**

A Just like G20 evolved out of the G7, it was an evolution to an evolving situation. The G20 has become more relevant as it's more representative of how the world is. Legacy institutions, particularly those of the UN, need to think about not only how they can remain relevant, but also unified and cohesive. There is always a danger as in the name of becoming more inclusive, you end up diluting the purpose of many of these institutions. At the same time, you can have other situations where in the name of not getting diluted, you retain legacy structures, like the Security Council, which are also not representative. So, the idea is that it remains a cohesive group that is representative of our times. This is the reason that the G20 is relevant, whereas the UN agencies are having great difficulty maintaining their relevance.

Q **India is positioning itself as the voice of the South. In economic terms, would that mean, representing the interest of emerging economies?**

A It's interesting that we inherited this from Indonesia, and will possibly pass it on to Brazil. So, there are three or four straight years in which the Global South will be managing the narrative of the G20. This is consequently an opportunity for a certain amount of rebalancing to the narrative that is very often dominated not just by the

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north, but very specifically by the North Atlantic.

Q In what ways will it translate into concrete outcomes in G20?

A There is this whole debate about ESGs becoming an important part and how global regulations are to be applied to MNCs and supply chains. Now, the question is, what are ESGs? They are Environment, Social and Governance indicators. Which are the institutions that will manage these indicators? Very often, we simply assume that this will be done by certain think tanks and agencies based in the North Atlantic, but why should that be the case? I have nothing against them, they may indeed be doing good work, but surely they should be much more democratic: why can't Indian, Brazilian or Indonesian institutions do this? I think there is a case here for having a much more open conversation about who decides these matrices. There has to be a global discussion on it, and the management has to be much broader.

Q You have written very eloquently about the rise of India. You have authored a book on the rise of India. What does the rise of India mean for multilateralism and the world at large?

A India brings a different voice to the table that represents a very large part of the world's population and a significant section of the world economy. That provides more colour to the conversation. It also means that finally, India does, hopefully, punch its own weight, which it has not done

over the last 75 years, except for the very recent years.

So, I think there is a case here where we speak for our own interests and the interests of like-minded countries. They may very often be from the Global South, but there may be occasions where they may be of a different combination. After all, India is a member of many other combinations. Geopolitically, we're part of the Quad, we're a part of the I2U2 (India, Israel, the UAE and the US) and many other plurilateral groupings.

Q Taking of India's economic growth prospects, by when will it become a \$5 trillion economy?

A I see that happening somewhere in 2026. I think India will surpass Germany and Japan, before the end of this decade to become the third-largest economy in the world as most of the indicators are in that direction. This will also mean that we will have to play a more responsible and articulate role in the world economy. This event related to our presidency of the G20 is a part of our emergence as a global voice that others will pay attention to. ■

India brings a different voice to the table that represents a very large part of the world's population and a significant section of the world economy. That provides more colour to the conversation. It also means that finally India is punching at its own weight.

Inclusive GVCs for Human-Centric Globalisation

India's G20 presidency is a major opportunity to promote inclusive and human-centric approach of development through economic globalization and bolstering of global value chains (GVCs), says Deep Kapuria.



On December 1, when India assumed the mantle of G20 Presidency, Prime Minister Narendra Modi as G20 Chair outline India's vision through a very powerful theme – “One Earth, One Family, One Future”. Under this overarching theme, India's G20 agenda will be inclusive, ambitious, action-oriented, and decisive. PM Modi also emphasized that the priorities under India's G20 Presidency will be shaped in consultation with not just the G20 partners, but also the fellow-travelers in the global South, whose voice often goes unheard. He also underlined the need to catalyze a fundamental mindset shift to benefit humanity as a whole. The message is clear that India's G20 Presidency would try to promote inclusiveness, togetherness and, above all, a people-centric approach of world development.

Humane Globalization

Inclusivity and human-centric approach of development are important in the context of economic globalization, particularly in the functioning of the global value chains (GVCs). Today, roughly 70% of the international trade is accounted by GVCs. International trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) are the main defining features and key drivers of GVCs.

In recent years, GVCs have boosted productivity growth and structural

The debate on the growing importance of GVCs in driving trade and investment is not new. At the G20 Brisbane Summit in November 2014, the G20 leaders, too, acknowledged that one important way for countries to connect to the global economy and develop is through GVCs.

transformation in many developing countries, by allowing them to specialize in certain activities and stages of production rather than waiting for entire industries to develop. However, amongst the developing countries, only Southeast Asia has the relatively good average share of intra-regional GVC participation. The other regions such as Eastern and Southern Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Western and Central Africa and South Asia lag much behind with intra-regional GVC participation. Recent supply chain disruptions caused by pandemic have necessitated that the countries must work towards building inclusive and resilient GVCs. Greater investment and integration within the current network relationships as a strategy by companies for enhancing the resilience of GVCs.

Empowering Local Economy

The debate on the growing importance of GVCs in driving trade and investment is not new. At the G20 Brisbane Summit in November 2014, the G20 leaders, too, acknowledged that one important way for countries to connect to the global economy and develop is through GVCs. This is a clear recognition that GVCs provide opportunities to empower the local economy with sophisticated imported technology, know-how, and a richer skill set. The G20 leaders at the Brisbane Summit stated that “we need policies that take full advantage of global value chains and encourage greater participation and value addition by developing countries.” Inclusive

growth and the promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) were two key priorities for Turkey’s 2015 G20 presidency as well.

For GVCs to operate seamlessly, the policy makers must create a conducive environment for attracting foreign direct investment (FDI), help domestic firms internationalize, and facilitate the interactions between multinational corporations (MNCs) and domestic firms. There are three key players in GVCs: MNCs, domestic firms, and policy makers. All three have to work in tandem to support each other. While MNCs take the lead through investment and technology, policy makers’ role is to support with right set of domestic policy measures along with helping domestic firms to integrate into the production network.

Global SME Network

Under India’s G20 Presidency, the Business 20 (B20) engagement group has prioritized inclusive GVCs as one of the important subjects to deliberate upon with an aim to draw the attention of G20 leaders. For GVCs to be made inclusive, it is important to remove the constraints in





the way of participation of SMEs from developing and low-income countries in global/regional production network. The underlying assumption is that most firms across sectors in low-income economies are SMEs. They face a less supportive domestic business operating environment and weaker institutions, which results in higher fixed costs and challenges to compete in international market.

GVCs are the consequence of advances in information and communication technology and logistics, more open markets for trade and investment, and complementary policy frameworks that are appropriate for a country's stage of development. A key finding is that GVCs do not respond to piecemeal approaches to policy change. A "whole of the value chain" approach is needed. Some of these policies

are horizontal in nature such as:

- Good infrastructure and connectivity
- A business-friendly environment
- Flexible labour markets
- Public investments in education and skills, and
- Focus on quality and standard infrastructure
- A range of other policies that improve supply chain capacity.

Other policy initiatives are more targeted, such as:

- Removal of trade and investment restrictions,
- Local-content or export-performance requirements, and
- Restrictions on foreign exchange
- Focus on improving service sector efficiency
- Given the importance of GVCs and the

Under India's G20 Presidency, the Business 20 (B20) engagement group has prioritized inclusive GVCs as one of the important subjects to deliberate upon with an aim to draw the attention of G20 leaders.

changing dynamics of global trade, the growing inter-linkages between trade and investment, India's G20 Presidency in 2023 should focus upon key sectors, key policy measures and new trade architecture, which could be the key catalyst for making GVCs more inclusive.

Focus Policy Areas

- To improve coordination among government players and ensure the involvement of the private sector.
- Opening borders and attracting investment can help jump-start entry in GVCs.
- Many diverse policy areas affect the success of GVCs. They include, among others, trade policy, logistics and trade facilitation, regulation of business services, investment, business taxation, innovation, industrial development, conformity to international standards, and the wider business environment fostering entrepreneurship.
- Finally, countries should identify measures that will complement their GVC strategies. These include a large swath of dimensions, from investment in education and vocational training to environment and urbanization, from ICT and infrastructure building to labor market mobility.

Recommendations

Three broad areas of recommendations, both at the national and multilateral level, are elaborated for consideration by the G20. These recommendations are well documented in the joint report of World Bank and OECD.

- To establish and suggest countries to have a trade and investment action plan for inclusiveness, defining clear and achievable objectives on trade and investment policy and identifying the necessary complementary domestic policy actions.
- To complement trade, investment, and domestic policy actions by providing the needed political leadership and support to enhanced collaboration across the public and private sectors and the establishment of global platforms for sharing best practices.
- To provide political support for the establishment of a realistic multiyear plan to expand and upgrade the statistical foundation necessary to share relevant information and data for increasing the capacity of low-income countries so that they can identify and implement policies that will contribute to stronger, more inclusive, and sustainable growth and development. ■

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Redressing Global Financing for SDGs, Debt Relief for LDCs

India should take the lead in mobilising G20 to enhance sustainable finance and capital flows for achieving interlinked goals such as SDGs, debt relief for LDCs and reviving global growth, says Professor Sachin Chaturvedi.

The G20 has assumed much greater relevance as contestations and visions have multiplied in recent months. Consequently, both the expectations and the agenda have grown at a pace difficult to manage for a presidency in the limited time it has. As India has assumed the G20 presidency, several issues are on the

table for a possible push from the Indian side. Focused attention on finance would be of great relevance for several member countries and also for the global economy. As Prime Minister Narendra Modi said at the Bali Summit, we need new efforts for issues hitherto being dealt by the UN and other multilateral institutions.



Union Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman participates in the G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting in Washington DC in October 2022.

The growing cost of accessing funds has posed a major challenge for the global South. The Bank for International Settlement (BIS) has reported that rising fragmentation creates natural barriers and friction across financial systems, disrupting financial cycles and may pose challenges for regulation and supervision.

Two-track Strategy

In the realm of finance, there are two important tracks. First, to address the huge global debt crisis we are heading for. Debt relief by official creditors was made available through the G20 Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI), which the IMF, together with the World Bank, helped to support. The initiative took effect in May 2020 and delivered \$12.9 billion in debt relief to 48 countries before it expired in December 2021. However, in recent months more than 55 developing and Least Developed Countries have knocked at the door of the IMF for support. The IMF would have to consider surcharge reduction for next 2-3 years and extend the access limits for another two years after 2023 and rechanneling of SDRs to call for more pledges than what has been seen so far. This would also require urgent attention on further capitalisation of regional development banks.

The second track is to avoid fragmentation of financial markets, keeping financial stability perspective upfront. At various sessions at COP27, it emerged how fragmentation of finance has adversely impacted several developing countries. The growing cost of accessing funds has posed a major challenge for the global South. The

Bank for International Settlement (BIS) has reported that rising fragmentation creates natural barriers and friction across financial systems, disrupting financial cycles and may pose challenges for regulation and supervision.

In the climate finance, with shrinkage of ODA, it is a challenge to access finance for adaptation and not just for mitigation. Most of the non-concessional private finance for climate change is available only for mitigation projects like for electricity transmission upgrade and agriculture. Nearly \$325 billion annual funding of renewable energy is being undertaken through private equity and through market rate debt. It is only in the African region, and that also only to a limit of 13 per cent, that some concessional financing has come for supporting renewable energy production. There are several proposals on the table to extend concessional financing under climate finance to middle income countries. The IMF would have to take a lead to make climate finance more incentive-compatible and allow more lending-into-arrears. The Bali Summit Declaration and the outcome documents from various engagement groups during the Indonesian G20 presidency, as in the past, highlighted the need

for redesigning of the global financial architecture. The Declaration rightly called for “protecting macroeconomic and financial stability and remain committed to using all available tools to mitigate downside risks, noting the steps taken since the global financial crisis to strengthen financial resilience and promote sustainable finance and capital flows.”

India’s G20 presidency should also facilitate discussion on smooth and irreversible transition of LDCs to the category of developing countries. In India’s neighbourhood, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal would be undergoing this transition in 2026. They would need financial support and hand-holding. Sri Lanka and Pakistan are grim reminders of irresponsible debt creation. In March 2022, the UN also recognised 15 more countries for the next decade. The UN Committee for Development Policy, which establishes the category of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) since 1971, has evolved multivariate criteria for graduation.

With the conclusion of the Bali Summit and the assumption of the G20 presidency by India, a new opportunity has come up for Indonesia, Brazil and South Africa to work together to take the global economy forward.

With wide-ranging fears over runaway inflation, financial instability, disruption in supply chains affecting, in particular, access to food and energy security, the world should take note of what Prime Minister Modi has advised to overcome disagreements over the war. He has stressed that peace and development, in an inclusive



framework, provides financial resilience and institutional coherence. We would undermine it at our own peril.

Sustainable Development Goals

The SDG Agenda, which has lately decelerated, also requires a new energy, as we all move towards the proposed, ‘Summit of the Future’, to be held in 2024, by the UN Secretary-General. We need to place all our resources together with full commitment and create mechanisms for funding the necessary transitions. As mentioned, mobilising those resources needed by climate finance will require a greater coordination and commitment. The unfinished agenda for global taxation, tax evasion and illicit finance flows would also have to be taken forward.

Beyond GDP: Quality Growth

It has also become crucial to work towards developing a new narrative on inclusive, equitable and quality growth

India's G20 Presidency should also facilitate discussion on smooth and irreversible transition of LDCs to the category of developing countries. In our own neighbourhood, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal would be undergoing this transition in 2026. They would need financial support and hand-holding.

in the post-pandemic socio-economic environment. Growth should be judged in terms of wellness and well-being rather than solely in form of per capita monetary income alone. It must support universal principles, sustainable global governance, and the successful implementation of Agenda 2030. It is a pertinent question of how fundamental development principles can be included in the new notion of quality growth.

This may need us to go beyond GDP as a measure of growth and development. Intrinsicly linked to the development paradigm is the issue of reforming the global financial architecture and the measurement metrics of development. The role of multilateral institutions, particularly the Multilateral Financial Institutions and its layers - Multilateral Development Banks, Regional Development Bank and National Development Banks, becomes extremely important, given the amount of endowments and leverage these institutions have in shaping the development trajectories of the countries. Financing for development require a lot of emphasis on the optimal allocation of resources available with these institutions.

Furthermore, not just the allocation but also the funding mechanism of these institutions need to be evolved to generate the financial resources that are required to meet our developmental needs, particularly financing of SDGs, given the economic slowdown and recessionary tendencies in the advanced economies and their spillovers over the developing world.

Engaging with Africa

The time has come when Africa should be included in the G20. Africa accounts for 2.84 per cent of global GDP in nominal terms. In fact, Africa is the second smallest continental economy in the world after Oceania. Its economy was \$2.7 trillion in nominal terms in 2021. In view of post-pandemic development, the G20 cannot leave Africa and the African Union behind. ■



Professor Sachin Chaturvedi is Director General at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), a New Delhi-based think tank. He works on issues related to development economics, involving development finance, SDGs and South-South Cooperation. Currently, he is also Vice Chairman, Atal Bihari Vajpayee Institute of Good Governance and Policy Analysis; and ex-officio Vice Chairman of Madhya Pradesh State Policy and Planning Commission. He is also Member, Board of Governors, Reserve Bank of India.



ISA Connect: India has Made Solar Energy of Choice

With the clock ticking away for curbing carbon emissions, the world is looking at International Solar Alliance anew. Speaking to Manish Chand, Director, Centre for Global India Insights (CGII), Dr. Ajay Mathur, Director General, International Solar Alliance, highlighted necessary steps which need to be taken for achieving green economy. With India as the founding member of ISA and President of G20, India is showing the way in making solar the energy of the choice.

Q Combating climate change and fast-tracking climate finance are major priorities of India's G20 presidency. How do you look at the role of G20 and ISA in advancing this agenda of promoting clean energy?

A Solar is the main source of providing electricity to billions of people across the world and the cheapest way of doing so. It is also the quickest way to reduce carbon emissions because the net carbon emissions of solar are zero. Consequently, we are seeing a huge amount of solar energy being put up in the developed countries, the OECD countries and in China. We need to ramp up the adoption of solar in other countries. So, the G20's efforts must focus on how to do that. The main thing that we would like the G20 to accomplish is to focus on providing the guarantees that will enable the private sector finance to flow into the developing countries

where right now solar finance is not flowing. As we have talked to various private investors, they say that their primary concern is the risk associated with non-payment. We hope that the Solar Fund could be launched during India's presidency which aims at creating a payment guarantee fund, so that when projects are set up in the developing countries, they can buy payment guarantee mechanism risk insurance. At the same time, these projects can also avail of some amount of solar investment that we get from the development banks of the developed countries, which are at low cost. It is not as if they are zero interest, but the interest rate is much less than the commercial rate of interest. This becomes attractive to pull in the private sector, because they see that by mixing their own commercial money with the money of the development banks,

CLEAN ENERGY



Modhera in Gujarat has become India's first solar-powered village.

it makes for a more attractive scheme.

The guarantee funds can be greatly accelerated and enlarged with the help of G20. This move will assist in both climate protection on the one hand and enable climate finance to flow on the other. It is desirable that all the G20 countries agree to use their development banks to provide credit in the form of guarantees to the non-G20 countries. This would be a G20 to a non-G20 initiative, but it could leverage the budgets of the G20 countries.

Q Solar energy is becoming increasingly cost-competitive. Looking ahead, what are ISA's plans to expand the production of solar energy worldwide. How do you also make it global energy of the future?

A It has become increasingly clear over years of negotiations and climate crises that solar energy is the energy source of choice. There are two reasons. First, the falling prices of solar energy. The short-term goal is to make battery storage cost-effective. It is ISA's estimation that in the next three years i.e., 2023, 2024, 2025, we will start seeing batteries at a low enough price so that solar plus batteries will be cost effective with fossil fuel electricity. Thus, there will be no rationale for any country and any financing institution to

invest in anything except solar plus batteries. The second part is that we are seeing greater investment in solar energy. In 2021, around 40% of the total investment occurred in solar applications such as solar pumps for agriculture, solar cold storages for solar heating and solar rooftop systems.

Q Emerging powers will be holding the G20 presidency for the next three years. And G20 comprises both developed countries as well as developing countries? How can the rich-poor gap be bridged in solar energy?

A The key challenge that we have been facing is that the investment occurring in solar is largely occurring in the developed world. Therefore, G20 must help the non-G 20 countries in making solar the energy source of choice. Obviously, this is a better deal for the world. It also implies that private sector finance flows into solar. and that people who do not have access to energy get access to energy. With these benefits, and by the G20 countries providing the guarantees, we are therefore bridging the gap through solar applications rather than fossil fuel applications.

Q Looking ahead, green hydrogen is the next frontier in the area of renewable energy. What is the role of the ISA in promoting green hydrogen?

A Today the cheapest way of making green hydrogen is solar electricity being used to electrolyze water to produce hydrogen. As per the trends, our expectation is that the price of solar electricity would fall by as much as 30% below the current levels by 2050. As the price of solar electricity falls, the price of green hydrogen will also decrease. We recently developed a roadmap for Morocco and Mauritania to use green hydrogen, using solar electricity. The price of solar electricity there is about two and a half

dollars per kg of hydrogen. Today, when we reform natural gas to produce hydrogen in fertilizer plants and refineries and so on, the price is already nearly \$2 a kg. So, we are getting very close to our goal. In many other countries, the price is much higher – nearly \$5 per kg. But given the very high solar installation, this becomes possible.

Q ISA has taken some laudable steps for risk mitigation. But there is still a major investment gap. ISA seeks to mobilise around 1000 billion dollars of investment by 2030. How do you bridge the investment gap?

A In total terms, the investment in solar has already crossed a trillion dollars globally. However, ISA's goal is not just to make it happen in the developed countries, it also should happen in the developing countries and help in providing electricity to the people at the bottom of the pyramid. We expect that as the price of batteries goes down, and solar plus batteries becomes cost effective, within three to four years, we will see this money having been invested in solar in the developing countries of the world.

Q India is a co-architect of ISA. Has ISA become a truly global movement? Which countries are going to be the new members of ISA?

A So, every month we have one or two new members. We have already reached 110. This is very encouraging as well as satisfying because nearly all the major countries of the world are members of ISA now. We expect that in the next year or so, we will start seeing an increase in membership, particularly from the East Asian countries. The key issue is that ISA is now seen as a means of providing information, of building capacity and of enabling projects, where the need for these services is there.

India has shown the way and as a developing country when it has made those changes that have led to the growth of the solar industry, this is far more credible to other developing countries.

Q In ISA, is there a wider acceptance that India can show the way and lead the movement?

A India has shown the way and as a developing country when it has made those changes that have led to the growth of the solar industry, this is far more credible to other developing countries. So, the African continent see that India has done this and therefore they realize that it is possible. It is very different from seeing other developed countries having achieved it. But the fact that India has been able to make solar, the energy source of choice, at least during the day right now, is something which other African countries are seeking to copy.

Rural energy access is an area where African countries find the Indian model of the solar mini grid an extremely compelling option to see how at the same time we can meet people's needs, energy needs, and at the same time also enhance the use of solar energy. ■

Dr Ajay Mathur is Director General of the International Solar Alliance. Prior to joining ISA, he was Director General of The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). At TERI, he has spearheaded the move to accelerate action towards a low-carbon and cleaner economy through the promotion and adoption of renewable energy and green hydrogen. He was co-chair of the global Energy Transitions Commission; and of the Clean Cooling Initiatives of the One Planet Summit.

Amma's Message

Let's All Walk Towards A Future of Peace, Harmony, and Cooperation



Spiritual leader Mata Amritanandamayi, famously known as “Amma,” has been selected as the Chair for Civil20, an engagement group of G20. In this article, Vijay Nambiar illuminates the principles of unity, solidarity, compassion, and selfless service that animate Amma’s approach to civil society and humanity.

Today India displays an unprecedented level of activism in international affairs. The chairmanship of the G20 for the year 2023 is the latest example of the exemplary role India plays in contributing to the stable management of affairs of the global

community. But, as the Prime Minister stated publicly when he released the G20 logo, India’s endeavour would be to take G20 to the people and make it action-oriented. Indians from all walks of life were invited to engage in a “Jan Bhagidari”, by giving their inputs, opinions and views in the pursuit of a

At a recent public launch of the C20 logo, Amma spoke about the principles of unity, solidarity, and compassion that must form the foundation of our approach to civil society. These are values she lives by, as she quite literally embraces all who come to her as one family.

better world for all. In pursuing the G20 theme of “Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam” – One Earth One Family One Future, it will be the responsibility of our citizens to go beyond the material expectations of a global agenda but also to acquaint the world with India’s wider “capabilities, philosophy, social and intellectual strength.”

The global community has witnessed numerous international dialogues and events where experts from around the world have gathered together to discuss how we can overcome our most pressing challenges. Many of these dialogues have been productive and resulted in real progress and action in changing people’s lives. However, all too often also, such events end when the last participant exits the event hall and one is disheartened to reflect on the missed opportunities and lapsed connections that are made, broken, remade, and rebroken at these annual events. It is for this reason that we are especially excited that Amma has been selected as the Chair for this year’s Civil20 in India. Amma has an inspiring track record of leveraging available resources and expertise to serve humanity in the most practical and effective ways.

At a recent public launch of the C20 logo, Amma spoke about the principles

of unity, solidarity, and compassion that must form the foundation of our approach to civil society. These are values she lives by, as she quite literally embraces all who come to her as one family. We see the benefits of this compassionate approach, so embedded in India’s traditional culture, in the work of Amma’s charitable organisations - Embracing the World and the Mata Amritanandamayi Math. These organisations have a documented and celebrated history of programmes that support the most vulnerable members in our society. The open-hearted ethos that guides these social services has made significant contributions in multiple sectors, including healthcare, disaster relief, housing and infrastructure, support for the most poor and vulnerable, education, women’s empowerment, environmental sustainability, and demonstrating a truly holistic approach. Amma’s life of sacrifice and selfless service is a demonstration of the ideal approach to personal, social, and economic development. Indeed, her meetings with leaders in government, academia, or business, reveal her distinct way of humility and compassion that sets the stage for productive conversations that inspire immediate action. It is this distinct quality that has provided the



Spiritual leader Mata Amritanandamayi Devi (Amma), Chair of Civil 20 (C20), with Dr Sandhya Purecha, a renowned classical dancer and the Chair of Women20.

The C20 tagline this year is “You Are The Light,” which symbolises the flame of hope, self-motivation, and selfless service. It is a call to every member of the civil society to come together, make his or her own path, find solutions, and resolve issues through collective effort.

rationale for Amma’s appointment as Chair of C20 India.

C20 Ethos

The C20 tagline this year is “You Are The Light,” which symbolises the flame of hope, self-motivation, and selfless service. It is a call to every member of the civil society to come together, make his or her own path, find solutions, and resolve issues through collective effort. Based on the so-called “Osaka Principles,” of transparency, collaboration, independence, internationalism, inclusiveness, and respect for human rights and gender equality, it provides for Civil Society Organisations around the world a platform to voice the people’s aspirations, while protecting their agency, and promoting social and economic development with the vision that no one should be left behind.

Over the coming year, we can expect a succession of dialogues that will reflect India’s uniquely dynamic, plural and quintessentially society-centric character. Our approach will rely on non-state initiatives, from temples and dharamshalas, voluntary bodies

to educational and welfare institutions in seeking to resolve issues of public importance through public participation.

We are committed to this path because we collectively believe in the idea of self-reliance and sustainability where economic growth, ecological health, personal enlightenment, and social well-being go hand in hand. In India, civil society has historically remained independent of political powers and is self-supporting in every aspect. We expect this ethos to permeate this year’s C20 activities and to shift the dynamics between state, society, market, family, and individual from conflict and contradiction to cooperation, collaboration, and compassionate assistance.

The working groups under the C20 platform will include the following key themes:

- Integrated Holistic Health: Mind, Body, and the Environment
- Sustainable & Resilient Communities: Climate, Environment, and Net Zero Targets
- Digitisation and Education in the Post-COVID world

- Gender Equality and Disability
- Technology, Security, and Transparency
- Preservation and Conservation of Arts, Crafts and Traditional Ways of Livelihood
- Human Rights as Human Values
- Water Justice for All
- Sewa – Sense of Service, Philanthropy and Volunteerism
- Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam: World is One Family
- Diversity, Inclusion and Mutual Respect
- SDG 16+, Promoting Civic Space, Ensuring Inclusion

These working groups are led by a collective of inspirational figures. In addition to Amma as the Chairperson, the C20 Core Committee includes Sri M of the Satsang Foundation, who is an eminent social reformer and educationist who has launched many successful initiatives in the sectors of education, health & wellness, community welfare, sustainable living, environment, and interfaith harmony which are celebrated worldwide; the Vivekananda Kendra, a social service and nation-building organisation, representing the heritage of Swami Vivekananda; and the Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini (RMP) a training and capability enhancement institution for voluntary activists and elected representatives of the people as well as a centre for mentoring and promoting excellence, entrepreneurship and innovation among youth.

The RMP will function as the C20 Secretariat. We are confident that, with this core committee, the recently constituted Steering Committee, and the International Advisory Committee will competently lead C20 India. Apart from workshops and

conferences on the key themes which will be conducted through the year, two major events will be convened during 2023 - an Inception Conference in Nagpur in mid-March 2023 and the C20 Summit to be held in Jaipur in end-July 2023.

Amidst the natural disasters, pandemics, political conflicts and ideological polarisation that have afflicted the world during recent years, and the continued prevalence of extreme poverty and discrimination in various parts of the world, what we urgently need is a message of unity and cooperation to ease our anxious minds.

It is my sincere hope that we will remain inspired by the example of Amma and the efforts of all CSOs in the coming year to make this message a reality. May we take up the torch of selfless service and walk confidently forward, toward a future of peace, harmony, and cooperation. ■



A veteran diplomat, Vijay K. Nambiar served as India's Permanent Representative to the UN and as Ambassador to Afghanistan, Malaysia, China and Pakistan. After retirement in 2004, he served as Deputy National Security Adviser until 2006 when he was seconded to the UN as Special Adviser to UNSG Kofi Annan. He was later Chef de Cabinet to UNSG Ban Ki Moon and his Adviser on Myanmar.



G20 Presidency Reaffirms India's Special Status in World: Brazil's Ambassador

India's G20 presidency has ignited hopes about a new period of the leadership of emerging economies in the 20-nation grouping. In this interview, André Aranha Corrêa do Lago, Brazil's Ambassador to India, speaks to Manish Chand, Editor-in-Chief, India and The World, on Brazil's views on how India can promote the interests of the Global South and emerging economies in G20. A renowned architect critic and writer, Mr do Lago is upbeat about the future trajectory of India-Brazil partnership under President Lula.

Excerpts from the interview:

Q What does Brazil expect from India's G20 presidency? Do you think issues of the South need greater prominence in the G20 agenda?

A First of all, it is a unique opportunity to have successive G20 presidencies of Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa (2022-2025). IBSA countries will preside over G20 for three years. The three countries have many priorities in common. What is important is that we do not want to use the South-South dimension to point to the problem, but to point to alternative solution. Sustainable development and curbing climate change – the issues that India has been stressing for the G20 presidency are totally in line with the priorities of Brazil

The world was divided between developed and developing countries on these issues. But now, all countries are behaving. If you look at it objectively, the developed countries do not have high marks in all the SDGs. Of the 17 SDGs, most developed countries only have good marks in seven or six of them. The great progress we have achieved with the SDGs and the 2030 agenda is that in the fight against

India has more than 4000 years of civilization, which people sometime forget. So, India has a different perspective on big issues because it looks at these issues from a long-term perspective. This is the contribution the world will understand very well after this G20.

climate change, we are really in it together; we are not divided anymore among developed and developing countries.

Q India has firmed up a multifaceted agenda for G20, focusing on issues like sustainable development, SDG, green development, digital transformation and digital technologies. How do you see all this fitting together to produce transformative outcomes?

A The world is in the midst of crises. In this context, Indonesia had a very important role in chairing the G20 in the middle of a host of crises. Now, India has already shown how constructive it wants to be because India, in this policy regarding the case of the war in Ukraine, or other subjects, has always been an example to the world. India has more than 4000 years of civilization, which people sometime forget. So, India has a different perspective on big issues because it looks at these issues from a long-term perspective. This is the contribution the world will understand very well after this G20. Let's not forget that India was the first or the second largest economy in the world for hundreds of years. Only for two-and-a-half centuries, India has gone down in its international relevance as an economy. So, the natural position of India is to be ahead of others. That is why I totally agree when people say that there are emerging countries and

re-emerging countries. China and India are re-emerging countries because they were the two largest economies for literally thousands of years. This position of India as a country that has a very special status in world history is going to be very clear after this G20. India has an international standing now, that is very compatible with its historic relevance.

Q Another issue which unites India and Brazil is the reform of multilateral institutions. Both India and Brazil are aspiring candidates of the United Nations Security Council. How do you see the way forward on this crucial issue?

A The message of the non-G7 countries has been very clear. BRICS, IBSA and the G4 were somehow all very clear signs that things must change in the international structure of multilateralism. The great danger that we may face is to demonize the multilateral system, when that is not the message. The message is that we have to democratise the multilateral system and make it more efficient and make it more representative of the world's population. India has all the conditions and credentials to do that. In digitalization, India has completely changed the agenda. Many people think India is fighting for food security. This may have been true decades ago, but India is now successfully using many technological advances to leapfrog.



India, in many ways, is an example to the rest of the world. India still has inequality like Brazil; India still has lots of people that need better services. But India is rapidly progressing and using technology to transform people's lives. India is proving anything is possible and it is this combination of attitude and expertise India is bringing to the G20.

Q India will be hosting the G20 summit on September 9-10, 2023. Will President Lula come to India for the summit?

A President Lula will arrive in India on September 9 because we will celebrate the National Day on September 7. So, he will only be able to leave Brazil after that. One can expect a very intense agenda and a crucial change of priorities. President Lula has clearly stated that he wants to be the President of all Brazilians.

Q Brazil's new President is known to be a great friend of India. How will India-Brazil relations progress under President Lula?

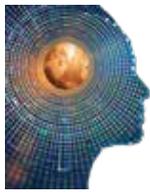
A President Lula has a very deep personal connection with India and will strengthen India-Brazil relationship even more. And so we are looking forward to see this natural partnership to be more clearly understood by the general public and translate into investments, trade, science and technology and close cultural and people-to-people ties.

It's important to remember that it was under President Lula that we established the strategic partnership between India and Brazil. This strategic partnership has evolved positively. India is now the fifth largest trade partner of Brazil, and Brazil is the eighth largest trade partner of India. Indian investments in Brazil are increasing.

Q What will be major focus areas of growth in India-Brazil partnership, especially in the defence sector?

A There is an across-the-board consensus in Brazil about strengthening the India-Brazil relationship. India is probably the most important market for Brazil's defence equipment. In aviation, there is tremendous potential for growth and Embraer has a very important role to play in India. Embraer has some products that are really particularly compatible with the priorities of India.

Brazil now is the seventh largest exporter of oil, and soon will be the fifth. India and Brazil will expand cooperation in the oil sector. We also need to strengthen people-to-people relations, which will really make a huge difference to overall relationship. ■



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