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#### **Foreword**

India will assume the G20 Presidency on 1 December 2022. Constituted in 1999 in the wake of the 1997 global financial crisis as a new grouping of countries having systemic economic influence, the G20 first met at the level of Finance Ministers and Governors of Central Banks with the objective to discuss policies to achieve international financial stability. Thereafter, it was under the shadow of the 2008 international financial and banking crisis that the first G20 Summit was held. Today, the grouping has a wide set of issues on its agenda ranging from financial stability, debt burden, Sustainable Development Goals, health crisis to food security.

With the global economy facing uncertainty and instability, the role of the G20, as a platform connecting the world's major developed and emerging economies, assumes greater significance in shaping global trends. The forthcoming G20 Presidency is an important opportunity for India to bring focus on issues of critical global importance, put forth its narratives on development and, as the fastest growing major economy, bring its strengths to bear on the G20 agenda.

ICWA organized a talk on G20@2023: The Roadmap for Indian Presidency by Shri V. Srinivas, Secretary, Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievance, Government of India chaired by Shri Harsh Vardhan Shringla, G20 Chief Coordinator, Government of India and Former Foreign Secretary at Sapru House on 8 August 2022 at which there was focus on G20 as a key institution of global governance, India's role in it and prospects for India's Presidency. The paper presented by Shri V. Srinivas and published here outlines key highlights of recent G20 Summits and of India's engagement with the forum under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. It will be useful for scholars and practitioners with an interest in India's multilateral diplomacy.

#### **Amb Vijay Thakur Singh**

Director General

Indian Council of World Affairs Sapru House September 2022

5 FOREWORD



Prime Minister Modi has led the G20 for adopting more effective dealings convergent with the original purpose of promoting sustainable growth and financial stability, as also address a number of global challenges such as reform of multilateral institutions, climate change, fight against technology driven terrorism.

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# G20@2023 The Roadmap to Indian Presidency

India would be holding the G20 Presidency from December 1st, 2022. For a nation deeply committed to multilateralism and democracy, the G20 Presidency would be a very significant moment in India's history. Since Independence, India has engaged with multilateral institutions, and contributed to combating the challenges of contemporary global governance. India's inclusive governance model with emphasis on multilateralism promises one of the finest years of G20 leadership where multilateralism can flourish and the G20 can make a serious contribution to making globalization fairer, sustainable while transforming the processes of international negotiations.

The Italian Presidency in 2021 focused on **People, Planet and Prosperity**. The Indonesian Presidency in 2022 focused on **Recover Together, Recover Stronger**.

Prime Minister Modi has attended an average 25 meetings in each of the eight G20 Summit Meetings he has attended. These included bilateral meetings, pull-aside engagements, meetings of the RIC, the JAI and BRICS groupings. Prime Minister Modi has led the G20 for adopting more effective dealings convergent with the original purpose of promoting sustainable growth and financial stability, as also address a number of global challenges such as reform of multilateral institutions, climate change, fight against technology driven terrorism.

This paper G20@2023 – The Roadmap to Indian Presidency highlights India's contribution to G20 and strengthening multilateralism.

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### G20 – A Brief History

significant development on the global economic horizon. The G20 is the leading forum of world's major economies that seek to develop global policies to address today's most pressing challenges. The G20 has 19 member countries and the European Union which represent 90 percent of global GDP and 80 percent of global trade and 2/3rds of global population. The G20 was born out of a meeting of G7 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors who saw the need for a more inclusive body with broader representation in addressing the world's financial challenges.

The G20 has been at the forefront of battling financial crisisthe Global
Financial Crisis 2008-09, the Eurozone
Crisis in 2010 and the COVID-19 pandemic
Crisis in 2020 – each of which have
taken a devastating toll on global growth
and welfare. India's positions at G20
meetings reiterate its deep commitment
to multilateralism and commitment to
United Nations 2030 Agenda on Sustainable
Development and Sustainable Development
Goals (SDGs).

The G20 designated as the premier forum for international economic cooperation, has over the past two decades, formulated

an agenda for strong, sustainable and balanced growth; strengthened international financial regulatory system; reformed the mandate, mission and governance of the International Monetary Fund; deliberated on Energy Security and Climate Change, strengthened the support for the most vulnerable countries and placed quality jobs at the heart of the recovery.

The G20 established the Financial
Stability Board (FSB) to coordinate
and monitor efforts in strengthening
financial regulation. The G20 was at
the forefront of the efforts for shifting 5
percent quota shares in the International
Monetary Fund to dynamic emerging
markets and developing countries from over
represented countries.

In 2020, the G20 led the global fight against the COVID-19 pandemic with a USD 10 trillion bailout package that focused on addressing the economic and health crisis.

has expanded to include additional issues affecting the financial markets, trade, health care, education, anti-corruption, women's development, skill building and youth promotion. The G20 Heads of Government and State Summit meetings have been held at Washington DC (2008), London and Pittsburgh (2009), Toronto and Seoul

India's positions at G20 meetings reiterate its deep commitment to multilateralism and commitment to United Nations 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

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Over the past 15 years, the G2O's agenda has expanded to include additional issues affecting the financial markets, trade, health care, education, anticorruption, women's development, skill building and youth promotion.

(2010), Cannes (2011), Mexico City (2012), Rome (2013), Brisbane (2014), Anatalya (2015), Hangzhou (2016), Hamburg (2017), Brisbane (2018), Osaka (2019) and Riyadh (2020). The 2021 Summit was held at Rome and Indonesia holds the 2022 Presidency.

In 2016, the G-20 committed itself to the Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development (AAAA). The 2030 Action Plan envisaged bold transformative steps through both collective and individual concrete actions at international and domestic levels. The G-20 further sought to improve sustainable livelihoods with its endeavours in energy and climate despite the United States Plan to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. The G-20 assumed the responsibility for launching the Africa Partnership in recognition of its goal for fostering sustainable and inclusive economic development.

The G-20 meetings have enlarged in scope and number over the past decade.

The G20 Meetings comprise of the following meetings: (1) Meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (twice a year), (2) Meeting of G20 Deputies, (3) G20 Ministerial Meeting on Development and (4) Summit Meeting

A G20 summit meeting is preceded by meetings of working groups, Sherpa meetings, Finance meetings, Engagement Group meetings and then finally the Leaders' Summit meeting. There is a B20 (for business), C20 (for civil society), L20 (for labor groups and unions), S20 (for scientific and academic community), T20 (for think tanks and research institutions), W20 (for women's groups) and Y20 (for youth leaders). There is a high level of deliberative democracy at work in the G20 meetings.

Through the years, the G20 remained committed to the principles of "strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth." Since 2008, the G20 has made a major contribution to setting the global governance agenda. However, the paradigm of global governance challenges has changed in the years 2020-2022 with the

Since 2008, the G20 has made a major contribution to setting the global governance agenda.

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coronavirus pandemic, an emerging debt crisis, slowdown in global growth rates and the conflict in Ukraine. Its important to present the issues deliberated in the Riyadh Summit and the Rome Summit to explain the gamut of global governance challenges in formulating a roadmap for the Indian Presidency – G20@2023.

### The Riyadh Summit 2020

The G20 Riyadh Summit was held on November 22, 2020. It was the second time the G20 Leaders had met under the Saudi Presidency. An extraordinary G20 Leaders' Summit was held on March 26, 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic and its unprecedented impact in terms of lives lost, economies affected necessitated significant multilateral efforts to find timely responses.

The G20 had to address the financing gaps in WHO's Strategic Preparedness and Response Plan, to ensure an inclusive recovery that tackles inequalities and ensure a sustainable future. An unprecedented twenty-five G20 Ministerial Declarations, Communiques and Statements marked multilateralism's most sustained efforts to respond to the global challenge.

The focus of Riyadh Summit was to save lives, livelihoods and affected economies.

The G20 made significant efforts to fight the challenge. The G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors met 7 times in 2020, with meetings being held in February, March, April, July, September, October and November 2020. The G20 Trade and Investment Ministers met 3 times in March, May and September, the Health Ministers met in September and November, the Education Ministers met in June and September, the Energy, Agriculture & Water, Tourism, Environment, Labor & Employment, Digital Economy Ministers met in April, October and November. The Ministerial Meetings took forward the March 26, 2020 summit recommendations to enhance global cooperation.

The G20 Economic Response envisaged a multipronged coordinated approach to fight the challenges of the Covid – 19 pandemic.

The key features were

- The Debt Service Suspension Initiative to be implemented by the IMF and Development Banks. The Financial Stability Board to monitor the financial sector vulnerabilities.
- The principles of a common framework for debt beyond the Debt Sustainability Suspension Initiative and enhancing the lending capacity of the emergency response packages

The G20 Economic Response envisaged a multipronged coordinated approach to fight the challenges of the Covid – 19 pandemic.

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- by the IMF, the World Bank and Regional Development Banks.
- International economic assistance was in the form of Catastrophe Containment and Relief Trust providing immediate debt service relief for 6 months availed by 21 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, Debt Service Suspension Initiative availed by 46 countries in the period May-December 2020.
- Rapid Financing Instrument for 29
   Countries along with Emergency
   Response Packages by expansion of the loan resources under the Poverty
   Reduction and Growth Trust.

The G20 Health Ministers worked to collaborate on the COVID-19 Tools

Accelerator initiative. They also strengthened the financial support for the "Access to COVID-19 Tools" and enhance support for Universal Health Coverage Schemes.

The Education Ministers discussed the impact of prolonged closures of educational institutions, share international best practices, experiences, lessons learnt to ensure learning continuity while stressing on the need to address digital divides and inequities in learning opportunities.

The G20 Trade Ministers sought to introduce short term measures for trade facilitation, operation of logistics networks

and transparency. They also sought to support multilateral trade systems, resilience in global supply chains and strengthen international investment.

The G20 Anti-Corruption Ministers
Meeting called for Action on Corruption
in fighting the COVID-19, preparation
of a good practices compendium for
combating corruption, the Riyadh Initiative
for Enhancing International AntiCorruption Law Enforcement Cooperation
and International Cooperation and
Asset Recovery. They further sought to
criminalize bribery.

The Saudi Presidency took up the initiative to enhance access to pandemic

tools. The steps included research and development and distribution of diagnostic tools; encourage international funding for the global pandemic and support the training of epidemiologists from all over the world.

Saudi Arabia contributed USD 500 million to the immediate funding needs to fight the COVID-19 pandemic, with the G20 member countries pledging USD 21 billion to finance the fight against the pandemic.

G20 also committed to work on affordable and equitable access to COVID-19 vaccines, therapeutics and diagnostic tools. As

As part of the extraordinary measures to support economies and people to fight the pandemic, the G20 injected USD 11 trillion into the global economy to support businesses and protect livelihoods.

11 THE RIYADH SUMMIT 2020

part of the extraordinary measures to support economies and people to fight the pandemic, the G20 injected USD 11 trillion into the global economy to support businesses and protect livelihoods. Further the G20 committed itself to extended social safety nets to protect jobs and incomes.

The other areas of focus of the Saudi Presidency were the Riyadh initiative on the Future of the WTO, Empowerment of Women and Youth, endorsing the Circular Carbon Economy Platform, reducing land degradation and access to safely managed fresh water.

broad thrust areas – Rising to the
Challenge Together, Building a Resilient
and Long-Lasting Recovery, Ensuring
an Inclusive Recovery that tackles
inequalities and enduring a sustainable
future. The Leaders' Summit recognized
extensive immunization as a global public
good. At the Riyadh Summit, the G20 had
succeeded in sending a message of hope and
reassurance to all people around the world
by adopting the communique. The G20's
joint and individual actions were important
to overcoming the global challenge.

#### Clearly the roadmap ahead of the G20-Riyadh Summit was global resilience.

A global alliance in development and distribution of vaccines, protecting climate and environment, governing the digital economy and technology and upholding the international institutions and governance was the call of the day. The overhauling of health systems entails developing resilient health systems which are vigilant,

responsive, flexible and equitable. Vaccine finance was a major challenge that needed to be addressed. Further there exist challenges regarding inequalities within countries as also between countries. Vaccine nationalism was being witnessed.

### Improved global governance entailed bolstering the efforts of the United Nations and multilateral institutions.

The IMF approved a record number of loans in a short time with low conditionality. The WHO was to be developed as the world's rapid response force on global health. Another major step envisaged was enhancing the effectiveness of the WTO. Stopping the debt pandemic represented a major challenge. The borrowing needs of several countries had skyrocketed and more transparency in debt data and debt contracts was needed. Besides there was no success in getting the private lenders to follow the DSSI. Global growth in 2020 had declined to (-) 4.4 percent and partial recovery projections stood at 5.2 percent for 2021.

#### The Rome Summit 2021

On October 30-31, 2021, Italy hosted the G20 Summit, at Rome. The Rome Declaration's priorities were outlined as People, Planet and Prosperity. Within these three inter-connected pillars, the Italian Presidency took the lead in

Evolving a swift international
 response to the pandemic – providing
 equitable and worldwide access
 to diagnostics, therapeutics and

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## A G20 plus Qatar "Extraordinary Leaders" Meeting on Afghanistan was held virtually to discuss the response to a looming humanitarian crisis in the country on October 12, 2021.

- vaccines while building up resilience to future related shocks.
- The G20 looked at rapid recovery beyond the crisis, towards reducing inequalities, women's empowerment, younger generations, protecting the most vulnerable by creating new jobs, social protection and food security.
- The third major pillar was sustained prosperity. A prosperous future that required proper harnessing of the main drivers of growth and innovation, bridging the digital divide and making digitalization an opportunity for all, improve productivity and in short leave no one behind.

The G20 Rome Summit was held in the backdrop of the global economy witnessing a sharp economic recovery.

G20 economies had initiated policy measures to provide direct fiscal support for vulnerable households – Brazil, Germany, Russia and USA extended unemployment

benefits, provided targeted support to

affected sectors and firms. Several G20 economies - Italy, South Africa and Spain did not have much fiscal space. They had to undertake structural reforms in tax structure reform, trade liberalization, active labor market policies to support a sustainable recovery. Additional resources and public investments were made in education and health sectors and for greater access to digital infrastructure and job creation.

In the run-up to the Rome Declaration, there were 20 Ministerial Declarations and Communiques starting with the G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting Communique, the G20 Joint Finance and Health Ministers Communique, G20 Tourism Ministers communique, the G20 Education Ministers Declaration, G20 Labor and Employment Ministers Declaration, G20 Environment Communique, G20 Digital Ministers Declaration and the G20 Trade Ministers Communique. A G20 plus Qatar "Extraordinary Leaders" Meeting on

The Rome Declaration commits the G20 to determinedly address the adverse consequences of the pandemic by avoiding any premature withdrawal of the support measures. The global financial safety net of the G20 would help vulnerable countries significantly.

13 THE ROME SUMMIT 2021

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The G20 Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) benefitted 50 countries and the G20 called on private creditors and bilateral creditors to provide debt treatment on similar lines as DSSI. These initiatives helped address unsustainable debt burdens and provide long term reserves to low income, emerging market and developing countries.

Afghanistan was held virtually to discuss the response to a looming humanitarian crisis in the country on October 12, 2021.

The Rome Declaration noted that global economic activity was recovering at a solid pace with the effective rollout of vaccines and continued policy **support.** However, the economic recovery is uneven across countries and G20 leadership is needed to provide funding for vaccines, diagnostics, therapeutics through the ACT accelerator and vaccines. The Rome Declaration commits the G20 to determinedly address the adverse consequences of the pandemic by avoiding any premature withdrawal of the support measures. The global financial safety net of the G20 would help vulnerable countries significantly.

The extension of the G20 Debt Service
Suspension Initiative (DSSI) to end 2021,
the G20 Common Framework for Treatment
of Debt beyond the DSSI and the USD 650
billion SDR allocation were significant
measures. The DSSI benefitted 50 countries
and the G20 called on private creditors
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treatment on similar lines as DSSI. These
initiatives helped address unsustainable
debt burdens and provide long term reserves

to low income, emerging market and developing countries.

On November 30, 2021, the Italian Presidency came to an end and the baton was picked up by Indonesia to lead the G20 economies.

The Italian Government which focused on People, Planet and Prosperity and worked for 12 months till the Leaders' summit convening 175 events, 20 ministerial meetings in various cities, 2 special meetings of G20 Leaders on Global Health and Afghanistan, 6 Sherpas' meetings, 62 working groups and 60 finance track meetings.

Italy's Prime Minister Mario Draghi said "The Summit was a success" adding that cooperation is essential on issues like climate, wealth and poverty. Prime Minister Draghi said "The form of cooperation we know best is multilateralism" and called the G20 members to act swiftly together. The Declaration reaffirmed the crucial role of multilateralism and international cooperation in overcoming multiple global challenges arising from the COVID-19 pandemic.

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There also exist G20 engagement groups like the Business 20, Civil Society 20, Labor 20, Think 20, and Youth 20 which contribute extensively to the G20 processes.

President Biden said he encountered a 'real eagerness' for American leadership in confronting global challenges during his meetings with world leaders. "We helped lead what happened here, The United States of America is the most critical part of this entire agenda, and we did it". The American President said there was "no substitute" for meeting in person and working through disagreements.

In conclusion, it can be said that the G20
Rome Summit was a success – consensus
was achieved on several issues, the global
minimum tax, setting up of a global body
to respond to future pandemics and a
global vaccination target of 40 percent
population by end 2021. Further the G20
enabled rallying the forces of future global
ecological protection.

### G20 – The Reform of Multilateral Institutions

Multilateralism in the G20 works through a number of international organizations including the United Nations, IMF, World Bank Group, OECD, WTO, ILO, FSB, and also exist G20 engagement groups like the Business 20, Civil Society 20, Labor 20, Think 20, and Youth 20 which contribute extensively to the G20 processes. Given the complex nature of the global policy challenges, multilateral institutions remain critically important in providing safety nets, emergency liquidity, preventing crisis from spreading and for progress in orderly debt restructuring.

### In 2022, there are ample signs of a slowdown in the globalization efforts.

The world has witnessed the tragic humanitarian crisis in Eastern Europe as a consequence to the war in Ukraine, the western sanctions against Russia, wideranging lockdowns in China including in key manufacturing hubs all of which have severely impacted the global economy. Multilateral cooperation has thus far not proved successful in peaceful resolution of the war. There also remain challenges in securing worldwide access to the COVID-19 tools – tests, therapies and vaccines – to contain the coronavirus pandemic.

In the past, G20 has witnessed several major successes in multilateralism and there is optimism that renewed multilateralism efforts can succeed.

It is in this context, the G20's efforts for Reforms in Multilateral Institutions need to be examined.

In the past, G20 has witnessed several major successes in multilateralism and there is optimism that renewed multilateralism efforts can succeed:

- In 2008, in the backdrop of the Global Economic Crisis and the European Crisis, the G20's focus was on enhanced surveillance of the world economy through the IMF and stronger financial sector regulation through the Financial Stability Board.
- In 2015, the G20 led the IMF Quota and Governance reform to reflect the shares of dynamic economies in line with their relative positions in the world economy. Paris Club, the principal international forum for restructuring official bilateral debt, was expanded to include Korea, Brazil and China.
- In 2017, the Leaders of the G20 took note of the decision of the United States to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. Despite the United States withdrawal, the Leaders of the G20 stated that Paris Agreement was irreversible. "Investing in Climate, Investing in Growth" was the line of the G20 as it adopted the Hamburg G20 Climate and Energy Action Plan for Growth.

For 2022, there is commitment for (a)

continued process of IMF governance
reform under the 16th General Review
of Quotas by December 2023 and (b)

Resilience and Sustainability Trust
received financial commitments of USD
40 billion from 12 countries including
China and Saudi Arabia.

The WTO's 12th Ministerial Conference (MC12) took place from June 12-17, 2022 at Geneva. The Geneva package has given a new life to the WTO. Consensus reached at the MC12 WTO Ministerial Meeting in securing agreements on relaxing patent regulations to secure vaccine equity, ensuring food security, subsidies to fisheries sector and establishing moratorium relevant to e-commerce would continue to be relevant. The current moratorium on not imposing customs duties electronic transmissions (ET's) would come up for review in 2023.

The Financial Stability Board has made considerable progress in its multi-year program on enhancing the resilience of the non-banking financial intermediation and addressing the challenges in crossborder payments. A Steering Group has been setup to take this work forward.

The World Health Organization has formulated 10 recommendations for a stronger WHO. Amongst the recommendations is the creation of a Financial Intermediary Fund (FIF) to support countries against epidemics and pandemics. The FIF moneys would be used to address critical gaps in disease surveillance, laboratory systems, health workforce, emergency communication and management and community engagement. The other areas of work include a new platform for rapid development of

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The Indonesian Presidency has said that the world is in need of more collective action and inclusive collaboration amongst the major developed countries and emerging economies.

and equitable access to vaccines, tests, treatments and expanding local production in all regions of the world.

The International Labour Organization has continued its ongoing work on Women at Work in G20 Countries with focus on increasing women's participation in labour markets, improving the quality of women's earnings, improving women's labour market security and improving working conditions.

### The Indonesian Presidency

The G20 Indonesian Presidency is based on the theme, Recover Together – Recover Stronger. The Indonesian Presidency has said that the world is in need of more collective action and inclusive collaboration amongst the major developed countries and emerging economies.

The priority issues for the Indonesian
Presidency are Global Health

### Architecture, Digital Transformation and Sustainable Energy Transition. The

Presidency will conclude with the Bali Summit scheduled for 15-16th November 2022. The Indonesian Presidency has planned through the Sherpa tracks, 11 Working Groups, 1 initiative group and 10 engagement groups meets to discuss and provide recommendations on the G20 agenda and priorities.

The 11 working groups cover Agriculture,
Digital Economy, Education, Employment,
Tourism, Development, Energy Transition,
Environment and Climate Sustainability,
Trade, Investment and Industry, AntiCorruption, Health, Joint Finance and
Health Task Force and EMPOWER Initiative
and Women Empowerment. The Finance
track is discussing 6 priority areas

coordination of exit strategies, scarring
effects, strengthening payment systems,
development of sustainable finance,
improvement inclusive financial system and
international taxation agenda.

At the G20 Extraordinary Summit on Afghanistan in October 2021,

Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi called on the international community
to provide Afghanistan with 'immediate and unhindered access to
humanitarian assistance'

Prime Minister Modi has addressed the G20 Summit meetings from 2014-21 on a range of issues. Prime Minister Modi has attended an average of 25 meetings in each of the eight G20 Summit meetings he has attended.

### The Indian Presidency

India will host the G20 summit in 2023 at New Delhi. The following key issues have been flagged by the Indian leadership in G20 for a in 2021:

- At the G20 leaders meet in response to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees report and appeal for funds for Afghanistan, on October 13, 2021, Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi called on the international community to provide Afghanistan with 'immediate and unhindered access to humanitarian assistance' indicating India's willingness to work with international aid agencies that are working with displaced Afghans, particularly the one million children at the risk of starvation, in this 'make or break' moment for Afghan people.
- At the G20 Finance Ministers meeting in Washington DC on October 14, 2021, Finance Minister Smt. Nirmala Sitaraman said that ensuring

India's concerns on black money and tax avoidance have been taken on-board at the G20.

- equitable access to COVID-19 vaccines for all is crucial for transitioning from a crisis to recovery and the proposed global tax deal will help address the challenges posed by digitalization of economy. India supported the 'Framework on Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS)', that requires all jurisdictions to impose a 15 percent tax on multinational enterprises.
- At the G20 Trade Ministers met in Sorrento, Italy on October 12, 2021, Commerce and Industries Minister Shri Piyush Goyal put forth India's position for actively resolving new trade barriers like vaccine differentiations or COVID passports, which impose mobility restrictions and the movement of personnel needed for delivering critical services. Commerce Minister also offered e-Sanjeevani, India's telemedicine initiative to the entire world.

### Prime Minister Modi at G20 Summit Meetings

Prime Minister Modi has addressed the G20 Summit meetings from 2014-21 on a range of issues. Prime Minister Modi has attended an average of 25 meetings in each of the eight G20 Summit meetings he has

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Prime Minister Modi called upon the G20 to align its efforts with the UN Sustainable Development Goals, particularly the goal of elimination of all poverty by 2030.

attended. These include bilateral meetings, pull-aside engagements, meetings of the RIC, the JAI and BRICS groupings. He discussed a number of global challenges such as climate change and its impact, the balance between the needs for speed and national security with 5-G networks being introduced, as well as fight against technology-driven terrorism. Prime Minister Modi has led the G20 for more effective dealings with its original purpose of promoting sustainable growth and financial stability.

In the Brisbane G20 Summit in 2014,
Prime Minister Modi made a strong pitch
against black money. India said that there
were many rigidities in the international
tax laws and the past tax treaties also do
not facilitate easy exchange of information.
Prime Minister Modi built consensus in
the G20 for inclusion of a clause in the
Communique that would make it difficult
for tax havens to give complete tax
exemption to companies.

India's concerns on black money and tax avoidance have been taken on-board at the G20. The G20 Communique said that

'we endorse the finalized common reporting standard for automatic exchange of tax information on a reciprocal basis which will provide a step-change in our ability to tackle and deter cross-border tax evasion. We will begin exchanging information automatically between each other and with other countries by 2017 or end 2018' said the G20 communique. The development assumed significance in case of India as it was facing difficulties in getting information on cases of suspected tax evasion from other countries especially Switzerland.

by Switzerland and also Mauritius with which India had worked to revise the bilateral treaty due to concerns of money laundering. The exchange of information with a confidentiality clause would allow governments to obtain detailed account information from their financial institutions on an annual basis. The G20 endorsed the global common reporting standard for automatic exchange of tax information on a reciprocal basis committing itself to 'transparency of tax payer-specific rulings found to construe harmful tax practices.'

Prime Minister Modi said terrorism is the principal global challenge and there are countries that use terrorism as an instrument of state policy.

At the Osaka Summit, Prime Minister Modi presented the '5-l' vision to maximize digital technology for social benefit. The '5-l's - Inclusiveness, Indigenization, Innovation, Investment in infrastructure & International cooperation.

Prime Minister Modi called on the multilateral development banks to enlarge their capital base and support infrastructure needs of developing countries. He welcomed the new multilateral financing institutions like New Development Bank. Prime Minister Modi called upon the G20 to align its efforts with the UN Sustainable Development Goals, particularly the goal of elimination of all poverty by 2030.

Prime Minister Modi called on G20 to promote transparency and integrity citing India's zero tolerance policy on corruption and black money. Greater international cooperation for return of illicit money to the country of origin, addressing the barriers of excessive banking secrecy and effective counter terrorism financing tools.

Prime Minister Modi supported a liberalized multilateral trade regime ahead of regional trade agreements. He also called for increase in labor mobility and skill portability. For clean energy, he said India had set itself a goal of 175 GW of renewable energy by 2022, cut back on subsidies on fossil fuel and imposed carbon cess on coal, while working on clean coal technology. India had set itself a target of 40 percent of energy through non-fossil fuel. Prime Minister Modi called for increase

in research and development in clean and renewable energy, reduction in cost, and universal access through technology transfer and financial support.

Prime Minister Modi said terrorism is the principal global challenge and there are countries that use terrorism as an instrument of state policy. He called for a comprehensive global framework for security to combat terrorism, urging the world to speak in one voice and act in unison against terrorism without any political considerations isolating those who support and sponsor terrorism.

Comprehensive Convention on
International Terrorism by restructuring the international legal framework to deal with the challenges of terrorism. All efforts must be made to prevent supply of arms to terrorists, disrupt terrorist movements and curb and criminalize terrorist financing. Global cooperation in securing cyber space and minimizing the use of internet and social media for terrorist activities was recommended.

Prime Minister Modi presented the
9-point agenda on fugitive economic
offenders seeking global cooperation
to comprehensively deal with fugitive
economic offenders. Cooperation in legal

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India's initiative for Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure will help in the development of appropriate infrastructure to face natural calamities by the least developed and developing countries. Prime Minister Modi exhorted all Nations to join this coalition.

processes such as freezing of the proceeds of crime, early return of the offenders and efficient treatment of the proceed of crime should be enhanced and streamlined. India also called for joint efforts by the G20 countries to form a mechanism that denies entry and safe havens to fugitive economic offenders.

India suggested that the Financial Action
Task Force (FATF) should be called
upon to ensure exchange of information

between financial intelligence units and setting up of a common platform for sharing experiences and best practices including successful cases of extradition, gaps in existing systems of extradition and legal assistance. It said the G20 forum should consider initiating work on locating properties of economic offenders who have a tax debt in the country of their residence for its recovery.

The BRICS Leaders informal meetings have become a part of the G20 Summit

meetings and Prime Minister Modi addressed BRICS Leaders in each of these meetings. Prime Minister suggested 'Reformed Multilateralism' in the BRICS meetings.

At the Osaka Summit, Prime Minister
Modi presented the '5-I' vision to
maximize digital technology for
social benefit. The '5-I' s-Inclusiveness,
Indigenization, Innovation, Investment
in infrastructure & International
cooperation. He said 'in the next 5 years,
our target is to make India a five-trillion
dollar economy. Social sector remains
our top priority. Also we will focus more
on infrastructure development especially
digital infrastructure.'

At the BRICS Leaders meeting on the margins of the Osaka G20 Summit, Prime Minister Modi focused on three major challenges – recession and uncertainty in the world economy, one-sided decision and rivalry dominating over rules-based multilateral international trading systems

At the Rome Summit, Prime Minister Modi put forward India's vision of 'One Earth-One Health' for the world to deal with such crisis in future. He spoke of India's role as the pharmacy to the world delivering medicines to 150 countries of the world during the pandemic.

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## At the session on Sustainable Development, Prime Minister Modi gave great importance to SDGs in post recovery period particularly in LDCs and African countries.

and making development and progress inclusive and sustainable.

India's initiative for Coalition for Disaster
Resilient Infrastructure will help in the
development of appropriate infrastructure
to face natural calamities by the least
developed and developing countries. Prime
Minister Modi exhorted all Nations to join
this coalition. Prime Minister Modi also
called for a Global Conference on Terrorism.

Prime Minister Modi chaired the informal summit of 'Russia-India-China' (RIC) leaders on the margins of G20 Osaka Summit 2019. A similar trilateral was held on the margins of the Buenos Aires G20 Summit also. The 3 Nations, discussed enhancing cooperation in international fora, reform and strengthening of multilateral institutions that had benefited the world including the United Nations, WTO and established global financial institutions.

At the Buenos Aires Summit, Prime
Minister Modi attended a trilateral
of the 'Japan-America-India' (JAI), a
close partnership that is aimed towards
realizing a free and open Indo-Pacific, in
which the 3 Nations shared their views on
progressing a free, open, conclusive and
rule-based order in the Indo-Pacific region
based on respect for international law and
peaceful resolution of all differences. India's
participation in JAI and RIC represented

Prime Minister Modi's astute management of the major power relations over years.

Modi called for a post Coronavirus

world that comprises of four elements —
creation of a vast talent pool, ensuring that
technology reaches all segments of society,
transparency in systems of governance,
and dealing with Mother Earth with a
spirit of trusteeship. Prime Minister Modi
said that based on this, the G20 can lay the
foundation for the new world. Further Prime
Minister Modi focused on Multi-Skilling
and Re-Skilling to create a vast human
talent pool.

At the Rome Summit, Prime Minister Modi put forward India's vision of 'One Earth-One Health' for the world to deal with such crisis in future, spoke of India's role as the pharmacy to the world delivering medicines to 150 countries of the world. Prime Minister Modi committed India's seriousness in meeting global obligations with the manufacture of more than 5 billion vaccine doses over the next year which will go a long way in preventing the global transmission of corona. India's IT-BPO sector working round the clock to support whole world without disruption by bringing work from anywhere norms, and extended support for the 15 percent global corporate tax rate for a fairer global financial architecture.

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At the session on Climate Change and Environment, Prime Minister Modi expressed full sensitivity towards climate **mitigation**. He further cited the neglect of climate finance by developed countries and said that without concrete progress on climate finance, pressurizing the developing countries for climate action is unjust. He suggested developed countries make available one percent of their GDP to finance green projects in developing countries as part of the 'clean energy projects fund'. He also urged the G20 countries to create an institution of global standards in the field of green hydrogen to encourage its production and use.

Development, Prime Minister Modi gave great importance to SDGs in post recovery period particularly in LDCs and African countries. He said that India's development journey can offer many templates to other developing countries in digital connectivity, financial inclusion and immunization of children, expressing willingness to share India's digital solutions as open source available to entire humanity. He further emphasized the in the first year of 'Decade of Action' it is the G20's shared responsibility to extend benefits of global recovery to all countries.

### Conclusion

The G20 Indian Presidency would be one of the most significant milestone moments of Indian democracy. It is widely felt that in times when there is a crisis of multilateralism, India has the responsibility for bringing stability to a deeply divided multipolar world and crafting broader global responses to the challenges. The theme of the Indian Presidency would be announced in November 2022. The agenda for the Indian Presidency can be drawn from the communiques of the Riyadh, Rome and forthcoming Jakarta summits.

The IMF has said that the following Instruments of financing remain relevant as debt challenges are pressing and the need for action continues to exist. The DSSI and CCRT has lapsed end 2021, and G20 is yet to reach a consensus on their continuation.

- The DSSI and the Common Framework are important instruments for debt relief, and efforts should be made to continue to operationalize them.
- The Catastrophe Containment Relief Trust grants for debt service relief to be strengthened through a coordination approach for fund raising. However, the Trust has scarce resources after the sanctions of the 5th tranche and creditors are reluctant to extend the timelines.
- The Resilience and Sustainability Trust which has commenced operations from May 1, 2022 needs to be continued as an important source of financing for middle income countries under debt stress.
- The Fund's existing instrument of Poverty Reduction and Growth Trust (PRGT) would continue to be relevant in the context of heavily indebted poor countries.
- The WHO has said the following instruments would need to be pursued:
- The coronavirus continues to witness new waves and the ACT-Accelerator to ensure equitable distribution of health tools would continue to need world finance.

It is widely felt that in times when there is a crisis of multilateralism, India has the responsibility for bringing stability to a deeply divided multipolar world and crafting broader global responses to the challenges.

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Prime Minister Modi on India's G20 Presidency: "The G20 is a unique opportunity to showcase to the world that India is not just confined to Delhi, but includes every State and Union Territory."

• The Financial Intermediary Fund for pandemic prevention and response hosted by the World Bank to be truly inclusive and universally accessible.

From India's perspective the focus would be on:

- IMF Quota and Governance as also that of other IFI's.
- The issues of climate financing, digital assets and capital flows which are likely to continue to feature in the G20 agenda.
- There also exists an extraordinarily challenging macroeconomic environment. Nearly 60 percent of the Low-Income Countries are facing an unbearable debt burden. It is likely that the G20 will come together to establish new rules and timelines for the common framework.
- The G20 must continue to fight the crisis of climate change and send clear signals to decarbonize the economy.
- Lastly, G20 must do everything in its power to keep inflation in range, to protect the living standards for vulnerable people.

Let me conclude by quoting Prime Minister Modi on India's G20 Presidency: "The G20 is a unique opportunity to showcase to the world that India is not just confined to Delhi, but includes every State and Union Territory."

Over 190 meetings have been planned under the G20@2023 Indian Presidency. It is a challenging and exciting policy endeavour.

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#### The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA)

was established in 1943 by a group of eminent intellectuals led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. H.N. Kunzru. Its principal objective was to create an Indian perspective on international relations and act as a repository of knowledge and thinking on foreign policy issues. The Council today conducts policy research through an in-house faculty as well as through external experts. It regularly organizes an array of intellectual activities including conferences, seminars, roundtable discussions, lectures and brings out a range of publications. It has a well-stocked library, an active website, and publishes the journal India Quarterly. ICWA has over 50 MoUs with international think tanks and research institutions to promote better understanding on international issues and develop areas of mutual cooperation. The Council also has partnerships with leading research institutions, think tanks and universities in India.

