

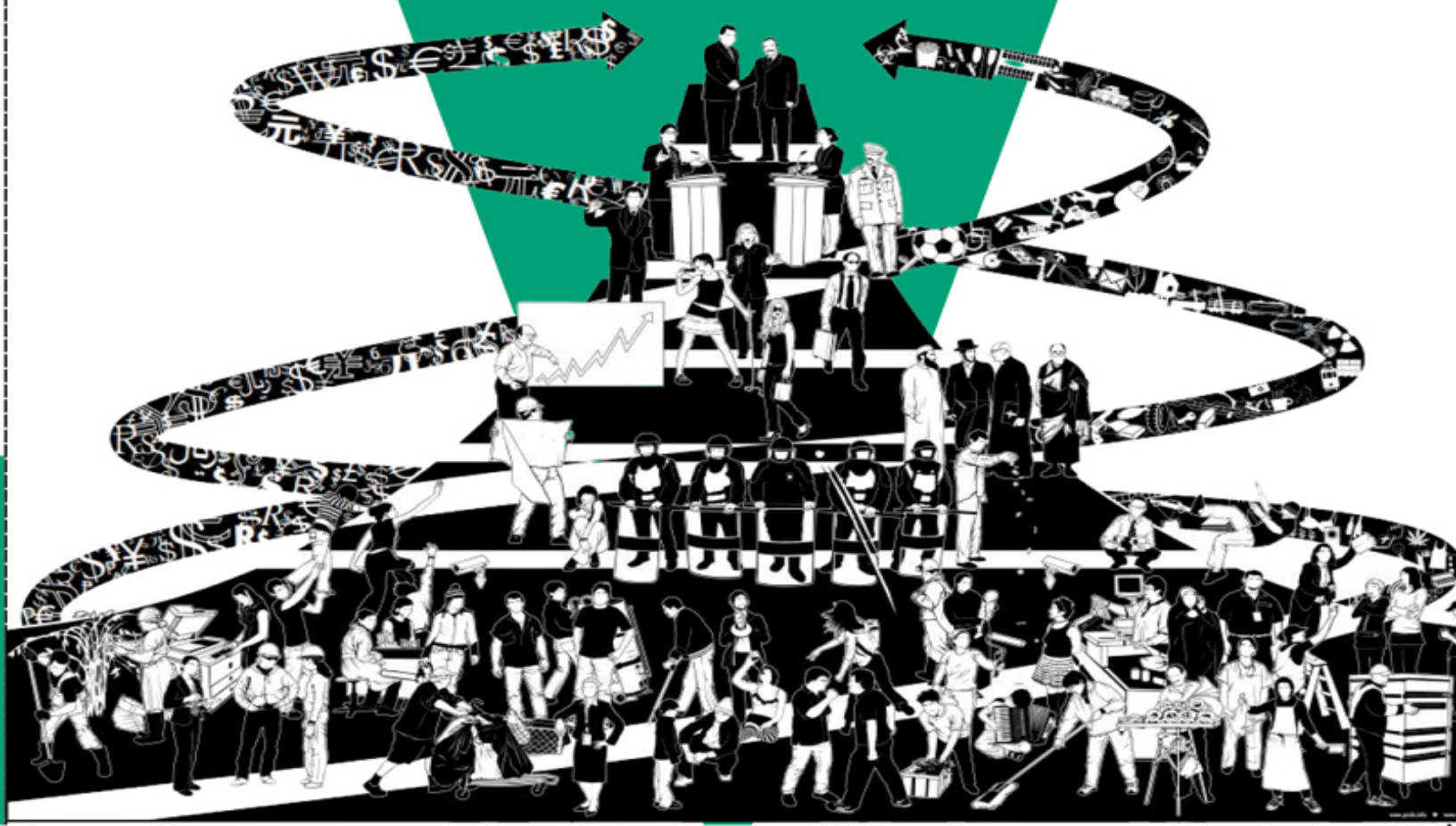
INDIA & THE G20

Legacy & Prospects
for Multilateralism
amidst a Polycrisis

Edited by
Sonal Raghuvanshi

Foreword by
Prabhat Patnaik

Afterword by
Patrick Bond



India and the G20: Legacy and Prospects for Multilateralism Amidst a Polycrisis





YODA PRESS
79 Gulmohar Enclave
New Delhi 110 049
www.yodapress.co.in



**India and the G20: Legacy and Prospects for
Multilateralism Amidst a Polycrisis**

ISBN 978-93-82579-20-5

Part of this publication can be shared, distributed, displayed, remixed and built upon the material for non-commercial purposes only, provided that the users acknowledge and cite the original source. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to YODA PRESS at the address above.

Edited by Sonal Raghuvanshi

Illustrated by Soumik Lahiri

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

Database rights reserved with YODA PRESS (maker)

Cover art is the copyright of prole.info

Cover design by Anirban Bhattacharya

This publication has been prepared by the Centre for Financial Accountability with the support of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Regional Office, New Delhi. The views and analysis contained in the publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the foundation.



HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
REGIONAL OFFICE NEW DELHI

Editors in charge: Ishita Gupta, Neha Madhusudan and Arpita Das

Typeset in Minion Pro, 10/12

By MSourcing

Published by Arpita Das for YODA PRESS

First edition published in 2022, Second edition in 2023

Printed in India

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
Foreword.....	ix
Preface.....	xiii
1. Digitization at the G20 and Beyond <i>Anushka M.</i>	1
2. Platform-mediated Finance: Summary of Attendant Risks and Policy Responses <i>Beni Chugh</i>	21
3. Financial Inclusion and SDGs in G20: Accelerating Entrepreneurship and Creating Jobs in Post-Pandemic Economic Recovery <i>Prativa Shaw</i>	43
4. G20 and Social Security in Times of Rising Inequalities <i>Aditi Anand and Anirban Bhattacharya</i>	63
5. Transformative Financing for Gender Equality and Gender Responsive Budgeting <i>Vibhuti Patel</i>	83
6. Exploring the Migration Policies and Dependency Patterns among G20 Nations: From Global Financial Crisis to Global COVID-19 Crisis <i>Elizabeth Edison</i>	109
7. The G20 Agriculture Policy, Food Systems and Global Supply Chains: The Answer to India's Food Security and Farmers' Livelihood Security? <i>Sagari R. Ramdas</i>	129
8. Climate Crisis and G20 Emissions Reductions: The Critical Connection <i>Soumya Dutta</i>	165
9. G20 and Critical Maritime Infrastructure: A Framework towards Dialogue on Safety and Governance <i>Dokku Nagamalleswara Rao, Dr. Manoj Babu Buraga and Kiran G. S. K.</i>	187
Afterword	217
Contributors.....	233

Acknowledgement

This book is an endeavor of the Centre for Financial Accountability and has come to fruition because of the support of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Regional Office, New Delhi.

We are grateful to all the research fellows and authors featured in this book for their valuable analysis. We thank them for their engagement and patience despite the constraints and immediacies of the COVID-19 health emergency. We would also like to thank the 20 anonymous reviewers for taking the time and effort necessary to review the manuscript. We sincerely appreciate all valuable comments and suggestions, which helped us to improve the quality of the manuscript. We would also like to commend Soumik Lahiri for wonderfully illustrating all the essays.

We would also like to thank Professor Prahbat Patnaik and Professor Patrick Bond for their constant guidance and authoring the foreword and afterword, respectively. The research fellowship and the book has greatly benefited from the conversations with Joe Athialy and Anuradha Munshi and their unwavering support.

We are also grateful towards our publisher, Yoda Press for materializing this. We particularly thank Ishita Gupta and Arpita Das for believing in the project and navigating the course towards the publication and Neha Madhusudan for the copy-edits. Special thanks to prole.info for the cover art and Anirban Bhattacharya for cover design.

We would finally like to thank Sonal Raghuvanshi who not only edited this book but also coordinated the research fellowship. We acknowledge her for patiently following up with each author at all stages, as well as liaising with Yoda Press.

Centre for Financial Accountability

Foreword

India's assumption of the Presidency of the G20 opens up immense possibilities for a democratic intervention in world economic affairs. What such an intervention should look like is discussed in the various papers brought together in this volume.

India's Presidency is also occurring at a crucial moment in the history of the world economy. Inflation is currently raging everywhere, even in the advanced capitalist world, including the United States which has substantially raised its interest rates. The Federal Reserve Board has increased the Federal Funds Rate from 0.25 per cent on March 1, 2022, to as much as 4 per cent by the first week of November 2022; some expect it to be raised even higher, to a whopping 6 per cent in the near future.

This increase in rates has led to a flight of finance from the rest of the world to the US, notwithstanding the fact that other countries too have raised their interest rates along with the US, and because of this inflow of finance into the US, the dollar has appreciated vis-à-vis virtually all major currencies of the capitalist world with the exception of the Russian rouble. India for instance has not only raised its interest rates substantially to match the increase in US rates, but has even run down its foreign exchange reserves by over USD100 billion, or nearly a sixth of its total reserves, between March 1 and end-October; yet it has been unable to prevent a substantial depreciation of the rupee, by more than 10 per cent over this period.

There has been a good deal of discussion on the prospects of a global recession arising from this pervasive increase in interest rates, and the mass unemployment that this would give rise to. The generation of such mass unemployment however should cause no surprise, for unemployment is the main weapon that capitalism uses against inflation, as it both reduces excess demand pressures and also weakens the bargaining strength of the workers, because of which they are unable to defend themselves and thereby bring inflation to a halt.

For the third world, however, there is an additional danger looming large, namely, the near impossibility of servicing its current external debt. The hardships to the people that this can cause is illustrated by the example of Sri Lanka which till the other day was considered a 'middle income country'. Therefore, for a large swathe of countries across the world, there is a real danger of their drowning under the burden of external debt.

Preface

The beginning of this book can be traced back to the G20 Research Fellowship launched by the Centre for Financial Accountability in 2021. For what was an early start to a critical examination of the G20 framework, and more specifically, India's Presidency of the G20, the compendium has come a long way. The aim of the fellowship was to bring together researchers representing different disciplines and methodological approaches. The final cohort came out to be a vibrant mix of voices including senior academics, trade unionists, activists, and young research scholars who try to look at India's G20 Presidency from a people's perspective. This book is a compilation of select manuscripts prepared during the term of the fellowship.

Policy choices made by governments and international institutions throughout the last few years have fallen woefully short of protecting people from the impact of multiple crises. Eruption of proxy wars, spiraling inflation, sky-rocketing energy bills and fuel prices, severity of sovereign debt, the struggle with actual resources, and the hoarding of critical technology while the viral pandemic was swallowing the world whole spelled disaster for so many across the world, and continues to do so even now. And especially as central banks tighten monetary policy, several of the climate-vulnerable, lower income countries are already facing a series of financial shocks and are on the edge of a financial abyss.

While the existing mess, semi-paralysis and inaction in the official G20 summits might hold the ground as the leaders show very little imagination and commitment, clearly, the idea would still be to put together broken pieces and further push timelines for action. This situation, however, is neither desirable nor sustainable for we are nearing a crisis of an unimaginable scale on multiple fronts. It goes without saying that India's G20 Presidency in 2023 is occurring at a crucial moment in the history of the world economy; it is important to ask as to what India's role would be sitting on this high table. More so is the need for research and advocacy that is not afraid of asking the difficult questions or presenting analysis that might not necessarily be comfortable to the mainstream narratives. All the papers in this book attempt to provide a much needed grounded analysis of the G20 framework by focusing on particular sectors and issues. Given the diversity of voices, some papers in this collection also provide valuable insights into why and how progressive and radical movements participate in a process that they do not recognize as legitimate in the first place.

Credits are due to all the authors, the illustrator and all the reviewers and experts for helping us bring out the book with so much grace. We hope that such a review of issues acts as a great reference material for students, academics, researchers

India and the G20: Legacy and Prospects for Multilateralism Amidst a Polycrisis

and activists alike, in both India and abroad. And even when they do not agree with the views articulated in this collation, we hope that they would, nonetheless, find it useful for organizing their own thoughts.

This book is our sincere attempt to urge the international community to address the confluence of economic and environmental disasters ravaging the third world and rise up to the challenge of assessing and taking steps to prevent it.

Sonal Raghuvanshi
New Delhi, 2023

Afterword

India's Non-Substantive G20 Hosting During a Global Leadership Void

By Patrick Bond

With 80 per cent of global GDP, 75 per cent of world trade, 60 per cent of the people and just over half the world's land, the G20 group remains the world's premier elite club of state leaders and multilateral officials. But the body has degenerated: steadily since peak power in 2009, rapidly since the 2014 conflict between Russia and the West over Ukraine, and spectacularly since Vladimir Putin's 2022 invasion of Ukraine. So, when India hosts the G20 in 2023, especially at Narendra Modi's heads-of-state summit in New Delhi on September 9–10, there are sure to be further frictions and even, potentially, a fatal splintering.

As just one reflection of the difficulties Modi will face, consider how in the eight months before the Bali G20 in November 2022, the massive local and global costs of Putin's latest invasion of Ukraine could simply not be mitigated. Notwithstanding energetic diplomatic efforts by the Indonesian host, President Joko Widodo, there were no prospects for peace (Al Jazeera, 2022). After Putin's September losses of substantial ground that his army had taken in the country's northeast during the March offensive, he used October–November to wreck most of Ukraine's electricity and drinking water systems in time for a brutal winter—and then skipped an uncomfortable face-to-face confrontation with his Western counterparts at the G20, rendering the body irrelevant in addressing the most immediate crisis of the day.

The Indian G20 summit will (likely) follow the 2023 BRICS+ meeting in South Africa. (At the time of writing, there was no announcement on the latter's date.) There, assuming host President Cyril Ramaphosa survives impeachment proceedings begun in December 2022, he and foreign minister Naledi Pandor are anxious to continue building up their own substantial international influence, which is already by far the greatest within Africa. Only African Union 2022 chairperson Macky Sall and Rwandan dictator Paul Kagame (both guests at Bali) come close. Ramaphosa's personal petty corruption—associated with cash held at a residence—pales next to the massive illicit financial flows he facilitated in the business sector (Bond, 2018). But if he manages to hold on to power in bruising intra-party conflicts, his second (2024–29) term in office promises even greater international stature.

Contributors

Sonal Raghuvanshi is a heterodox political economist and is currently working and helping build the New Political Economy Initiative at the Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay. Her research is broadly centered around the role of finance in development, macroeconomic policy in developing economies, structural explanations for global inequalities, and the political economy of development and climate change. She is also a Research and Strategy lead at Economist for Future International and has been engaged in critically assessing the economics discipline and advocating for curriculum change with the Rethinking Economics Network.

Soumik Lahiri is an Art Director, Graphic Designer and Illustrator who has worked with popular publications such as *National Geographic Traveller* and *Conde Nast Traveller India*. He began his design journey at a socio-political journal called *Kindle*, in Calcutta, where he established himself as an editorial designer and illustrator with a keen sensibility towards design in journalism. He has also designed and art-directed a political strategy board game, *Shasn*. He collaborates extensively with writers, filmmakers, editors, video content creators, motion graphic artists, production designers, product designers and game designers. The cross pollination of ideas and mediums in storytelling is what intrigues him the most. His work can be found on his website www.soumiklahiridesign.com and under the Instagram handle 'lahiri_moshai'.

Prabhat Patnaik is an Indian Marxist economist and political commentator. He taught at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning in the School of Social Sciences at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, from 1974, until his retirement in 2010. He was also the Vice-Chairman of the Kerala State Planning Board (2006–2011) and was part of a four-member high-power task force of the United Nations to recommend reform measures for the global financial system along with Joseph Stiglitz, Francois Houtart and Pedro Paez.

Patrick Bond is a political economist, political ecologist and scholar of social mobilization. Currently a professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Johannesburg in South Africa, he has also served as a Professor at the Western Cape School of Government (2020-21) and was a Distinguished Professor of Political Economy at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Governance (2015-2019). His publications covering global geopolitics include, *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*, *Against*

Global Apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and international finance, Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's frustrated global reforms, Politics of Climate Justice: Paralysis above, movement below and BRICS: An anti-capitalist critique. He works closely with anti-privatisation movements in South African and African environment, labour, social and community movements.

Anushka M. is a lawyer by qualification. She has also pursued the Master's in Social Science of the Internet. She is interested in the political economy of technology and its use in developing countries.

Vibhuti Patel has retired as a professor from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and SNDT Women's University, Mumbai. Her areas of specialization have been Gender Economics, Women's Studies, Human Rights and Social Movements. She has authored *Women's Challenges of the New Millennium* (2002), co-authored *Reaching for Half the Sky* (1985), *Indian Women Change and Challenge* (1985) and *Status Report for ICSSR- Critical Evaluation of Women's Studies Research during 1947-1988* (1989). She has edited two books, namely, *Discourse on Women and Empowerment* (2009), and *Girls and Girlhoods at the Threshold of Youth and Gender* (2010). She is a co-editor of a series of 15 volumes, including *Empowering Women Worldwide* by The Women Press, Delhi and *Gendered Inequalities in Paid and Unpaid Work of Women in India* by Springer (2022). Over the last four decades, her work has focused on issues of intersectionality—where gender, development and social justice meet.

Prativa Shaw is an economist with research interests in Sustainable Development, International Trade & Investment and Regional Cooperation. She has worked with the Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi and PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi. In 2018-19, she was chosen for the prestigious fellowship, IDE-JETRO-IDEAS, under the Institute of Developing Economics and Japan External Trade Organisation, Japan, and completed her diploma in International Studies.

2030 Agenda and India: Moving from Quantity to Quality - Exploring Convergence and Transcendence, a book she has co-edited and co-authored, was published by the Springer book series, South Asia Economic and Policy Studies.

Elizabeth Edison has completed her Master's degree in Development and Labour Studies from the Centre for Informal Sector and Labour Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her research in-

terests include understanding development paradigms, gender, and migration studies. Her latest publication looks into home based work within the larger capitalist circuit.

Dokku Nagamalleswara Rao is a Research Assistant at the Center for Land and Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and a Doctoral Fellow (Ph.D.) at Shandong University, P.R. China. Rao has obtained his M.Phil. in the Chinese Studies Division from the Centre for East Asian Studies (CEAS), School of International Studies (SIS), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU); his Masters in Politics and International Relations, and his PG Diploma in Human Rights from Pondicherry University. Rao has also worked as a Research Intern with the Chennai Center for China Studies (C3S).

Dr. Manoj Babu Buraga is an Associate Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi and former Research Fellow, at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland and Université of Paris 13, France. He received his PhD in Politics and International Relations with a specialization in European Studies from Pondicherry University. His current research focuses on EU-India Maritime Security, India-France in the Indo-Pacific, and Minilateralism in the Indo-Pacific.

Kiran G. S. K. is a Doctoral student at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Guwahati. He is a Junior Research Fellowship recipient from the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD). He pursued his M.Phil. from the Indian Institute of Technology, Hyderabad and his Masters from the Centre for South Asian Studies (SAF), Pondicherry University. At IIT Guwahati, Kiran's research mainly focuses on maritime security, maritime capacity-building measures, and sub-regional studies.

Beni Chugh manages the research at the Future of Finance Initiative (Dvara Research). Her work focuses on identifying systemic stability and consumer protection concerns in digital finance. Beni also studies digitisation of social protection, to identify vulnerabilities for marginalized citizens. At the initiative, her work also focuses on designing and implementing citizen centric, digital social protection delivery platforms.

Sagari R. Ramdas is a veterinary scientist, a member of the Food Sovereignty Alliance, India, and is learning to be an agro-ecological food-farmer. She is a Popular Educator at the Kudali Learning Centre in Telangana, India, where she designs and facilitates transformative

popular education processes on Social justice, Food Sovereignty and Buen Vivir, with Bahujan (Dalit-OBC-Muslim) and Adivasi youth and women. Through the alliance, she works closely with landless small and marginal farming communities, by organizing for food sovereignty. She writes on her interests concerning social justice, food sovereignty, livestock and ecological governance. She is an Honorary Research Fellow at the Centre for Agroecology, Water and Resilience (CAWR), Coventry University, UK. She is a founder and former director of Anthra, an organization of women veterinary scientists.

Aditi Anand is a policy researcher with work focused on how to make governance structures more inclusive for vulnerable communities. She is currently the National Coordinator of Wada Na Todo Abhiyan (WNTA), where she engages with several multiple-stakeholder approaches at the national and global level to enhance the relevance of Sustainable Development Goals for vulnerable communities and uphold the 'Leave No One Behind' agenda.

Anirban Bhattacharya is a researcher, activist and political commentator. He did his PhD on Labour History from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Presently, he is the Team Lead, National Finance at the Centre for Financial Accountability, New Delhi.

Soumya Dutta is an educator, author and activist working on Climate, Energy & related ecological issues. He has written extensively, has been involved with training large numbers of activists, teachers and students and has given lectures in universities across the globe on these issues. Soumya Dutta has spoken in many UNFCCC and SDG side events, and has analysed and intervened in several state plans on Climate Change. Soumya has also engaged-written-spoken on development finance issues. He has also written extensively on and trained over 1000 high school science teachers on innovative science teaching and low cost research methodologies.