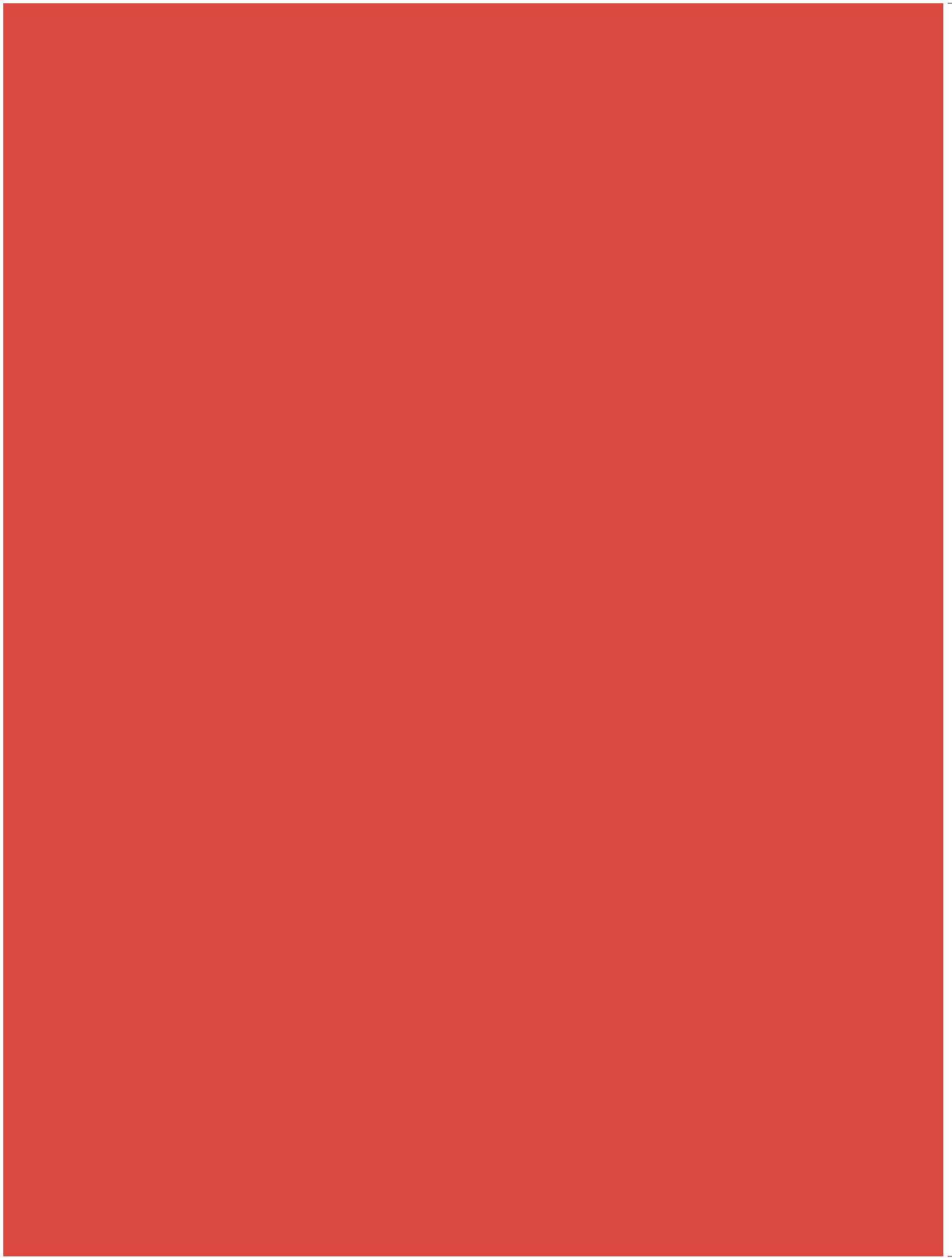


BROOKINGS INDIA

ANNUAL
REPORT

2016-17





Quality.
Independence.
Impact.



Who We Are

The Brookings Institution India Center is a non-profit public policy organisation based in New Delhi, India. Our work is centred on the motto, “Quality, Independence, Impact”.

Scholars at Brookings India work on several domains including Development and Governance, Foreign Policy, and Energy and Sustainability.

Brookings India is organically linked to the Washington, D.C.-based Brookings Institution, the oldest independent think tank in the world, also ranked the number one think-tank in the world for nine consecutive years.

Brookings India gains phenomenally from the Brookings Institution’s unique brand of providing high quality research, an extensive network with policymakers and media across the world, an exceptional convening power, and a global reach.

Brookings India builds on a strong foundation of experience and expertise with policymaking and an active programme of policy-shaping activities on India.

Our scholars bring analytical rigour and multi-disciplinary depth.

Our commitment to institutional independence is rooted in the individual independence of our scholars. Brookings Institution India Center is registered under Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956 (now Section 8 of the Companies Act, 2013).

Brookings India does not take positions on issues.

Mission

Our mission is to conduct high-quality, independent research that provides innovative, practical recommendations to policy makers. Brookings India's fundamental objective is to contribute meaningfully to the process of designing solutions for India's policy problems. We aspire to do this in a way which fully reflects the core values of analytical quality and independence of views.

The Aims of the Center are to:

- 1 Raise awareness of key policy debates and challenges in India
- 2 Set and shape the policy agenda amongst policy influencers and decision makers
- 3 Design high quality solutions to the key challenges facing India in an independent, non-partisan manner

Chairman's Message

When the idea for Brookings India first originated, many Indian policymakers and industrialists asked questions about the role of think tanks, or why they were useful or necessary. Today, almost anyone in the know understands the potentially valuable role think tanks play both as a generator of fresh policy-relevant research and as a neutral arbiter of ideas.



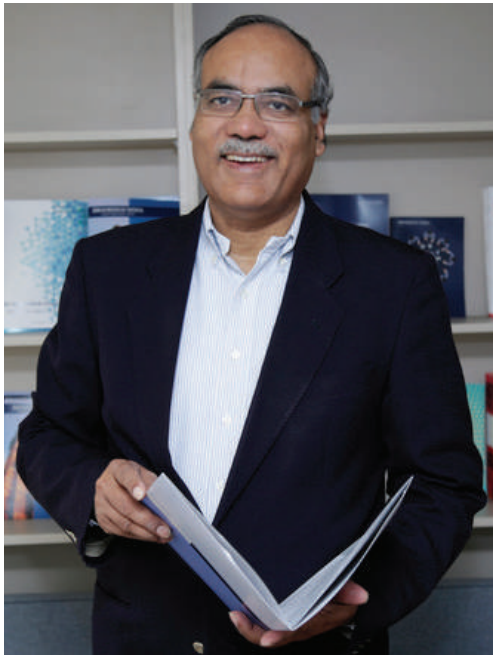
Vikram Singh Mehta
Chairman, Brookings India

It gives me great pleasure to place before you, the annual report of the Brookings Institution India Center, for the year 2016–2017. Each year this annual report provides an opportunity for us to thank the generous donors whose financial support makes our work possible, while also demonstrating our commitment to transparency.

When the idea for Brookings India first originated, many Indian policymakers and industrialists questioned the role of think tanks, or why they were useful or necessary. Today, almost anyone in the know understands the potentially valuable role think tanks play both as a generator of fresh policy-relevant research and as a neutral arbiter of ideas. Additionally, a wide variety of stakeholders appreciate the work being done by Brookings India and other think tanks in shaping policy debates. Our scholars regularly feature in the Indian media and are called in to provide ideas for the government. All of this augurs very well for enriching the analytical discussion on policy matters, and the growth and development of think tanks in India.

That being said, there are challenges that think tanks still face. Funding remains an important constraint, one which has to be continuously addressed. If think tanks are to attract some of the best thinkers, they need to compete with the private sector and other alternative jobs for talent. It is hard for people to put a value on knowledge and expertise, especially when it is applied to policy analysis made available to all stakeholders including the general public for information, enriching debate and facilitating ways to address national objectives. But that being said, the situation is improving and more corporations, government entities, and philanthropists understand the value of investing in objective research on important policy issues for the greater public good.

We are grateful to our Founders Circle and Friends for their generous support to Brookings India for fostering research work. I am grateful to the entire team at Brookings India for the excellent work they put in. I would also like to express my gratitude to our interns and other innumerable people and institutions that make our journey complete and meaningful. This report will enable readers to appreciate the scope and diversity of our research initiatives in the various fields.



From the Executive Director's Desk

Harsha Vardhana Singh
Executive Director, Brookings India

Brookings India continues to engage with policy-makers and other stakeholders, increasing the debate and dialog on a number of topics.

Brookings India does wide-ranging work on several topical policy issues, and our institution's impact is already being felt in meaningful ways.

To give you a few examples, just over the past year, our scholars have contributed substantially to the public understanding of government electricity subsidies, the impact of electronic voting machines, making health and morbidity data accessible for policy analysis, and the future of India-U.S. relations, all of which have been important and topical issues. We have also advanced long-term policy initiatives, whether it is reform of India's coal sector, the idea of a universal basic income, or fine-tuning India's 'Act East' policy.

Our work is being seen and appreciated among various stakeholders. Senior Indian government officials regularly ask Brookings India scholars to contribute their ideas and expertise to the policy process. Our study on electronic voting machines was cited in Parliament, and so was our research on farmer suicides. A number of recommendations from our scholars have found their way into discussions and policy plans of

the government. Brookings India continues to engage with not just the government or policy-makers but also with other stakeholders, increasing the debate and dialog on a number of topics. This, we believe, is a sign of their appreciation of our work. There is a high level of interest from young Indians who want to work in think tanks. Many of these prospective researchers seem to value the independence and social impact that a think tank can provide, giving lower emphasis to higher salaries in the corporate world.

Ours is still a small organisation, and one of the ways in which Brookings India is trying to distinguish itself is by staying small and attracting only the best. It is really only over the past year that Brookings India has moved into a new office and reached a critical mass of scholars capable of producing a steady stream of research.

The focus is now on consolidating our presence and expanding the scope of policy areas to address. We will do so while maintaining the high quality in each area of our work.

Development Economics



Brookings India undertook significant research projects during 2016–17 across topics related to development, including health policy, urbanisation, democracy and technology, and gender.

There was significant collaboration within and across research programmes that included work on three Rubenstein research projects, thus bridging research insights from the Washington, D.C.-based Brookings Institution and Brookings India, leading to more impactful outcomes.

Research & Publications

RESEARCH PAPERS

- **Health and morbidity in India: 2004–2014**, Shamika Ravi, Rahul Ahluwalia, and with Sofi Bergkvist, Research Paper, Brookings Institution India Center, August 2016
- **Building smart cities in India: Allahabad, Ajmer and Visakhapatnam**, Shamika Ravi, Adie Tomer, Ankit Bhatia, and Joseph Kane, Report, Brookings Institution India Center, August 2016
- **Nutrition in India: Targeting the first 1,000 days of a child's life**, Shamika Ravi, Ramandeep Singh, Policy Brief, Brookings Institution India Center, October 2016
- **What explains childhood violence?**, Shamika Ravi, Rahul Ahluwalia, Research Paper, Psychology, Health & Medicine, Volume 22, February 2017
- **The impact of electronic voting machines on electoral frauds, democracy, and development**, Shamika Ravi, Sisir Debnath and Mudit

Emphasis on Health

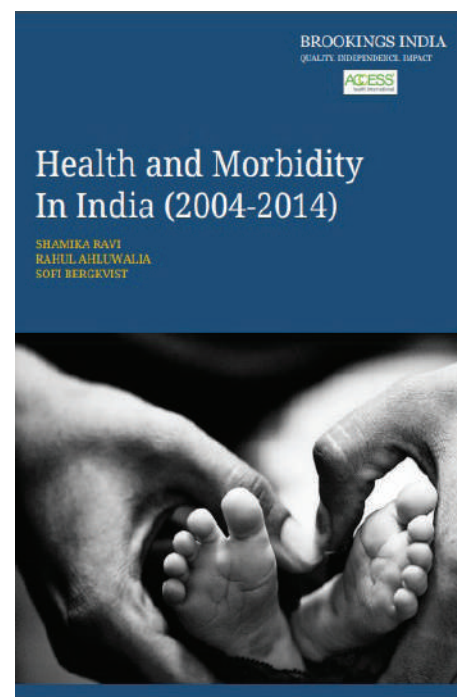
The decade from 2004 to 2014 witnessed many significant policy changes in the healthcare sector of India and one of the overarching initiatives was the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) which later expanded into the National Health Mission. The main investments in NRHM were for reproductive, maternal, newborn, child and adolescent health. It was a timely response to the Millennium Development Goals with a special focus on reducing maternal and infant mortality in India.

In a report “Health and Morbidity in India: 2004-2014” researchers at Brookings India have estimated the effects of some of the government initiatives over the 10 years from 2004-14. Results show that in terms of health-seeking behaviour, Indian households still overwhelmingly depend on private providers for healthcare services.

Our work has been cited on numerous occasions in national and international media and by leading academic journals, and continues to receive significant media attention, with scholars being invited to panel discussions on television and speaking engagements.

Several policy influencers, including from the Public Health Foundation of India and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and senior journalists, including from respected and widely-reached outlets such as The Economist Intelligence Unit, NDTV, The Economic Times and The Financial Express, reference our work regularly.

While our paper ‘Priorities for India’s National Health Policy’ was the background document that helped shape the new National Health Policy 2017, the NITI Aayog’s Vision document prepared with the Prime Minister’s Office incorporated our recommendations from the policy brief title ‘Nutrition in India: Targeting the first 1,000 days of a child’s life’. Our study ‘Health and Morbidity in India: 2004-2014’ continues to be the ‘go-to’ document within the NITI Aayog and the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.





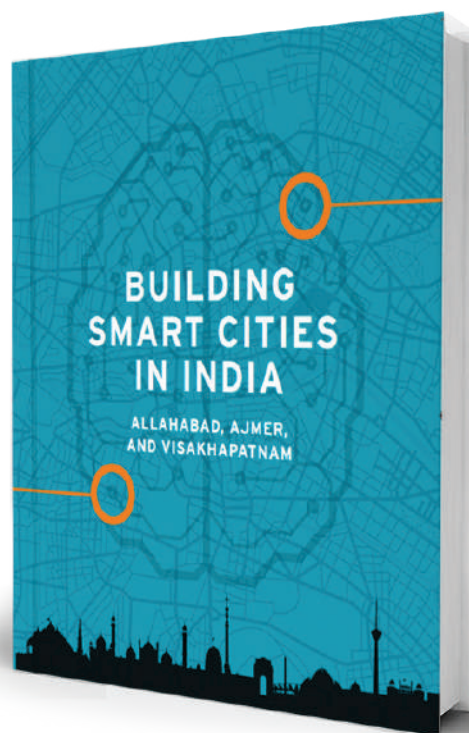
▲ *NTTI Aayog CEO Amitabh Kant (centre) at the launch and panel discussion of our report on Smart Cities.*

Learnings for Smart Cities

As India continues to experience rapid urban expansion, public and private leaders at a national, state, and local level are looking into ways to better manage larger populations and unlock greater economic potential. Launched under Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2015, the “Smart Cities Mission” is an ambitious multi-year effort to boost economic development, technological innovation, and sustainable growth across 100 cities.

Our report “Building Smart Cities in India: Ajmer, Allahabad, and Visakhapatnam” came at a critical time to inform and guide future strategies and collaborations. Using the three cities as examples, the report highlights governance challenges, infrastructure gaps, institutional arrangements, and financial tools that policymakers must consider to reach their local ambition of becoming smart. The authors found that installing digital technologies alone will not deliver the results India hopes to achieve.

This report was used heavily across think-tanks, academic institutions, and the government; specifically the Andhra Pradesh government and the Ministry of Urban Development. Some of our work has also been incorporated as part of the training curriculum of the Ministry of External Affairs.



Kapoor, Working Paper, Brookings Institution India Center, March 2017

- **Transporting India to the 2030s: What do we need to do?**, Rakesh Mohan, Policy Brief, Brookings Institution India Center, July 2016
- **Indian financial sector: Structure, trends, and turns**, Rakesh Mohan, Partha Ray, Working Paper, Stanford Center for International Development, September 2016

OP-EDs, EDITORIALS & BLOGS

- **Tie women’s reservation bill to sex ratio of constituency**, Shamika Ravi, *The Times of India*, 08-03-2016
- **The urgent need for India to build a design economy**, Shamika Ravi, Darrell M. West, *The Huffington Post India*, 11-04-2016
- **Indian economy set to soar irrespective of PM Narendra Modi’s reforms agenda; here’s how**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express*, 06-06-2016
- **For smart cities to succeed, strengthening local governance is a must**, Shamika Ravi, Ankit Bhatia, *The Wire*, 03-08-2016
- **Municipal bond market could be the answer to financing woes of smart cities**, Shamika Ravi, Ankit Bhatia, *The Wire*, 07-09-2016
- **Smart Cities Mission: Installing digital technologies alone will not deliver results**, Brookings Institution India Center, 16-09-2016
- **To keep good company**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *India Today*, 02-11-2016
- **A swadeshi index**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *Financial Express*, 07-11-2016
- **Demonetisation is a net positive move**, Shamika Ravi, *Mint*, 10-11-2016
- **Demonetiser’s dilemma**, Bhaskar Chakravorti, *The Indian Express*, 05-12-2016

- **Demonetisation push to labour reforms**, Shamika Ravi, *Mint*, 15-12-2016
- **Finding the sync: connecting the fragmented liberal and democratic processes**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express*, 02-01-2017
- **The fight against hidden hunger**, Shamika Ravi, Ramandeep Singh, *Mint*, 11-01-2017
- **A new abnormal**, Bhaskar Chakravorti, *The Indian Express*, 21-01-2017
- **The less cash budget**, Bhaskar Chakravorti, *The Indian Express*, 03-02-2017
- **A sentinel's censure**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express*, 06-03-2017
- **Why EVMs are win-win**, Shamika Ravi, Mudit Kapoor and Sisir Debnath, *The Indian Express*, 22-03-2017

INTERVIEWS & VIDEOS

- **Dissecting the Union Budget**, Shamika Ravi, *Bloomberg TV*, 11-04-2016
- **Focus on improving infra to meet rising Railway traffic**, Rakesh Mohan, *The Hindu Business Line*, 21-04-2016
- **Farmer suicide epidemic in India**, Shamika Ravi, *CCTV America*, 18-05-2016

Our research on farmer suicides and electronic voting machines was cited in Parliament and by several media outlets during the course of the year.

Gender Representation in India: The Good, the Bad, the Ugly

In 2016, India ranked 130 out of 146 in the Gender Inequality Index released by the UNDP. Gender in India remains a critically important and largely ignored lens to view development issues across the world. It is evident that a stronger turn in political discourse is required, taking into consideration both public and private spaces.

Gender inequality extends across various facets of society. Political participation is often perceived as a key factor to rectify this situation. However, gender bias extends to electoral politics and representative governance as well. The relative difference between male and female voters is the key to understanding gender inequality in politics.

Our work on gender includes research on how gender inequalities affect women's representation in Parliament, their access to healthcare services (including mental health) and to financial services, as well as their vulnerability to childhood and sexual violence and how that, in turn, affects their labour force participation.

This work has helped start a conversation around women's health among thought leaders and influencers in the country, including women's rights activists and senior editors, and on the women's reservation bill in the Ministry of Women and Child Development and National Commission for Women in India.



- **Manner in which Rajan has quit is unfortunate, says Rakesh Mohan,** CNBC TV18, 20-06-2016

- **No immediate economic problem likely on Brexit: Rakesh Mohan,** CNBC-TV18, 24-06-2016

- **Progress must be made to corporatise railways: Rakesh Mohan,** *Business Standard*, 05-10-2016

- **Shamika Ravi on implications on govt's demonetisation move,** *Brookings Institution India Center*, Facebook Live, 10-11-2016

- **Industry captains' wishlist from the Finance Budget 2017 and Finance Minister is looking to present a budget against the backdrop of uncertainty,** Vikram Singh Mehta, *India Today*, 30-01-2017



▲ Former Deputy Governor of the RBI and Brookings India Distinguished Fellow Rakesh Mohan delivered the first Development Seminar @ Brookings India

CONFERENCES, DISCUSSIONS & ACTIVITIES

- **Building India's future: International cooperation on infrastructure**

Featuring U.S. Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Global Markets, Arun Kumar. 19-05-2016

- **Developments in the global economy: How do they impact the India growth story**

Featuring Distinguished Fellow and former deputy governor of the RBI, Rakesh Mohan. 26-06-2016

- **Development Seminar | Transporting India to the 2030s**

In the first of this seminar series, Distinguished Fellow Rakesh Mohan discussed his paper on India's transport needs over the next couple of decades, and what needs to be done to satisfy them. 01-07-2016

- **Launch | Millions learning: Scaling quality education in developing countries**

Launch of a report that focuses on scaling education, bringing together policymakers, practitioners, academics, and donors within the international development community. 12-07-2016

- **Development Seminar | Disguised corruption: Evidence from consumer credit in China**

Sumit Agarwal from the National University of Singapore presented his findings on how bureaucrats in China were being extended higher lines of credit despite defaulting on their credit card payments. 22-07-2016

- **Development Seminar | Leading the RBI through 5 turbulent years**

Former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India D. Subbarao spoke about his book "Who Moved My Interest Rate? Leading the Reserve Bank of India through Five Turbulent Years". Discussants included former deputy governor of the RBI and also founding Director of Research at Brookings India, Subir Gokarn; and senior journalist TN Ninan. 05-08-2016

- **Development Seminar | Launch of paper 'Building Smart Cities in India'**

The paper was launched by NITI Aayog CEO Amitabh Kant. 19-08-2016

- **Nutrition in India and the role of public-private partnerships**

The roundtable comprised senior representatives from government, academia, and the corporate sector. The lead discussants included Food Safety and Standards Authority of India

Our research has begun to help shape health policy discourse in India, with several policy influencers citing and using our work, and accepting and leveraging our insights.

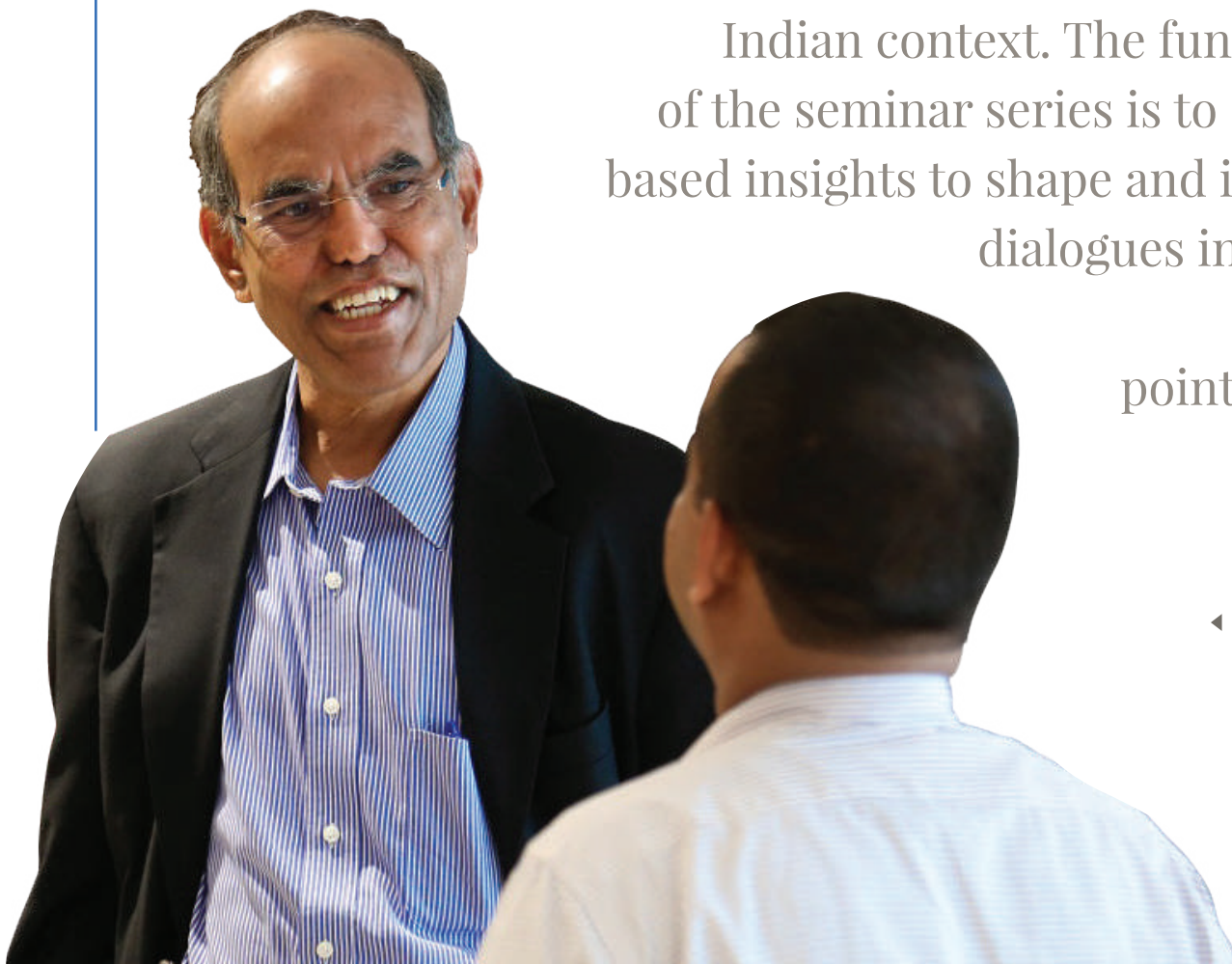


▲ Director of TERI Ajay Mathur, Brookings India Senior Fellow Shamika Ravi and Professor at the Indian Statistical Institute E. Somanathan



▲ Sumit Agarwal from the National University of Singapore

The Development Seminar @ Brookings India Series is a platform for scholars across the world to present their work to a curated audience of senior government officials, politicians, journalists, academics and policy enthusiasts. The format of the seminars includes a senior researcher as a lead presenter and a government/industry expert to discuss the results and relevance within the Indian context. The fundamental focus of the seminar series is to draw research-based insights to shape and influence policy dialogues in India, through purposeful and pointed discussions.



◀ Former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India D. Subbarao at a Brookings India Development Seminar



▲ Alex T. Tabarrok of George Mason University, Virginia; Shamika Ravi; and R. Subrahmanyam, Additional Secretary, Technical Education, Ministry of Human Development, Government of India at a discussion on Online Education Revolution and India

Brookings India in collaboration with the Center for Universal Education at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., launched the report “Millions Learning: Scaling up quality education in developing countries”. This report tells the story of where and how quality education has scaled in low- and middle-income countries.



▲ (From left) Brookings Institution Senior Fellow Rebecca Winthrop, Sesame Workshop Managing Director Sashwati Banerjee; Sampark Foundation President Venkatesh Malur; and Pratham CEO Rukmini Banerji at launch of report “Millions Learning: Scaling Quality Education in Developing Countries”

Technology to Strengthen Democracy

Free and fair elections are cornerstones of democracy. In India, the largest democracy with more than 800 million registered voters, and a complex multi-party system, electoral fraud has been a leading cause for concern. For example, in several constituencies under the paper ballot system, polling booths would be captured and ballot boxes would be stuffed.

Leading policy thinkers such as Swaminathan Aiyar cited and used our research on the impact of EVMs on democracy and development during the course of the year.

Senior Fellow Shamika Ravi, in her study on the impact of electronic voting machines (EVMs) on electoral fraud, democracy, and development, found that introduction of electronic voting machines led to a significant decline in electoral frauds and strengthened the weaker and the vulnerable sections of the society, who were now more likely to cast their vote. Results suggested that elections became more competitive and less likely to be manipulated by parties in power, which, in turn, had an impact on promoting development by increased provision of public goods.

Former Chief Election Commissioner of India S.Y. Quraishi as part of the Development Seminar @ Brookings India discussed with Ravi the findings from her study.



▲ Former Chief Election Commissioner S.Y. Quraishi at discussion on electronic voting machines



◀ *Surjit S. Bhalla, Senior India Analyst, The Observatory Group; Maurice Obstfeld, IMF Research Director and Chief Economist; Harsha Vardhana Singh, Executive Director, Brookings India; Shankar Acharya, Honorary Professor, ICRIER; and Ajit Ranade, Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group in a public discussion on the IMF's recent World Economic Outlook*

Global Economic Outlook

Given that political tensions across the world continue to cast a cloud over economic growth, especially so in the advanced economies, policy-makers must work towards reinvigorating growth whilst simultaneously addressing concerns over the distribution of the fruits of growth.

At present, the world economy remains stuck in a 'sideways' movement, oscillating at a low level of growth brought on by subdued aggregate demand, low productivity growth, adverse demographic trends, and a low natural real rate of interest.

Brookings India hosted a public panel discussion on the IMF's World Economic Outlook with IMF's Research Director and Chief Economist, Maurice Obstfeld. The

session began with an analysis of the trends and growth forecasts contained in the IMF's recent World Economic Outlook (WEO) October update, followed by a discussion on the prominent challenges confronting the global economy, namely the threat to increasing economic integration and trade, the ongoing effects of China's slowdown and structural realignment, and the impact of low commodity prices on global growth.

Chairman Ashish Bahuguna and DSM Chairman Feike Sijbesma. 26-09-2016

- **IMF's World Economic Outlook with Maurice Obstfeld**

Featuring IMF Research Director and Chief Economist, Maurice Obstfeld; panel discussion including Honorary Professor, ICRIER, Shankar Acharya; Senior India Analyst, The Observatory Group, Surjit S. Bhalla; and Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group, Ajit Ranade. 26-10-2016

- **Development Seminar | Pathways to reducing poverty and sharing prosperity in India**

Key speaker was Lead Economist of the World Bank Rinku Murgai. 02-11-2016

- **Rohini Nilekani in conversation with Vikram Singh Mehta at Times Lit Fest-Delhi 2016**

Brookings India Chairman Vikram Singh Mehta and Arghyam

Model of Philanthropy in India

Brookings India curated a session at the Times Lit Fest-Delhi 2016 titled "India's uber-rich: How should they behave?" featuring Rohini Nilekani and Brookings India Chairman Vikram Singh Mehta. Rohini Nilekani is Chairperson and Founder, Arghyam, a public charitable foundation based in Bengaluru.



India has a thriving civil society culture, with many organisations working closely with people on the ground.

The conversation suggested that philanthropy can focus on doing some strategic work in sectors to support organisation work and innovations.

Chairperson Rohini Nilekani discussed the topic, “India’s uber-rich: How should they behave?” 26-11-2016

• **25 Years of reforms: The India story at the Times Lit Fest-Delhi 2016**

Panellists included eminent economists Sanjaya Baru and Ashok Lahiri, and former National Security Advisor and Brookings Distinguished Fellow Ambassador Shivshankar Menon. Moderated by Brookings India Executive Director Harsha Vardhana Singh. 27-11-2016

• **Launch and discussion | Health and morbidity in India: Evidence and policy implications**

Featuring Lalitha Kumaramangalam, Chairperson, National Commission for Women; TCA Anant, Secretary, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation; Poonam Khetrapal, Regional Director, World Health Organization, and K Srinath Reddy, President, Public Health Foundation of India. 02-12-2016

• **Development Seminar | Corporate social responsibility in India: Law, implementation and evidence**

Featuring Professor Shivaram Rajgopal of Columbia Business School and Somasekhar Sundaresan, advocate and leading corporate lawyer. 12-12-2016

• **Development Seminar | Environmental challenges in India**

With E. Somanathan of the Indian Statistical Institute and Ajay Mathur, Director General of The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). 20-01-2017

• **Budget briefing**

Brookings India scholars gave members of the media and the diplomatic community their analyses of the Union Budget 2017. 02-02-2017

• **Development Seminar | The online education revolution and India**

With Professor Alex Tabarrok from George Mason University, Virginia, US and R. Subrahmanyam, Additional Secretary, Technical Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. 17-02-2017

• **Brown bag discussion | National and ethnic identification in the Kashmir Valley**

► *Senior Fellow Shamika Ravi; Lalitha Kumaramangalam, Chairperson, National Commission for Women; TCA Ananth, Secretary, MoSPI, Government of India; Poonam Khetrapal, Regional Director, WHO; and K Srinath Reddy, President, PHFI, launch the Brookings India report "Health and Morbidity in India"*



Led by Gautam Nair, Ph.D. Candidate, Yale University, this brown bag seminar discussed findings from a survey of 2,500 individuals in all ten districts of the Kashmir Valley conducted during November and December 2015. 01-03-2017

• **U.S. perspectives on strengthening bilateral health relationships**

Richard Downie, Deputy Director and Fellow, Africa Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies gave policy recommendations for the United States as it enters a new phase of engagement with South Africa, Ethiopia, and Nigeria. 21-03-2017

• **Roundtable | Challenges & potential**

solutions to address gender inequality in India

Shamika Ravi presented her research on women and electoral politics. This was a gathering of experts across sectors to discuss the challenges, potential solutions to mark International Women’s Day. 23-03-2017

• **Development seminar | Using technology to strengthen democracy**

Findings in the study, “The Impact of Electronic Voting Machines on Electoral Frauds, Democracy, and Development” were discussed by former Chief Election Commissioner of India S.Y. Quraishi. 24-03-2017



▲ *DSM Chairman Feike Sijbesma, Brookings India Executive Director Harsha Vardhana Singh, FSSAI Chairman Ashish Bahuguna*

Towards Better Health and Nutrition

The roundtable discussed the pernicious, often invisible issue of malnutrition and ‘hidden hunger’ in India, the government’s existing policy framework to deliver universal, rights-based nutrition interventions, and the role of the private sector to fill delivery gaps using a targeted, evidence-based approach.

Foreign Policy



Since April 2016, the Foreign Policy Initiative at Brookings India has examined global challenges and foreign policies that affect India's security and prosperity. The objectives involve raising awareness of important issues, shaping debates, and designing policy at every level: with the interested public, with peers and influencers, and directly with senior policy makers.

In 2016–2017, Brookings India continued a regular roundtable series led by former National Security Advisor and Brookings Distinguished Fellow Shivshankar Menon, and initiated a popular series of 'Emerging Voices' Network Receptions featuring senior diplomatic officials. Brookings India organised a day-long Foreign Policy Research Workshop for Indians under 25, which received over 110 applications. Topical issues over the past year – including the U.S. elections, Brexit, the South China Sea dispute, and India-Nepal relations – were also discussed at public events.

We launched Menon's book *Choices*, which was released by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Research papers on India-Germany relations, the India-Japan partnership, and the Indian Ocean were also produced. Brookings India experts were featured in *The New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *NDTV*, and a host of other media outlets, with op-eds in *The Times of India*, *Dainik Bhaskar*, and *Washington Post*.

The Foreign Policy Initiative has Five Clear Objectives.

1

Explain and interpret important issues in international affairs – and their implications for India – to public audiences. This is done using a number of methods: through timely commentary and analysis in such venues/platforms as The Times of India, Washington Post, and Dainik Bhaskar (in Hindi) on issues including India-Pakistan relations and the Indian Ocean; through public events that inform the media and public on such issues as the U.S. elections, the Brexit referendum, and the South China Sea; via media appearances on television, radio, print, and online, including for NDTV, CNBC, The New York Times, Financial Times, Time, The Hindustan Times, Business Standard, and NPR; in lectures and presentations to audiences in New Delhi, across India, and around the world; and through partnerships with other organisations, such as India’s Ministry of External Affairs, Penguin India, and the Youth Forum on Foreign Policy, that help reach new and broader audiences.

2

Provide a neutral venue for private discussions on such issues as India’s entry to export control regimes, civil-military relations, and the future of SAARC.

3

Become a ready resource for Indian and international policymakers. This is through consultations with Government of India officials and briefings to visiting foreign governments about Indian perspectives on international issues.

4

Identify and incubate the next generation of Indian foreign policy thinkers and practitioners through regular networking events, workshops, and internships.

5

Produce innovative and cutting-edge research, including data-driven studies on institutions, links between foreign and domestic policy, re-examinations of the fundamentals of India’s role, and through public and elite surveys.



◆ *Some discussants at our monthly Shivshankar Menon roundtables. Menon (below, right) is Distinguished Fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings and India’s former National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary*



Research & Publications

BRIEFING BOOKS, RESEARCH PAPERS

- **India-U.S: Relations in transition**, edited by Dhruva Jaishankar, Briefing Book, Brookings Institution India Center, June 2016
- **India and Germany: realising strategic convergence**, Dhruva Jaishankar, Essay, Opportunity Beckons: Adding Momentum to the Indo-German Partnership, edited by Ambassador Gurjit Singh, January 2017
- **India's military diplomacy**, Dhruva Jaishankar, Long essay, German Marshall Fund - Defence Primer: India at 75, January 2017
- **The strategic chain: Linking Pakistan, India, China, and the United States**, edited by Robert Einhorn and W.P.S. Sidhu, Paper, Brookings Institution, March 2017

OP-EDS, EDITORIALS & BLOGS

- **South Africa and the Nuclear Security Summits**, WPS Sidhu, SAIIA.ORG.ZA, 13-04-2016
- **How India sees the world**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Diplomat*, 21-04-2016
- **US-India partnership: Full speed ahead?**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 25-04-2016
- **India's underpowered foreign policy**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 09-05-2016
- **India's five foreign policy goals: Great strides, steep challenges**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Wire*, 26-05-2016
- **India and Japan: Emerging Indo-Pacific security partnership**, Dhruva Jaishankar, RSIS, 30-05-2016
- **Critical Seoul NSG meet will have reverberations for India's international orientation**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Economic Times* and *The Times of India*, 21-06-2016
- **Brexit, missile control and India**,



WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 04-07-2016

- **China's South China Sea setback**, Dhruva Jaishankar, ABP Live, 12-07-2016
- **South China Sea and world disorder**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 18-07-2016
- **Why Hillary is a safe bet for India**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *India Today*, 27-07-2016
- **Indian Ocean region: A pivot for India's growth**, Dhruva Jaishankar, Indian Ocean Conference 2016, 12-09-2016
- **India is on the defensive in its neighborhood**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Washington Post*, 21-09-2016
- **What does India think?** Pew



▲ (From left) Brookings India Executive Director Harsha Vardhana Singh, Brookings Institution Fellow Tanvi Madan, Brookings India Fellow Dhruva Jaishankar, Pramit Pal Chaudhuri of the *Hindustan Times*, and C Raja Mohan of *Carnegie India* at discussion on "What the U.S. elections mean for India"



(From left) Brookings Distinguished Fellow Shivshankar Menon, Brookings India Fellow Dhruva Jaishankar, Brookings Institution President Strobe Talbott, and Bajaj Group of Companies Chairman Rahul Bajaj at a discussion on "America in Transition"

survey results heartening for government but should not lead to complacency, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Times of India*, 22-09-2016

- After surgical strikes, what's next for India-Pakistan relations?, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Washington Post*, 02-10-2016

- BRICS: falling apart, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 24-10-2016

- With Trump's victory, American exceptionalism came to an end, Dhruva Jaishankar, *Bloomberg Quint*, 10-11-2016

- Donald Trump as US President: For India, it's opportunistic, but concerns remain over his Asian policy, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Economic Times*, 13-11-2016

- How to tame a dragon: To deal with Chinese muscle in a post-American world, India must think asymmetrically, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Times of India*, 29-11-2016

- Why 2016 was the year of black swans, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 19-12-2016

- War and peace in the age of Twitter, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 02-01-2017

Brookings India produced a briefing book on India-U.S. relations to coincide with the 2016 Modi-Obama summit.



- **It's time to resuscitate the Asia-Pacific Quad**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *Brookings.edu*, 09-01-2017
- **Donald Trump's team and its India policy**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *Mint*, 10-01-2017
- **Australia-India relations: Poised for take off**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Interpreter*, 10-01-2017
- **Barack Obama leaves a mixed legacy: Impressive handling of the US economy but terrible missteps in foreign policy**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Economic Times*, 15-01-2017
- **Global trends: discontinuity and disruption**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 16-01-2017
- **Passing the baton: What to watch in the Donald Trump regime**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *Mint*, 20-01-2017
- **What Trump's TPP withdrawal means for India**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *NDTV.com*, 24-01-2017
- **Five global scenarios for the Donald Trump era**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 30-01-2017
- **A disrupter's guide to India's defence budget**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 13-02-2017
- **Can Trump really value a strong, independent India? Unclear**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *NDTV.com*, 15-02-2017
- **Indo-US naval cooperation: steady as she goes?**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 26-02-2017



▲ Former Ambassadors Ranjan Mathai and C Uday Bhaskar attend our discussions



▲ Brookings Distinguished Fellow Shivshankar Menon was also National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary

Distinguished Fellow Ambassador Shivshankar Menon continued to conduct high-quality expert roundtables for Brookings India for the second year. Titled “India in the World”, the roundtable series features prominent keynote speakers in interaction with Ambassador Menon.

The objective of the private roundtable discussion is to engage leading experts on issues of significance to India’s foreign policy and to provide direct policy-relevant inputs to Indian decision makers.

Trump's Uncertainties Towards India

Trump's foreign policy towards India and even the rest of the world at large is still quite uncertain. However, precisely because Trump's policy on India is still uncertain, there is opportunity for the Indian government and businesses to engage with the Trump administration on issues of importance and influence the formation of policy.

Brookings India in partnership with FICCI organised a "Discussion on the Outcome of the U.S. Elections for India" on 11th November, 2016. The discussion featured opening remarks by Rajan Bharti Mittal, and a brief

▶ (Right) Bharti Infratel vice-chairman and managing director, also a Brookings India Founders Circle Member, Rajan Bharti Mittal and US Ambassador to India Richard Verma at a discussion on implications of U.S. elections for India



statement by the U.S. Ambassador to India, Richard Verma. This was followed by two panel discussions. The first, on political and strategic relations, featured former Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal, Member of Parliament Shashi Tharoor, Ashok Malik of the Observer Research Foundation, former Indian Ambassador to the U.S. Arun Kumar Singh, and Dhruva Jaishankar of Brookings India. The second panel, on commercial and economic relations, featured, Daniel Ritter of K&L Gates, M.K. Venu of The Wire, Harsha V. Singh of Brookings India, and A. Didar Singh, Secretary-General of FICCI.



▲ (From left) Ashok Malik from Observer Research Foundation, Brookings India Fellow Dhruva Jaishankar, Member of Parliament Shashi Tharoor, former Ambassadors Kanwal Sibal and Arun K. Singh at a discussion on the outcome of the U.S. elections for India

- **Trump's speech to Congress: Reactions from foreign policy experts**, Dhruva Jaishankar, with Ted Piccone, David Dollar, Vanda Felbab-Brown, and Richard C. Bush, Brookings.edu, 01-03-2017

- **Modi strengthens his hand in India and abroad**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Interpreter*, 17-03-2017

- **China benefits from nuclear disorder**, WPS Sidhu, *Mint*, 27-03-2017

INTERVIEWS AND VIDEOS

- **Watch | The Quint's FB Live with Dhruva Jaishankar on US elections**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Quint*, 20-04-2016

- **26/11: Why Pakistan ex-envoy's explosive admission matters**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Times of India*, 14-05-2016

- **Trump's anti-trade rhetoric does not create an opening for India**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Quint*, 22-07-2016

- **Modi government has been hardening stance against Pakistan for a few months now**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *NDTV*, 21-09-2016

- **India on the international stage**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *Brookings Institution Podcast*, 21-09-2016

- **Uncertainty and unpredictability about Trump's presidency**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *The Quint and BloombergQuint*, Facebook Live, 10-11-2016

- **India should be less worried about trade with US than others**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *Business Standard*, 26-11-2016

- **Dhruva Jaishankar on how the H-1B visa controversy will affect India**, Dhruva Jaishankar, *ABC News 24*, 31-01-2017

CONFERENCES, DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

- **Geopolitics of oil in the Middle East & implications for India**

This Shivshankar Menon roundtable discussed whether India is investing enough to secure its supply lines.

27-04-2016

- **India's China conundrum**

The discussion explored the asymmetry in relations between China and India on economic, political and strategic fronts.

26-05-2016

- **New competition in the Indo-Pacific: Japanese and Indian views**

Featuring Ambassador Shingo Yamagami, Director-General of the Japan Institute of International Affairs, discussants explored some of the strategic developments in the Indian Ocean, South China Sea, and East China Sea, as well as implications for India and Japan.

22-06-2016

- **After Brexit: Implications for India**

Experts included author and historian Patrick French, Rajya Sabha MP Swapan Dasgupta and First Counsellor of the Delegation of the European Union to India, Anne Marchal.

07-07-2016

- **Troubled waters: Demystifying the South China Sea ruling**

Panellists included Abhijit Singh from the Observer Research Foundation and Darshana Baruah from Carnegie India who discussed the outcome of the South China Sea ruling released by the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the response by China and other actors in the dispute, as well as possible implications for India.

14-07-2016

- **China-Pakistan relations: A new chapter?**

Discussion with Andrew Small of the German Marshall Fund on the changes underway in the China-Pakistan relationship.

22-07-2016

- **Rising democracies and implications for the international order**

Discussion with Ted Piccone, Senior



◀ *Book release of Ambassador Shivshankar Menon's book "Choices: Inside the Making of Indian Foreign Policy" by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Member of Parliament and former Union Minister of Finance P. Chidambaram.*

The release was followed by a panel discussion featuring Chidambaram; Srinath Raghavan, Senior Fellow and author at Centre for Policy Research; and Ambassador Shivshankar Menon. Moderated by senior journalist Karan Thapar.



Foreign Policy Research Workshop Initiative

Who makes foreign policy and why? How to communicate your ideas? How do you ask the right questions about foreign policy? A joint Brookings India-YFFP foreign policy research workshop sought to address these questions and more.

The full day workshop was an opportunity for young Indians from a variety of academic and professional backgrounds to deepen their understanding of foreign policy research. The sessions focused on the theory and practice of Indian foreign policy, primary source research, and writing for policymakers.



Twenty-five young foreign policy students were selected from among a hundred applicants, while experts who came to speak at the workshop included Ashok Malik from the Observer Research Foundation, and Prashant Jha from the Hindustan Times (below).



Fellow at Brookings Institution, and Ambassador Latha Reddy from the East West Institute on the future of rising democracies, and how countries like India can play an important role in shaping the future of the international liberal order. 25-07-2016

- **Does the U.S. ‘pivot’ to Asia have a future?**

Daniel Twining of the German Marshall Fund and a consultant for the U.S. National Intelligence Council, which conducts long-term assessment on the global future, discussed the future of the United States’ Asia policy in the context of the US Presidential elections and the possible implications for India. 28-07-2016

- **Hillary or Donald? What the U.S. elections mean for India**

Panellists included Brookings Institution Fellow Tanvi Madan, Carnegie India Director C. Raja Mohan, Pramit Pal Chaudhuri from *The Hindustan Times* and Harsha Vardhana Singh, Executive Director of Brookings India. 01-08-2016

- **India’s membership of the export control regimes: future prospects**

Discussion with Vann H. Van Diepen, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security and Non-proliferation at the U.S. State Department; and Amandeep Singh Gill, Joint Secretary for Disarmament and International Security Affairs at the Ministry of External Affairs. 10-08-2016

- **The Shivshankar Menon roundtable on “Act East by Northeast”**

The roundtable focused on India’s Act East/Look East policy with a particular focus on the Northeast and Bangladesh. 23-08-2016

- **Workshop | 1st Brookings India-YFFP foreign policy research workshop**

Brookings India and the Youth Forum on Foreign Policy co-organised the first Foreign Policy Research Workshop. A few questions that the workshop sought to address were: who makes foreign policy and why, how do you ask the right questions about foreign policy, and how do you communicate your ideas? 28-08-2016



Donald Trump's striking election victory in January 2017 against former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is likely to be a turning point, not just for American politics, but also for the liberal world order. Trump's election campaign focused primarily on domestic issues: jobs, healthcare, immigration and terrorism. Consequently, anti-globalisation feelings and a retreat of America from international affairs may be a reality in the near future.

To discuss the implications of a Trump presidency on the future of American primacy in the global order, Brookings Institution President Strobe Talbott was in conversation with historian Ramachandra Guha in Bengaluru.



Brookings Institution President Strobe Talbott (top) in conversation with Ramachandra Guha (left) in Bengaluru on the implications of a Trump presidency on the future of American primacy in the global order

- **Is all terrorism local?**

Featuring Vikram Sood, former head of R&AW and advisor, Observer Research Foundation. The discussion put forth various viewpoints on the drivers of terrorism, methods to counter terror, the nature of the problem and in particular the threat of ISIS in India and South Asia. 05-09-2016

- **Indian perspectives of global trends**

Featuring John Sawers, a former chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service -- also known as MI6; Nader Mousavizadeh, Chief Executive of Oxford Analytica. 15-09-2016

- **What India thinks: Public opinion of India's leaders and foreign policy**

Brookings India released the annual Pew Research Centre Survey results on Indian public opinion. 20-09-2016

- **Resetting India-Nepal relations**

Featuring Ambassador Shyam Saran (former Foreign Secretary and envoy to Nepal). The discussion revolved around the details of the tumultuous political landscape in Nepal over the past year or two as well as the developments in the India-Nepal relationship in that course of time. 21-09-2016

- **Outcome of the U.S. elections for India**

In partnership with FICCI. Featuring US Ambassador to India Richard Verma, Bharti Infratel vice-chairman and managing director Rajan Bharti Mittal, Member of Parliament Shashi Tharoor and several other eminent speakers. 11-11-2016

- **Shivshankar Menon Roundtable | What next for SAARC?**

The expert roundtable discussed what the cancellation of the SAARC summit in 2016 meant for the future of India-Pakistan bilateral engagement. 17-11-2016

- **How will India deal with President Trump: Brookings India at Times Lit Fest-Delhi 2016**

Panellists included Brookings India Fellow Dhruva Jaishankar, Carnegie India Director C Raja Mohan, and Ambassador Arun Kumar Singh. 27-11-2016

- **Launch | Shivshankar Menon's book, "Choices: Inside the making of India's foreign policy"**

The book was released by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Member of Parliament and former Union Minister P. Chidambaram. Panellists included Chidambaram, Ambassador Menon, Senior Fellow at Centre for Policy Research Srinath Raghavan, and was moderated by senior journalist Karan Thapar. 02-12-2016

- **Trump, America, & the world: A conversation with Strobe Talbott and Ramachandra Guha**

about the implications of a Trump presidency on the future of American primacy in the global order. 06-12-2016



Foreign Policy Emerging Voices Network

An informal network, this is meant to facilitate interactions between the next generation of leaders in Indian foreign policy, including from the Indian government, private sector, universities, think tanks, non-profit organisations, and media. The Emerging Voices meetings offers the opportunity for participants to interact and network with one another and with members of the foreign diplomatic community.



(Clockwise from top) US Ambassador Richard Verma, Australian High Commissioner Harinder Kaur, Japanese Ambassador Kenji Hiramatsu and High Commissioner Sir Dominic Acquith at the Brookings India Emerging Voices Network reception

- **“America in Transition”**

Featuring Brookings Institution President Strobe Talbott, Distinguished Fellow Shivshankar Menon and Bajaj Group Chairman Rahul Bajaj. The discussion focused on the intricacies and process of the U.S. Presidential transition, the impact of the new administration on India-U.S. diplomatic and business relations. 08-12-2016

- **Expert roundtable with Shivshankar Menon his book on ‘Choices: Inside the making of India’s foreign policy’**

Ambassador Shivshankar Menon discussed the five pivotal foreign policy cases in his book. 16-01-2017

- **U.S.-India defence cooperation: The path ahead**

Featuring Leanne Caret, President & CEO of Boeing Defense, Space & Security. 08-02-2017

- **Civil-Military relations in India**
Chaired by Ambassador Shivshankar Menon, this roundtable featured Sushant Singh, Associate Editor of *The Indian Express* and a former officer of the Indian Army. The discussion revolved around problems in the civil-military relationship in India today, primarily at the level of the civilian and military elite. 21-02-2017

- **India and the Trump administration**

Featuring Brookings Institution Fellow and Director of the India Project, Tanvi Madan, the discussion broadly focused on some of the issues in the India-U.S. bilateral relationship, global political and economic issues with implications for India, and questions about the future direction of the relationship. 27-02-2017

- **The Kurdish question and the future of Iraq and Syria**

Featuring Ambassador Peter Galbraith, advisor to the Kurdistan Regional Government in Northern Iraq, UN Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan, and U.S. Ambassador to Croatia. 16-04-2017

Energy and Sustainability



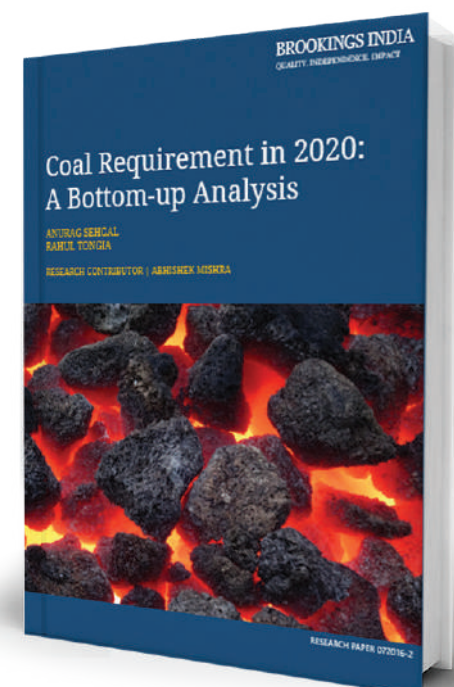
Brookings India scholars focused their efforts on the energy sector in India across several domains and specific research topics.

These included supply and grid balancing options (notably coal and renewable energy), access, innovation (including smart grids), and a holistic treatment of electricity supply and demand. Brookings India also began several new threads of effort and expanded our effort on issues of the environment and sustainability (including

climate change), power sector data, and helped partner a Network of Scholars to foster greater interaction amongst researchers in India.

Future of Coal

Brookings India continued its multi-year study on the future of coal in India, a resource which many scholars or analysts believe is at a cross-road. While coal is the mainstay of power generation in India, with ample domestic reserves, growing environmental concerns combined with falling prices for Renewable Energy (RE) require holistic analysis for optimal policies and regulations.



During 2016-17, the Brookings India energy team gave inputs to a number of public programmes and policies, including:

- National Smart Grid Mission, Ministry of Power, India
- National Power Portal and Feeder Monitoring, Ministry of Power / REC
- Karnataka State Power Indicators, Analytics, and Portal, BESCOM and KPTCL
- Smart Meter Standards, BIS /Ministry of Power, IndiaMobility (e-Mobility), NITI Aayog
- Model PPAs for RE, MNRE/ Indo-US Task Force on Clean Energy
- Model Bidding Documents/ RFPs for RE, MNRE/Indo-US Task Force on Clean Energy

► (From left) Arunabha Ghosh, founder-CEO of the Council on Energy, Environment and Water, Brookings India Fellow Rahul Tongia, Bong Kyu Choi and Eun-ŷin Park from the Embassy of the Republic of Korea



In addition to a bottom-up analysis of supply and demand in the medium term, our work in 2016-17 focused on coal pricing, regulation, environmental issues (especially in power production), and logistics.

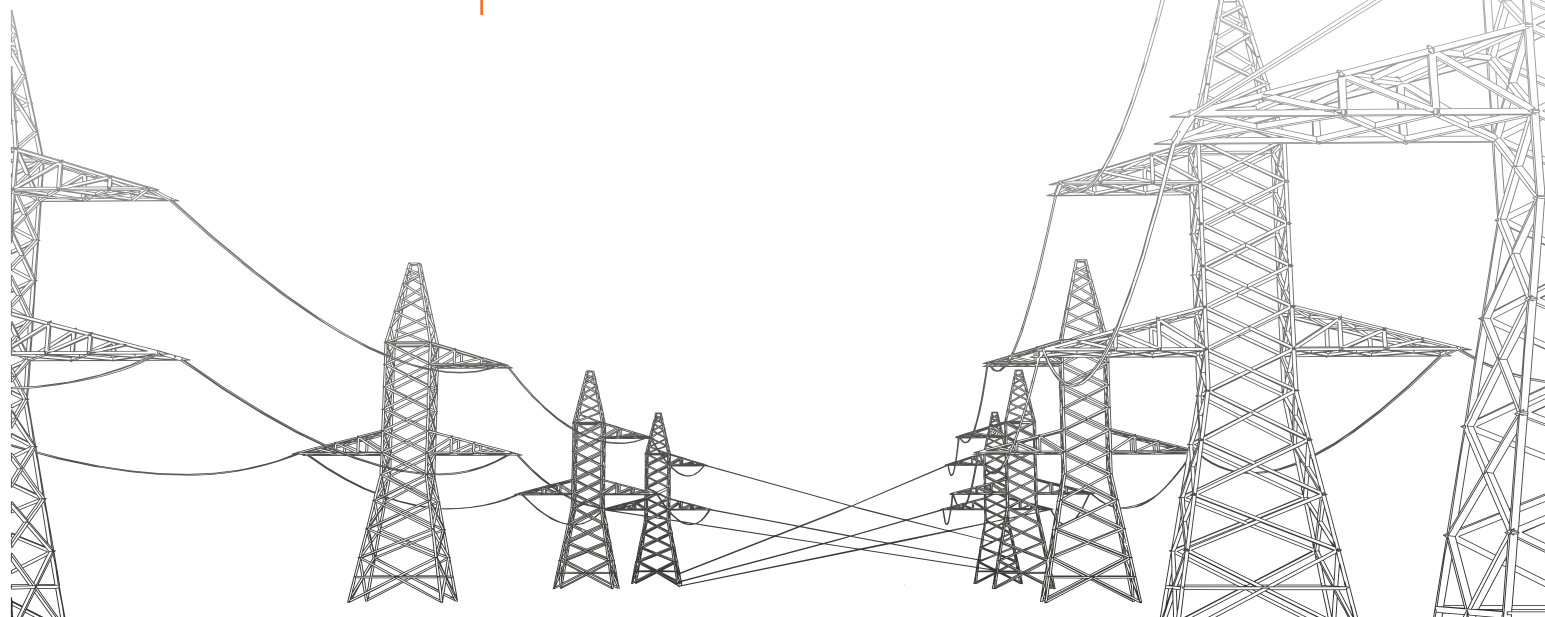
Our ongoing multi-year effort on the Future of Coal in India has had a deep impact in putting coal in context of changing demand and growing renewable energy (RE). Based on the study by Brookings India, titled, 'Coal Requirement in 2020: A Bottom-Up Analysis', the government has recognised that the 1,500 million tonne target of coal is highly ambitious and likely unnecessary.

Renewable Energy and Sustainability

While prices of RE have fallen dramatically, the main challenges in India are not just economic but also concern grid integration and financing. The 175 GW top-down target needs to

sync with bottom-up plans to be done by the states.

Brookings India has been a key voice for critical analysis and multi-stakeholder planning towards sustainable renewables growth. Building on our book on RE – launched in 2015 by Union Minister for Power, Coal and Renewables Piyush Goyal in 2015 – Brookings India has led bottom-up discussions on the same, focusing on state-centric views and issues of grid-integration and finance.





An August 2016 study on India's Renewable Purchase Obligations (RPOs) was presented to the Forum of Regulators, where researchers at Brookings India attempted to show how some of the RPOs are inconsistent, and aggressively front-heavy, perhaps unnecessarily so.

Researchers at Brookings India contributed to the Clean Energy Finance Forum (CEFF), a group of finance and industry experts established at the request of Minister Piyush Goyal. CEFF released its report in December 2016 to praise from the Indian (and U.S.) governments, where our scholar was a contributor to efforts by the Indo-U.S. Task Force on Clean Energy.

RE was a key component of broader aspects of Green Growth and Sustainability, which included multiple roundtables, events, and analyses, including on climate change issues.

Research & Publications

RESEARCH PAPERS AND REPORTS

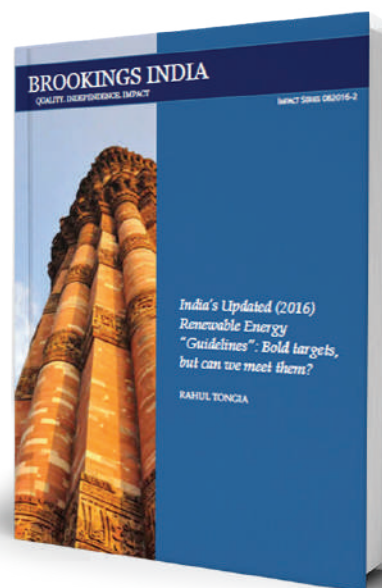
- **Design of load balancing mechanism for Indian electricity markets**, Rahul Tongia, with Hameed Safiullah and Gabriela Hug, *Energy Systems*, April 2016
- **Coal requirement in 2020: A bottom-up analysis**, Anurag Sehgal, Rahul Tongia and Abhishek Mishra, *Brookings Institution India Center*, July 2016
- **India's updated (2016) renewable energy 'guidelines': Bold targets, but can we meet them?**, Rahul Tongia, *Brookings Institution India Center*, August 2016
- **Policy issues for scaling up RE**, *Clean Energy Finance Forum (CEFF)*, December 2016
- **Data management: India needs agency for energy data**, Rahul Tongia, with Varun Rai and Gireesh Shrimali, *Nature*, January 2017

Research-linked Impact

Smart Grids and Smart Metres: Our energy lead scholar is advisor to the India Smart Grid Forum (ISGF) – public private partnership initiative of Ministry of Power – and also BESCOT's efforts on Smart Grids and on Technology. Brookings India partnered with ISGF for the second year to organise the India Smart Grid Week 2017.

In early 2016, the government made Smart Metres mandatory for all consumers above 500 kWh by 2017 and 200 kWh consumption by 2019. The CEA took note of our recommendations and the policy was amended in August 2016. Utilities can now use geographic clustering as a criteria for choosing where to roll out smart metres.

Electrification: Our work on electrification of villages that calls for going beyond the first step of provision of a physical wire to the village and instead providing a more realistic framework for provision of quality electricity service to households is heavily cited in newspapers.





Triangulating Coal, Renewables and Power in India

Power generation or electricity is the highest consumer of coal among all sectors in India, therefore requires a special attention. A Brookings India study triangulated the implications of the government of India's target of mining 1.5 billion tonne of coal by 2020.

The study found that the likely capacity, and thereby the coal required for this capacity, was far higher than necessarily required. It therefore recommended that the actual coal requirement in 2020 would be lower than officially targeted.

To discuss the results with stakeholders, an expert roundtable brought together selected leaders from industry, academia, in the same room as the Government of India Secretaries for the Ministries of Coal, Power, and RE.

▼ (From Left) Brookings India Fellow Rahul Tongia; Secretary, Ministry of Power, P.K. Pujari; Secretary, Ministry of Coal, Anil Swarup; Distinguished Fellow Rakesh Mohan; and Secretary Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Upendra Tripathy at the Brookings India discussion on triangulating coal, power and renewables



- **Challenges and recommendations for meeting the upcoming standards for air pollution from thermal power plants in India**, Rahul Tongia, with Deborah Seligsohn, *Brookings Institution India Center*, February 2017

- **Data for development: The case for an Indian energy information administration**, Rahul Tongia, with Varun Rai, Gireesh Shrimali and Nikit Abhyankar, *Energy Research & Social Science*, March 2017

OP-EDS, BLOGS

- **How to sell HELP**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *The Financial Express*, 06-04-2016

- **Environmental hard truths**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *The Financial Express*, 02-05-2016

- **Divided, volatile world ahead** Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *The Financial Express*, 04-07-2016

- **Think you're being eco-friendly by using cloth bags? Think again**, Rahul Tongia, *The Huffington Post India*, 28-07-2016

- **How India reformed its petroleum sector**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *The Financial Express*, 01-08-2016

- **Save me technology, for I have (energy) sinned**, Rahul Tongia, *The Huffington Post India*, 03-09-2016

- **Pipelines over politics**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *The Financial Express*, 05-09-2016

- **The government's 'little mistakes' can have a high cost**, Rahul Tongia, *The Huffington Post India*, 21-11-2016

- **How India can meet its ambitious renewable energy targets**, Rahul Tongia, *The Wire*, 26-12-2016

- **2016, the year of inflexion for the oil industry?**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *The Indian Express* and *The Financial Express*, 06-02-2017

- **No such thing as a perfect renewable energy contract**, Rahul Tongia, *Mint*, 21-02-2017



◀ (From left) Fellow Rahul Tongia; J. Bandyopadhyay, Chief Engineer, Planning, CEA; and Manish Aggarwal, Head, Energy & Natural Resources, KPMG; at a discussion on Coal: Are we headed towards an oversupply in 2020?

INTERVIEWS/VIDEOS

- **Rahul Tongia on smart cities | Emtech India 2016**, CNN IBN, 11-04-2016
- **Re-thinking access and electrification in India | Rahul Tongia**, Brookings.in, 08-05-2016
- **Environmental compliance for Indian thermal power plants: Lessons and insights**, Rahul Tongia, with Deborah Seligsohn, Brookings India, 20-02-2017

CONFERENCES, DISCUSSIONS AND ACTIVITIES

- **Roundtable | Secretary-level roundtable on triangulating coal, renewables, and power in India**
This expert roundtable brought together selected leaders from industry, academia, and government, and was a Chatham House Rule discussion with the Secretaries of Coal, Power, and RE, Government

of India. It was a discussion of our results on supply and demand of coal, and was chaired by Distinguished Fellow Rakesh Mohan and moderated by Fellow Rahul Tongia. 01-04-2016

- **Roundtable | Clean energy finance in India**

This roundtable brought together RE-focused stakeholders, including from the Clean Energy Finance Forum (CEFF), for a discussion with Brian Deese, Special Advisor to US President Barack Obama, and was a complementary effort to the Indo-US Task Force on Clean Energy. 01-06-2016

- **Roundtable | Coal auctions: Implications and the way forward**

Focused discussion between industry and academic stakeholders on the Government of India's coal auctions, including an analysis and discussion of the previously completed coal block auctions. 29-06-2016

- **Coal: Are we headed towards an oversupply in 2020?**

Panel discussion and launch of the study "Coal requirement in 2020: A bottom-up analysis" with J. Bandyopadhyay, Chief Engineer (Integrated Resource Planning) CEA; Partha Bhattacharyya, former CMD,

▶ (From Left) Jonathan Pershing, U.S. Special Envoy for Climate Change, speaks at an expert roundtable on Financing 175 GW of RE: New challenges for a new energy order





▲ *Expert roundtable with Special Advisor to the US President, Brian Deese (second from right) on clean energy finance in India*

► *Seminar on managing pollution from thermal power plants and brick kilns in India with Sarath Guttikunda, Founder and Director, UrbanEmissions*



Coal India; and Manish Aggarwal, Head, Energy & Natural Resources, KPMG. 05-07-2016

• **Perspectives on private participation in the coal industry**

Discussion on different modes and roles for the private sector in India's coal sector, moderated by Rohit Chandra, Harvard University. It featured discussions between DN Prasad, Advisor, Ministry of Coal; industry expert Raman Srikanth, and Animesh Sahay, ex-CMD, Mahanadi Coalfields Limited. 12-08-2016

• **Roundtable | Featuring US Special Envoy for Climate Change Jonathan Pershing**

With stakeholders across industry, academia, media, and multi-lateral agencies, including from the Clean Energy Finance Forum, for a discussion with Jonathan Pershing, US Special Envoy for Climate Change. 01-09-2016

• **Seminar and discussion | Managing pollution from thermal power plants and brick kilns in India**

Featuring Sarath Guttikunda, Founder and Director, UrbanEmissions. 20-10-2016

• **Seminar | Overcoming business as usual (BAU): Understanding and enabling smart grids in India**

In collaboration with Microsoft Research India, and included participants from IEEE and local industry. 20-10-2016

• **Roundtable | Coal auctions: The key questions**

A hard look at the economics of allocation in the past auction, with specific focus on reverse auctions. 18-11-2016

• **Green growth roadmap: 2017 and beyond**

This roundtable was organised with support from the Embassy of Korea, and was a multi-stakeholder discussion on pathways for green growth in a post-Paris world. Discussants across industry, academia/NGOs, media, and governments discussed what are some changes post the US elections and how these can impact options and opportunities for India and other developing regions. 15-12-2017

• **Workshop | Multidimensional implications of coal washing**

A deep-dive discussion on the technology, economics, and regulation of coal washing in India, especially in the context of increasingly stringent environmental norms. Discussants included industry leaders from mining, power generation, railways, government and NGOs. 24-12-2017

• **Costs and benefits of low-carbon energy pathways**

Featuring Brookings Institution Non-Resident Senior Fellow Charles Frank, this discussion focused on what has changed since the Planning Commission released the Expert

Committee's report on Low Carbon Strategies for Inclusive Growth. Changes included a variety of developments including the Paris COP21 commitments, the exceptional fall in solar power prices, the relatively surplus of coal in India, low oil prices, continued low US shale prices, negative yields in parts of the world. 23-02-2017

• **India Smart Grid Week (ISGW) 2017**

Brookings India was a partner for ISGW, organised by the India Smart Grid Forum. 07-03-2017 - 10-03-2017

Energy network of scholars: Kick-off meeting

In conjunction with IIT-Bombay and the Shakti Sustainable Energy Foundation, Brookings India organised its first meeting with leading scholars in the domain. Brookings India is the initial Secretariat for the effort and aims to bring together scholars in a voluntary format for helping increase interactions and improve the policy impact of their research.

Trade, Investment & Industrial Policy



The Brookings India team focused on developing new insights on a range of research topics.

These include an examination of India's trade policy reform since 1991, digital economy and trade, product space analysis for developing new export products from India, how India could use the framework of TPP agreement for its own process of reform and agreements with other nations, examination of key issues in the area of Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), and WTO and India – the way ahead.

Some of the Work Undertaken in 2016-17 Includes:

Trade policy reform in India since 1991: Brookings India examined a whole range of trade policy reforms in India since 1991, in terms of both border measures and inside-

the-border measures. This work tracks the evolution of the enlarged scope of trade policy, the main direction of reform in this area, gaps in the reform programme that still need to be addressed, and the future trade policy initiatives required to maintain competitiveness and improving linkages with global markets. One of the interesting results of this work is that India's trade-weighted average tariff at about 2 per cent is much lower than commonly assumed. This has implications for India's negotiation strategy and preparing for rationalisation of the tariff regime.

Digital economy and trade: This is a joint initiative developed with Brookings D.C., in co-ordination with Senior Fellow Joshua Meltzer. The main idea is to address policy issues arising in the context of digital economy and trade. Initially, the focus is on privacy regulations relating to international data transfers, and how to prepare the policy response within India in this regard. In addition,

this work identifies major regulatory issues that arise in the area of trade governance and internet governance, and how to pave the way for collaborative arrangements that would help to address these issues.

Product space analysis to develop new export products from India:

Though some work using product space analysis, based on existing manufactured exports and potential reflected in that structure of exports, has been carried out in India, Brookings India has initiated research on a more detailed examination of the data and use of filters that would identify technologically complex products or employment-intensive products, for policy supports. This effort will be supplemented with questionnaire responses from India's exporters to identify major trade restrictions that they face in their key markets. Over time, the effort will be to make this into an annual report to help policy makers in their discussions with other economies or to improve domestic capacities for larger export market access.

Using the framework of TPP agreement for India's benefit:

The TPP agreement is facing an uncertain future, after the exit of the United States from that agreement. However, the agreement is in a form which can

Our work identifies major regulatory issues that arise in the area of trade governance and internet governance, and how to pave the way for collaborative arrangements that would help to address these issues.



be used to identify provisions that are essential for good governance, or to improve the cost-effective operations of domestic production activity. In addition, the agreement identifies some major methods or elements that could form the basis for regulatory coherence amongst India and other economies, based on India's examination of which parts of the process would be suitable for its initiatives to build better conditions for international trade. Thus, the TPP Agreement provides a basis for domestic reform as well as bilateral/ regional/ multilateral agreement on a number of areas that would build a better basis for becoming part of regional or global value chains.

Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT):

India has developed its own model BIT which it would consider as a basis of its future BITs. Brookings India has begun to examine this model, the main reasons for revisions in this and the extent to which this can provide a basis for others to consider possible convergence towards a revised BIT.

WTO and India - the way ahead:

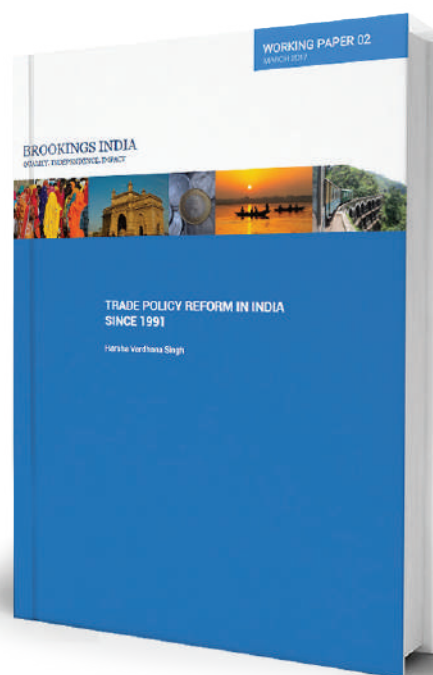
Several countries in the world today, including large economies, have become inward oriented and sensitive to the impact of imports on domestic employment opportunities. At the same time, these economies wish to have larger access in other markets

Our work is providing new insights to policy makers and trade negotiators for both policy reform as well as their discussions with other governments.

This work would help provide an objective basis to identify dynamic export sectors for India, and the linked skills as well as policy framework that will support initiatives. The framework emerging from this work could also help India take leadership initiatives at the WTO and enhance market opportunities through better regulatory collaboration with other nations. This would be useful to develop additional possibilities for Indian producers to participate in international value chains.

for their own exports. Brookings India is working on ways in which this situation could be addressed to promote bilateral agreements which provide comfort to the signatories in terms of the impact of imports, yet result in improving opportunities for trade amongst the economies concerned.

During 2016–17, Brookings India’s trade, investment and industrial policy team participated in a number of national and international programmes that examined policy issues in this area. In addition, our scholar has been part of a high-level board of experts on the future of global trade governance, established by Bertelsmann Stiftung.



▲ Brookings India Working Paper “Trade policy reform in India since 1991” provides quantitative information and qualitative insights regarding the evolution of trade policy in the past 25 years

Research & Publication

RESEARCH PAPERS

- **Equalisation levy**, Ashok K. Lahiri, Gautam Ray, and D.P. Sengupta, Working Paper, *Brookings Institution India Center*, January 2017
- **Trade policy reform in India since 1991**, Harsha Vardhana Singh, Working Paper, *Brookings Institution India Center*, March 2017

OP-EDS, BLOGS

- **How Make in India can be bad news for trade deal with Australia**, Vikram Singh Mehta, *Australia Financial Review*, 10-03-2016
- **India and G20 : How India can reshape world economic and financial order**, Geethanjali Nataraj, *The Financial Express*, 22-08-2016
- **India can’t use BRICS to raise stature till interests with China don’t converge**, Geethanjali Nataraj, *The Financial Express*, 27-09-2016
- **India takes the lead in BRICS**, Geethanjali Nataraj, East Asia Forum, 08-10-2016
- **Will new BIT help promote India’s FDI? Here’s why investments may get affected**, Geethanjali Nataraj, *The Financial Express*, 28-10-2016
- **Will a new model investment treaty boost India’s FDI?**, Geethanjali Nataraj, East Asia Forum, 04-11-2016
- **How Donald Trump may re-negotiate the TPP**, Harsha Vardhana Singh, *Mint*, 30-11-2016
- **India-UK post-Brexit ties will depend on UK’s willingness to accept labour movement**, Geethanjali Nataraj, *The Financial Express*, 16-12-2016
- **Trump’s new trade tax in uncharted territory**, Harsha Vardhana Singh, *Mint*, 01-03-2017

• **Union Budget 2017’s impetus to infrastructure may not be enough to revive sector**, Geethanjali Nataraj, *The Financial Express*, 13-02-2017

• **India is an average low-tariff economy**, Harsha Vardhana Singh, *Business Standard*, 13-02-2017

INTERVIEWS

• **Today, US needs India more than India needs US**, Geethanjali Nataraj Singh, *The Dollar Business*, 16-01-2016

• **Trump’s decision on Trans-Pacific Partnership gives India some breathing space: Harsha Vardhana Singh**, *The Times of India*, 25-11-2016

Equalisation levy

The equalisation levy in India from June 1, 2016 is meant to be a presumptive tax on some specified services provided by non-residents in the ‘hard to tax’ digital sector. In a market dominated by a few big players, because of the network effect and cost characteristics, it corrects the obviously unfair advantage that some non-resident companies without permanent establishments enjoy over domestic players, tempting even resident digital companies to become non-residents. A Brookings India paper argues that the government should examine whether the levy can be made into a rebuttable presumptive one to avoid possible double taxation.



Our Experts

Our leadership includes scholars whose background and expertise position Brookings India as the leading resource in New Delhi for analysis and recommendations on issues that matter to India.



Vikram Singh Mehta



Harsha Vardhana Singh

Vikram Singh Mehta

Chairman, Brookings India. Formerly, Chairman of Shell in India.

Harsha Vardhana Singh

Executive Director, Brookings India. Formerly Deputy Director-General at the World Trade Organization.

Rakesh Mohan

Distinguished Fellow. Previously, India's Executive Director of the IMF, and Deputy Governor of the RBI.



Rakesh Mohan



Shamika Ravi

Shamika Ravi

Senior Fellow. Her research interests are in the areas of gender inequality and democracy, financial inclusion, and health.

Rahul Tongia

Fellow. His research focuses on energy, electricity, and sustainable development, with additional expertise in IT and telecom.



Rahul Tongia



Dhruva Jaishankar

Dhruva Jaishankar

Fellow. His work encompasses Asia-Pacific security, U.S. foreign policy, international relations, and impact of technology on security and politics.

Bhaskar Chakravorti

Non-Resident Senior Fellow. His research is on the areas of innovation, sustainable development and digital transformation.

W.P.S. Sidhu

Non-Resident Senior Fellow. Previously EastWest Institute (New York), Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

Anit Mukherjee

Non-Resident Fellow. His research interest is civil military relations.

Geethanjali Nataraj

Consulting Scholar. Her research is in the area of international trade issues and policy.

Daljit Singh

Visiting Scholar. His research focuses on the area of policy formulation and evaluation, and regulation of the energy sector in India and USA.



Bhaskar Chakravorti



W.P.S. Sidhu



Anit Mukherjee



Geethanjali Nataraj



Daljit Singh

Other Research Staff

Anurag Sehgal, Research Associate.

Works on energy policy and environment, sustainable development and coal.

Mathangi Swaminathan, Research Associate.

Works on issues in development economics.

Shruti Godbole, Research Assistant.

Interests include foreign, defence and security policy in South and Southeast Asia.

Abhishek Mishra, Research Assistant.

Works on issues of energy sustainability.

Nirupama Jayaraman, Research Assistant.

Works on issues in development economics, especially on smart cities.

Ramandeep Singh, Research Assistant.

Works on issues of trade and economy.

Our Founders & Supporters

The establishment of Brookings India has been made possible by the generous and visionary support of the Brookings India Initiative Founders Circle, a group that believes in the importance of independent policy research at this critical juncture in India's history.

Resources from our Founders Circle -- individuals, foundations, corporations, and others -- who contribute to Brookings India enable our experts to pursue in-depth research on the most pressing issues facing decision-makers. Through all of their work, Brookings India scholars focus on developing practical recommendations that go beyond addressing the symptoms of problems to getting at their root causes. Brookings India is grateful for the philanthropic investments that make these contributions to problem-solving possible.

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To enquire about how you can support Brookings India, please contact our Development team at info@brookingsindia.org or call our office on +91 11 2415 7600.

Financials

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH, 2017

	PARTICULARS	As of 31st March, 2017 (Rs.)	As of 31st March, 2016 (Rs.)
I.	EQUITY AND LIABILITIES		
1.	Shareholder's Funds	100,000	100,000
(a)	Share capital	350,500,00	311,500,000
(b)	Corpus Funds	(25,374,500)	(9,597,880)
(c)	Reserves and surplus	325,225,500	302,002,120
2.	Non-Current Liabilities		
(a)	Non-Current Liabilities	1,116,384	601,847
3.	Current Liabilities		
(a)	Trade payables	588,687	3,340,814
(b)	Short term provision	5,032	24,602
(c)	Other current liabilities	18,303,720	8,959,641
		18,897,439	12,325,057
	Total	345,239,32	314,929,024
II.	ASSETS		
2.	Non-Current Assets		
(a)	Fixed Assets		
(i)	Property, Plant & Equipment	16,312,296	1,900,918
(ii)	Intangible assets	64,296	150,345
(iii)	Capital work in progress	---	15,879,02
		16,376,592	17,930,288
(b)	Long term loans and advances	10,618,125	8,884,854
		26,994,717	26,815,142
2.	Current Assets		
(a)	Cash and bank balances	317,316,699	287,703,989
(b)	Short-term loans and advances	532,136	409,893
(c)	Other current assets	395,771	---
		318,244,606	288,113,882
	Total	345,239,323	314,929,024

Financials

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH, 2017

	PARTICULARS	As of 31st March, 2016- 2017 (Rs.)	As of 31st March, 2015- 2016 (Rs.)
I.	REVENUE FROM OPERATIONS	39,458,896	44,252,443
II.	OTHER INCOME	20,025,840	19,668,807
III.	TOTAL INCOME (I + II)	59,484,736	63,921,250
IV.	EXPENSES		
	Employee benefits expense	29,981,490	26,234,714
	Finance costs	60,297	3,410
	Depreciation and amortisation expense	3,860,256	1,156,910
	Other expenses	41,359,313	37,350,374
	Total expenses	75,261,356	64,745,408
V.	Deficit before tax (III- IV)	(15,776,620)	(824,158)
	Tax expenses		
	Current tax	---	---
	Deferred tax	---	---
VII.	Deficit for the year (V -VI)	(15,776,620)	(824,158)
VIII.	Earnings per equity share:		
	Basic and diluted	(15,777)	(824)
	Nominal value of equity shares	100	100

Operations

Brookings Institution India Center has, over the year, operationalised its systems including policies, processes and practices, so as to gear up to meet the institution's growing requirements. Our vision is future-focused and evolving with the objective of ensuring an environment of quality work.

Policies have been drawn up to integrate seamlessly and uphold our values and culture, and also with a view to creating robust and efficient systems to support each member of the team and their objectives.



Kabir Vasudeva



Nitika Mehta

Kabir Vasudeva

Chief Operations Officer. Vasudeva served in the Indian Navy for 30 years. Previously, he was Executive Director of the Pacific Asia Travel Association.

Nitika Mehta

Head, Development & Communications. Mehta has worked previously as an editor, researcher and journalist with media houses, industry, United Nations, and international organisations in Switzerland, Australia, Singapore & India.

K.J. Basskaran

Head, Administration. Basskaran is responsible for HR and Administration at Brookings India.



K.J. Basskaran



Krishan Kumar Sharma

Krishan Kumar Sharma

Head, Finance. Sharma is responsible for coordinating finance, accounts and banking related matters.

Shruti Gakhar, Development & Communications Officer

Shailly Gupta, Development & Communications Assistant

Monica Chawla, Administrative Assistant

Outreach

Brookings India places a strong emphasis on disseminating our scholars' work through publications, public and private events, media appearances, and through innovative digital media tools

These various engagements with our stakeholders help us in reaching out to a broad and influential audience so that Brookings India scholars' findings have lasting impact on policy formulation.

Brookings India has developed new and improved capacities to engage wider, more diverse audiences around the world. It does so by developing and maintaining the most effective digital products and other means available for outreach, engaging diverse audiences.

Brookings India has focused on the following outreach activities:



Publications such as our reports, Impact series papers, policy briefs and working papers.



Op-eds, blogs, television appearances, media citations by our scholars have made them go-to resources for expert and independent commentary and analysis.



Public events and expert roundtables that provide a platform for notable policymakers, business leaders and opinion-makers to share their views and see Brookings India as a go-to place for thoughtful policy discussions.



External engagements that help our scholars take their research and analysis to different audiences in the form of panel discussions and keynote addresses.



Face-to-face meetings and briefings with Indian Cabinet ministers, Parliamentarians, senior bureaucrats and foreign embassies in India. Several of our scholars are invited members of task forces and specialist committees at government ministries.



Digital and social media: Our dedicated website is a repository for all our research, event notes and discussions - often in the form of videos. Our Facebook following has grown 300 per cent and Twitter following over 150 per cent in the past two years. Our followers on social media comprise several influential thought leaders, academics, media organisations, and others.

Other innovative forms of communication include interactive infographics and live videos that aim to deliver key messages from our research in attractive formats.



The Brookings India monthly **Newsletter** summarises our research, writings and updates on events and is sent out through email to a list of our stakeholders, which has grown 300 per cent in the last two years. The **Annual Report** and **Prospectus** detail all of our work.

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