

INDIA IN THE WORLD

Emerging Perspectives on Global Challenges



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Insights from the research project India in the World: Emerging Perspectives on Global Challenges (INDWORLD) and the institutional cooperation between the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) is a non-profit institute (established in 1959) whose overarching purpose is to conduct research on the conditions for peaceful relations between states, groups and people. The institute is independent, international and interdisciplinary, and explores issues related to all facets of peace and conflict.

INDWORLD (India in the World)

is a project under the longstanding institutional cooperation between the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) in Delhi and the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). The IDSA-PRIO cooperation started in early 2006 with the aim of carrying out joint research, networking and scholarly exchange on conflict management, mediation, peacebuilding and non-traditional security. The cooperation has also facilitated academic exchange with a focus on research methodology. INDWORLD comprised three subprojects: Food Security and Globalization, Nuclear Governance, and Climate Change and CBDR-RC (Common But Differentiated Responsibilities-Respective Capabilities).

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India in the World



INDIA IN THE WORLD

The Project

India in the World: Emerging Perspectives on Global Challenges (INDWORLD) was conceptualised in the spring of 2013, building on the experiences of 7 years of collaboration between the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).

INDWORLD was made up of three subprojects, each covering topics of relevance to the core theme: India's emergence as a pro-active stakeholder in global governance. The common goal of all three subprojects was to explore India's foreign and multilateral policymaking and its emerging perspectives and positions on key global challenges.

Food Security and Globalisation

As a large agrarian economy, India keeps a focus on food production and the food needs of its population. This subproject has studied Indian efforts to secure the Right to Food, concerns about genetically modified seeds, and

reforms in the Public Distribution System (PDS), and how these issues impact on India's stance on global trade in food, intellectual property rights and seed sovereignty.

Nuclear Governance

India is intent on building up its nuclear energy capacity. Following the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Agreement, India has an inspections programme under the IAEA and a waiver from the Nuclear Suppliers Group to access civilian nuclear technology and fuel from abroad. In the INDWORLD subproject on Nuclear Governance, we studied India's efforts to develop a coherent nuclear governance position.

Climate Change and CBDR-RC

In negotiations under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, India's demand for equity is captured in the key principle Common But Differentiated Responsibilities, Respective Capabilities. In this subproject we investigated the CBDR-RC principle and its changing implications.

The IDSA-PRIO Story

The Story Begins

In January 2005, PRIO researchers Scott Gates and Åshild Kolås were invited to New Delhi by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) to attend their annual Asian Security Conference, and explore the potential for cooperation between IDSA, a strategic studies think tank under the Indian Ministry of Defence, and PRIO, an independent peace research institute with a core grant from the Research Council of Norway. A year later, a joint proposal on institutional cooperation was developed by Åshild Kolås and Uttam Kumar Sinha, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed, a proposal was approved by the Norwegian Embassy in Delhi, and the project was officially under way. Åshild Kolås was the project leader and coordinator of the PRIO side of the cooperation, while Uttam Sinha was the coordinator on the IDSA side.

The Cooperative Mode

The IDSA-PRIO cooperation was designed as a joint initiative with the aim of carrying out collaborative research, networking and scholarly

exchange between IDSA and PRIO. As formulated in the Memorandum of Understanding between the two institutions, the key objective of the cooperation was to develop new knowledge and expertise on topics of mutual interest, within the fields of conflict management, mediation, peacebuilding and non-traditional security. The research activities under the cooperation were to be organised in subprojects. The cooperation would also facilitate networking and academic exchange with a focus on research methodology, later organised more formally as “capacity-building workshops”, as well as exchange visits, longer visiting fellowships, seminars and conferences.

Phases of Cooperation

The IDSA-PRIO cooperation was carried out in several phases, each managed and funded as a separate project. The first project phase lasted 18 months, from early 2006 until mid-2007, and was simply known as the “IDSA-PRIO cooperation”. The second phase lasted three years (2007–2010), and was carried out under the title “Human Security in

India”. The third phase (2011–2014) was given the updated title “Security in South Asia”. The fourth and final phase (2015–2018) was entitled “India in the World: Emerging Perspectives on Global Challenges”. This report has the project “India in the World” (INDWORLD) as its main focus, but provides additional information on the broader structure of the IDSA-PRIO cooperation, of which INDWORLD has made up the final building block.

Cooperation as Process

Over the twelve years of IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation, the modes and formats of cooperation have naturally evolved, together with the changes in the broader research and political milieus of the two countries, and the evolution of the cooperating institutions themselves. Throughout the changing times, we are confident that the IDSA-PRIO cooperation has delivered innovative research insights and exchange of ideas for the mutual benefit of both India and Norway. Hopefully we have encouraged a little more peace and understanding in the wider world as well.



Research Team



Åshild Kolås

Åshild is a Research Professor at PRIO. She holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Oslo, and has led the IDSA-PRIO cooperation since its inception, also heading PRIO's Conflict Resolution & Peacebuilding Program (2005–2011). She is a researcher of governance, identity politics and peacebuilding, based on extensive fieldwork in China as well as Northeast India. While leading the INDWORLD project, Åshild was also responsible for Nuclear Governance, in collaboration with the IDSA Centre on Nuclear and Arms Control.



Uttam Kumar Sinha

Uttam is a Fellow at IDSA. He is Managing Editor of *Strategic Analysis*. He holds a PhD in International Politics and has coordinated the IDSA side of the IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation since 2005. He has been a Visiting Fellow at PRIO and a Visiting Professor at the Malaviya Centre for Peace Research, Banaras Hindu University. He was awarded the Indo-British Chevening Gurukul Scholarship at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He was also a visitor to the Harvard Kennedy School in 2015. For INDWORLD, Uttam has worked on Climate Change and CBDR-RC.



Jason Miklian

Jason is a Post-doc at the University of Oslo, Centre for the Environment & Development, and a Senior Researcher at PRIO. He holds an MSc in International Relations from London School of Economics and Political Science, and a PhD in Development Studies from the University of Life Sciences (Norway). With a focus on South Asian conflict resolution and security, he has carried out extensive fieldwork in India. Jason has worked for the IDSA-PRIO cooperation since 2007, and was the PRIO researcher on Climate Change and CBDR-RC for INDWORLD.



Ruchita Beri

Ruchita is a Senior Research Associate at IDSA. She has an MPhil degree from the School of International Studies (SIS) at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), and holds a Diploma in Conflict Studies from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (Sweden). Ruchita is an alumna of 'Women in International Security' (an international network based in the USA). She also serves as Vice President of the African Studies Association of India. For the INDWORLD project, she coordinated the IDSA work on Food Security and Globalisation.



Elida Kristine Undrum Jacobsen

Elida is a Senior Researcher at PRIO. She holds a PhD in Peace and Development Research from the School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University. She has core expertise on Indian policy and human security, and wrote her PhD thesis (2015) on the topic of “Unique Biometric IDs: Governmentality and Appropriation in a Digital India”. During her work for the INDWORLD project, Elida has been based in New Delhi at the Nordic Centre in India, while conducting research on Food Security and Globalisation.



Reshmi Kazi

Reshmi is an Associate Professor at Jamia Millia Islamia, and holds a PhD from JNU. As a leading expert on India’s nuclear security and non-proliferation, she was invited in 2016 as Visiting Fellow to the Stimson Center, Washington, DC. Reshmi joined INDWORLD as a staff member of IDSA’s Centre on Nuclear and Arms Control, where she organised the 2016 IDSA-PRIO conference on India’s Role in Global Nuclear Governance. After accepting a professorship at Jamia Millia Islamia, she still contributes to the INDWORLD work on Nuclear Governance.



Priyankar Upadhyaya

Priyankar is a Professor at Banaras Hindu University (BHU). He holds a PhD from JNU and an Advanced International Diploma in Conflict Resolution from Uppsala University. He serves as UNESCO Chair for Peace and Intercultural Understanding, and is also the head of Malaviya Centre for Peace Research (MCPR) at BHU, where he teaches international relations and peace studies. As a long-time supporter and contributor to the IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation, Priyankar is also a PRIO Global Fellow, working mainly on Climate Change and CBDR-RC.



Rajiv Nayan

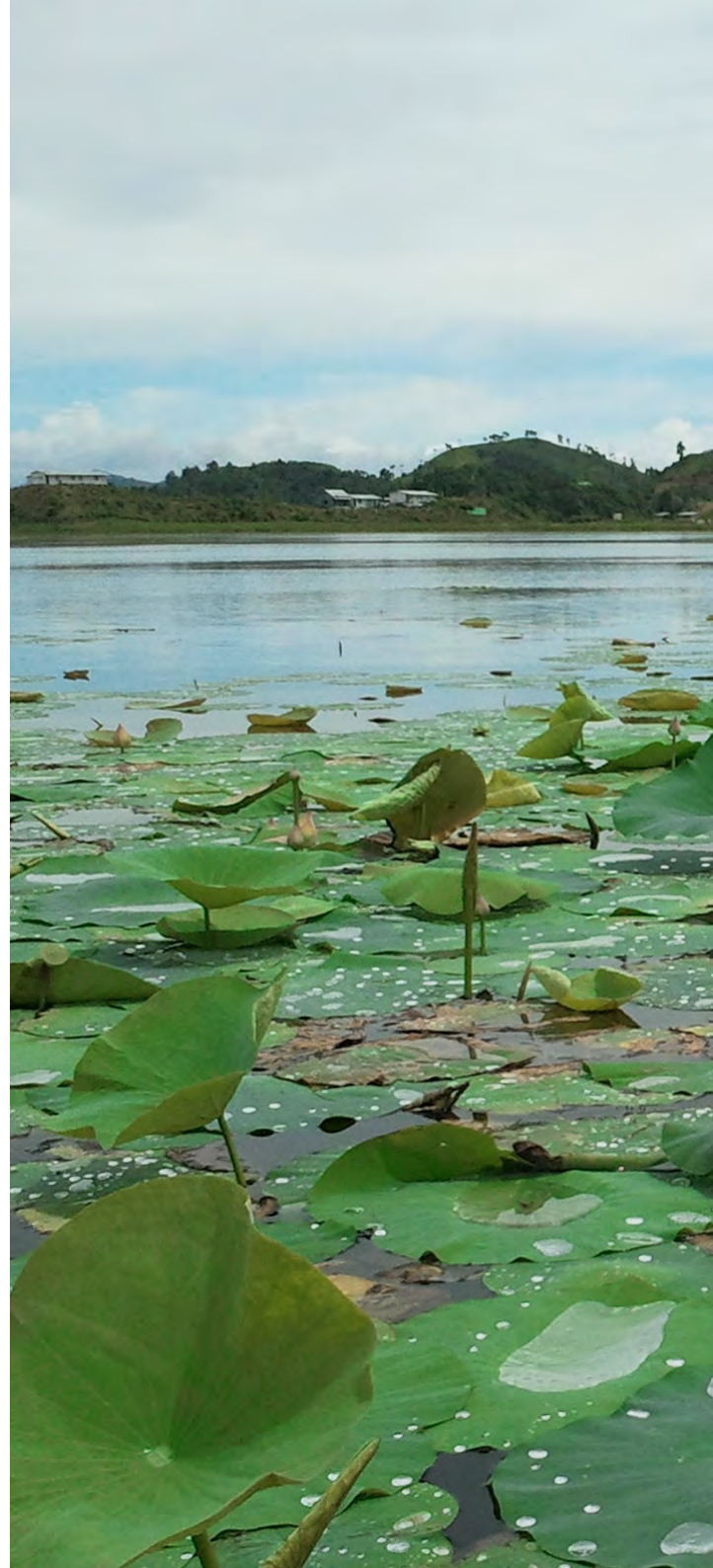
Rajiv is a Senior Research Associate at IDSA, and has a PhD from Jawaharlal Nehru University. As an expert on non-proliferation, export control and arms control, he is a member of the governing council of the International Export Controls Association (hosted by University of Georgia in Washington, DC), a member of the Export Controls Experts Group of the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (CSCAP), and serves in the Executive Council of the Indian Pugwash Society. For INDWORLD, Rajiv has carried out research on Nuclear Governance.

**Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya**

Anjoo is a Professor at Banaras Hindu University (BHU). She holds a PhD in Political Science and has received fellowships to the London School of Economics (LSE) and Woodrow Wilson Centre for International Scholars (Washington, DC). She has served as Research Director at the Institute of Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (INCORE) at the UN University. For the INDWORLD project, she organised the conference on Food Security Debates in India: Experiences From the Grassroots at BHU, and supports our work on Food Security and Globalisation.

**Ida Roland Birkvad**

Ida is a Research Assistant at PRIO. She holds a BA in Hindi from the University of Oslo, a BA in Comparative Politics from the University of Bergen, and an MSc in Comparative Political Thought from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. For the INDWORLD project, she has assisted on events and book proposals, and co-authored an article with Jason Miklian on 'Religion, poverty and conflict in a garbage slum of Ahmedabad'. From the fall of 2018, she will be a doctoral candidate at the Department of Politics and International Relations at Queen Mary, University of London.





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Research

The IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation has involved joint research with a focus on non-traditional security and conflict management, and a broader interest in challenges related to the environment and development. Over the following pages we present insights from the three subprojects of “India in the World”: Food Security and Globalisation, Nuclear Governance, and Climate Change and CBDR-RC (under the subheading Climate Change and Environmental Challenges), followed by key findings on the two major themes studied in previous phases of IDSA-PRIO cooperation, presented here under the headings Human Security and Development, and Conflict and Conflict Management.

Food Security and Globalisation

Nuclear Governance

*Climate Change and Environmental
Challenges*

Human Security and Development

Conflict and Conflict Management



Food Security and Globalisation

Self-sufficiency in food production has been a central policy agenda since India gained its independence. Nevertheless, food insecurity and malnutrition continue to coexist with a rapidly growing and increasingly globalised economy.

- In consecutive Five-Year Plans, the Government of India has stressed the need to place food security on the agenda of international trade negotiations. India has taken a cautious view as regards open international pricing systems, as this would leave Indian farmers in a vulnerable position. At the same time, there have also been reforms in the Public Distribution System (PDS), which is meant to ensure access to food for vulnerable groups in society.
- The National Food Security Bill was tabled in late 2011 and in January 2013, the Standing Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution presented its recommendations, covering issues such as the categorisation of beneficiaries, cash transfers and cost sharing between the central government and states. A revised version of the Bill was introduced to the Parliament in March 2013,
- giving legal entitlement to subsidised grains under the PDS to 67% of the population, 75% of the rural population and 50% of the urban population.
- India hosts a number of powerful movements, including civil society groups and associations of landholders who promote the Right to Food and food sovereignty, both nationally and internationally. Food sovereignty implies a holistic approach to food, including the right to grow food, to store and distribute home-grown seeds, and to have access to healthy, affordable food. Food sovereignty further includes the right of both peoples and states to determine their own agricultural and food policies. Pressures from global markets are seen to create an increasing reliance on pesticides and seeds from genetically modified organisms (GMOs). Promotion of seeds for the production of high-yielding
- crops has also caused a reduction in the variety of crops, and loss of crop biodiversity.
- Across India, extension workers continue to promote high-yield seeds, including seeds from GMOs, to local farmers, whose reliance on inputs such as chemical pesticides, fertilizers and “super-seeds” creates dependency. Small farmers still know how to store their own seeds, but they are often led to believe that inputs produced by agro-companies are necessary to increase yields. There is a polarised debate among policymakers and civil society on seed sovereignty and the use of GMOs as a way to boost crop yields in India. Critics such as Vandana Shiva disagree strongly with the promotion of GMO seeds as a key element of India’s so-called “second Green Revolution”.

Research

- India has its own Patenting Act (1970) prohibiting the patenting of agricultural and horticultural plants. Civil society organisations in India have also been critical of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement for allowing patenting and private ownership of “global commons” such as seeds and plants.
- In 2004, the Global Crop Diversity Trust was established to provide financial support to the world’s biodiversity gene banks. Together with the Nordic Genetic Resource Center, the Trust established the Global Seed Vault in Svalbard to provide the world’s crop seed depositories with safe storage space for crop seeds so as to conserve crop biodiversity further and help prevent extinction of valuable strains of edible plants. The Global Seed Vault opened its doors in 2008, and in 2014, India made its first seed deposit, consisting of 25 accessions of pigeon pea.
- The pigeon pea is an important crop for farmers in India’s semi-arid environments, and is considered a valuable crop, particularly in light of the prospect of increased climate variability, and greater propensity for drought. The pigeon pea is also a high-priority research topic at the International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics in Hyderabad.
- In recent years, food security has made its way into the global governance agenda. The UN set up a High Level Task Force (HLTF) on the Global Food Security Crisis after the 2008 food price crisis, while G8 and G20 summits have introduced global food security as a key item of consultations. In 2011 the BRIC countries adopted an action plan on “Making Joint Efforts for World Food Security”, while the IBSA trilateral forum has sought solutions to global food insecurity.
- Self-sufficiency in food production and integration with global markets are policies that can be difficult to reconcile. Indian policymakers also need to address sustainability in the agricultural sector, and provide fair prices for agro-produce, reliable infrastructure, and efficient food redistribution for the impoverished. There is a need for nutritional mapping of indigenous knowledge about forest foods, and subsistence farming practices need to be better understood. Addressing the needs of the landless requires attention to communal rights and access to water and forest resources. Loss of cropland to industry, mining and urbanisation, and persistent socioeconomic inequality are interrelated challenges. Policymakers need to consider the social context of food insecurity, and recognise farming as a way of life – fundamental to rural livelihood as well as food production.



Nuclear Governance

While India is a non-signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), it supports the idea of global nuclear disarmament and has joined several non-discriminatory international treaties. India continues to seek membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).

- India has a “No First Use” nuclear doctrine, and has also contributed to the non-proliferation agenda with an “Action Plan for Ushering in a Nuclear-Weapon Free and Non-Violent World Order”, presented by Rajiv Gandhi at the United Nations in 1988.
- Together with Pakistan, India is among the few states that have never signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), while openly declaring possession of nuclear weapons. India’s stance is that the NPT creates “nuclear haves and have-nots” by limiting the legal possession of nuclear weapons to states that tested these weapons before 1967.
- While India is progressively integrating itself with the global non-proliferation order, the Indian government continues to take issue with the fact that the NPT has recognised as nuclear weapons states only the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (P5): the USA, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom. The NPT signatories agree not to transfer nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce a non-nuclear weapon state to acquire nuclear weapons (Article I). The signatories have also agreed to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament (Article VI).
- The U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Agreement (or Indo-U.S. nuclear deal) is seen as a watershed in Indo-U.S. relations, in recognition of India’s responsible stewardship of nuclear weapons and of its international non-proliferation efforts. The deal required the amendment of US domestic law (the Atomic Energy Act of 1954), a civil-military nuclear Separation Plan in India, an inspections agreement under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the granting of a waiver for India to access civilian nuclear technology and fuel from other countries by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). This waiver makes India the only nuclear weapons country that is not a party to the NPT but is still allowed to carry out international nuclear trade.
- To help address its growing energy needs, India is intent on developing its nuclear energy production capacity. As of 2017, India has 21 power-generating nuclear reactors at seven sites, with a total capacity of 5.8 GW.



- India has an ambitious program for the expansion of its nuclear energy production, and is currently researching thorium with the aim to partially substitute other fissile materials in the fueling of its nuclear reactors. These decisions have come as a result of depleting oil reserves amidst rapidly growing energy needs, coupled with serious air pollution challenges in major cities. India has agreed to ambitious targets for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, and has plans for boosting production and sales of electric vehicles (EVs) to reduce air pollution. This will create an even greater demand for electricity, while renewables such as solar, wind and hydro-power are inadequate for producing the amount of clean energy required for future needs.
- India looks at nuclear technology as a key resource for meeting its energy requirements, while also recognising the need for strong institutional, legal, and physical infrastructure related to nuclear security, to ensure the safety of nuclear facilities. The Fukushima incident highlighted the need to review India's nuclear safety measures and mechanisms. The subsequent review was carried out with support from IAEA and the World Association of Nuclear Operators, with an aim to adopt stringently nuclear safety measures that comply with global standards.
- India's approach to the security of nuclear materials is through the pursuit of a closed fuel cycle. An open fuel cycle would involve disposal of spent fuel without extracting plutonium. Such a disposal would result in the creation of a plutonium mine for posterity. The security risks are aggravated further if such a disposal is designed to be retrievable. To ensure that there is no build-up of a plutonium stockpile, India is strictly observing the principle of "reprocess to reuse". Technology has been developed for the vitrification of high-level waste, which is packed in stainless steel over-packs, and stored in a Solid Storage Surveillance Facility.
- To address the issue of security of nuclear materials in the long-term, India is working towards more proliferation-resistant fuel cycles, such as reprocessing to separate plutonium along with uranium, and the development of thorium-based reactors. There are no fissile isotopes of thorium, so thorium cannot be used directly to produce energy, but in a reactor, the common isotope thorium 232 can be converted into uranium 233, which is a fissile material.
- Inspired by the Nuclear Security Summit process led by President Obama, India is also building a Global Center of Nuclear Energy Partnership (GCNEP).

Climate Change and Environmental Challenges

India has a relatively high climate variability. Climate change is expected to accentuate the variability, and add to the country's many environmental challenges. In climate change negotiations, India rests its position on the demand for equitable burden-sharing.

- Indian policymakers recognise the daunting challenges of climate change adaptation, including disaster preparedness for drought and floods, and planning for large-scale relief efforts after extreme weather events. Across political affiliation, policymakers agree that India needs to be better equipped to tackle climate change as well as broader environmental challenges facing the sub-continent.
- In negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), India has held on to the principle of Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC) as one of the cornerstones of sustainable development. Developed after the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, CBDR originated in equity principles in international law, and informs the Kyoto Protocol in particular.
- While the CBDR principle is a generally recognised principle of International Environmental Law as supported by growing evidence of state practice, not all states see it as a legal obligation (*opinio iuris*). Notably, the USA has issued an interpretative statement at the UN Conference on Environment and Development, stating that the United States does not accept any interpretation of “principle 7” that would imply a recognition or acceptance of any international obligations or liabilities, or any diminution in the responsibilities of developing countries. The same approach is shared by a number of other developed countries, while India and many other developing countries interpret CBDR-RC as an explicit formulation of actual responsibility, despite the fact that the implications remain undefined in practical terms.
- CBDR-RC has two matrices: “common responsibility” from the concept of a common human heritage and the duty of states to equally share the burden of protection of common resources, and “differentiated responsibility” arising from inequalities in the material and socio-economic situations across states, their historical contributions to global environmental problems. “Respective capabilities” is the ability of countries to deal with the problem in financial, technological and structural terms.
- Indian policymakers are interested in the relationship that CBDR-RC establishes between past economic exploitation of the global commons and the responsibility to mitigate the consequences of exploitation in the present. The Indian general public is engaged with these issues via a vibrant domestic media.

Research

- Despite the insistence on equitable burden-sharing, India has come to terms with global warming as a contemporary reality, rather than a distant threat. Amidst concerns about erratic weather conditions with record temperatures, drought and flooding, there have been warnings of a sharp increase in forest fires, especially in central India and the Himalayan region. The self-propelling nature of the links between forest fires and global warming are of concern to Indian experts, who understand the spiral-like mechanisms by which climate change accelerates. Rising temperatures combined with decreasing rain contributes to a greater frequency of forest fires, which in turn exacerbates global warming through the loss of carbon sink resources and an increase in carbon-dioxide (CO₂) in the atmosphere.
- Water shortages are another major challenge, especially as sources of ground water are depleted in many of India's urban areas. As expressed by Uma Bharati, Minister of Water Resources: "From being a water rich country, we have become a water scarce nation". Lack of adequate water supply entails the risk of rising social tensions as irrigation farmers compete with water-dependant industries, and politicians are held accountable for the provision of safe drinking water to the public.
- The Indian government aims to promote sustainable living based on moderate lifestyles, and to adopt a cleaner and more environment-friendly development path as compared to the paths taken earlier, by now developed countries. Nevertheless, India's energy needs are still growing, and India will rely on fossil fuels for the foreseeable future, in particular coal, which will continue to play an important role in India's energy mix, even as the use of renewables, nuclear energy and biogas is increasing.
- It is important to recognise that emission cuts represent only one part of the solution to the climate and environmental challenge. Another important measure for stocking CO₂ is reforestation, protection of remaining forests, and ecological restoration of degraded lands to their natural state. Ecosystem recovery not only serves as a sink for CO₂, but has other important benefits for the environment as well, including water storage, soil protection and biodiversity preservation, thus generating a range of ecological services contributing to human well-being.
- India is a promising location for further studies under the REDD+ program, thanks to projects such as the Yamuna Biodiversity Park and the Aravalli Biodiversity Park, developed and managed by the



Research

Delhi Development Authority in collaboration with the Centre for Environmental Management of Degraded Ecosystems (CEMDE) at the University of Delhi.

- The knowledge generated through past decades of biodiversity park development at CEMDE is now ready to be harvested and shared, as a model not only for recovery of natural habitats, but as a climate resilience system and filter system for nonpoint-source air pollution in urban landscapes. Such sharing of knowledge would be beneficial for both India and the world, not only for restoring forests, wetlands and other ecosystems for biodiversity and CO₂ sequestration through the protection of the environment, but also to develop best practices for information sharing, while also promoting the benefits of eco-restoration.
- India's total land area is about 329 million hectares, of which about 178 million hectares (54%) has been classified as degraded, including eroded lands, saline or alkaline lands, water-logged lands and lands that have been turned into wastelands by mining. Because of the size of India's land area, large-scale environmental restoration can contribute substantially to the global carbon balance, while also enhancing the health of the environment in India itself.
- High levels of climate variability is nothing new to India, but adaptation to a greater intensity of extreme weather events is a new challenge. India is a rapidly growing and industrialising economy, and the world's second most populous country. As such, India's stand in climate change negotiations has far-reaching implications. Developed countries have often ignored or dismissed India's developmental aspirations and its principal position of equity and Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC). The recent geopolitical realignment and the emergence of new blocs has weakened the idea of a global emission reduction target to be allocated to developed countries, and changed the differentiation between developed and developing nations in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). At COP21 in Paris in 2015, however, world leaders agreed to adopt the Bonn Challenge, i.e. restoration of 150 million hectares of degraded lands to their natural ecological state by 2020, which is a task to which India intends to contribute.
- The Paris Agreement included the provision of finance, technology and collaboration to create a Green Climate Fund. India welcomes these efforts and stands firm on its commitment to meet the climate change challenge.



Human Security and Development

In a world of increasingly scarce resources, rising energy demands from emerging economies, and a consumption-based lifestyle in the developed world, the process towards implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has created debates, in which India has taken an active role in many fora.

- In the post–Cold War era, security as a military-political interstate concern has increasingly been replaced by security as intrastate and non-traditional, incorporating transnational and global concerns such as depletion of resources, population pressure, pollution, land degradation, poverty and social inequality, epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, transnational crime, terrorism and civil strife. Some of these non-traditional security issues have found their way into the conventional security agendas of states.
- The concept of “human security”, as opposed to state security, was introduced as a potential challenge to the conventional security concept. However, concerns were soon raised about the relevance of the concept, and its linkages to the principle of “Responsibility to Protect” in international relations.
- In an IDSA-PRIO project on the concept of “human security” and its applicability in the study of Indian society, we explored two of the core issues on the human security agenda; water supply and health care (focusing on vaccines). Investigating the roles of federal and state-level actors, the Indian union government and a range of multilateral agencies, and their engagement in public/private partnerships, we questioned the state-individual dichotomy that is often viewed as intrinsic to the “human security” concept.
- Another key finding was that even minor funding from international NGOs and technical assistance from multilateral agencies can have negative consequences for policymaking in the developing world, equally undermining the relevance of core concepts such as “human security”.
- Largely replacing earlier discourse on “human security”, the notion of “sustainable development” has emerged as a core concept in a new search for common ground. At the Rio+20 Summit in 2012, a key commitment agreed upon was to establish an intergovernmental process on the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), to be decided by the UN General Assembly.
- The process on implementation of the SDGs has created vigorous debates, in which India has taken an active role in many fora. From an Indian perspective, the development of multilateral processes on SDG issues are intertwined with competitive economic interests as well as preservation of “global commons”, while the notion of “common” global problems is a matter of interpretation by stakeholders with varied agendas.

Conflict and Conflict Management

Non-traditional security served as the primary focal point of the IDSA-PRIO cooperation. This evolved into a research agenda on Indian responses to the homegrown Maoist and Naga insurgencies, illuminated by experiences of conflict resolution from cases such as Northern Ireland, as well as peacetime mechanisms such as Norway's Sami Parliament.

- As the IDSA-PRIO cooperation entered its second phase, there was growing concern in India over the fact that the armed “Naxalite” or Maoist movement had spread to nearly 200 of India's 602 districts, across the states of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Bihar.
- In Northeast India, armed encounters between security forces and non-state actors were kept at bay with the help of routinely renewed ceasefire agreements, managed by interlocutors appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. While fighting between security forces and non-state actors had more or less subsided, factional fighting was persistent among a plethora of armed groups and factions, each purporting to represent the interests and demands of a unique ethnic or “tribal” community.
- The largest and most pervasive of the Northeast Indian armed groups, the National Council of Nagalim-Isaac Muivah (NSCN-IM) was the first to benefit from the central government's promise of a political settlement. However, after more than a decade of fruitless “peace talks”, there was increasing frustration with the process as such. At the same time, relentless operations by the Indian army and paramilitary against Maoist forces in central India highlighted the serious consequences of a return to the “jungle” and the path of violence.
- Indian attempts to address armed conflict have consisted of a wide repertoire of approaches, covering counterinsurgency operations, “hearts and minds” strategies, and ceasefire agreements. In order to explore the thinking behind choices between different types
- of responses, we studied cases of conflict in the field combined with discourse on conflict management and peacebuilding among Indian security specialists. In the project on Organisation and Recruitment in Rebel Groups, for instance, we researched the organisational structures of India's Maoist or “Left Wing Extremist” groups, in an attempt to unravel patterns of recruitment and tactics, while also gaining a better understanding of conflict management efforts. The key role of civil society in conflict resolution was an important topic.
- We also turned our attention to the emerging Indian engagement in Afghanistan, and its impact on India-Pakistan relations. To counter the looming rivalry, we proposed a conciliatory approach that would include Afghanistan's neighbouring countries and the “West Asian” region in general.

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Communication and Exchange

The IDSA-PRIO cooperation has attempted to strike a balance between research and exchange, which has taken place in the form of exchange visits, joint conferences, capacity-building activities and roundtables, as described in the following pages. We have also communicated research questions and findings via the internet and digital media, in an attempt to reach wider audiences, and through academic publishing in books and journals. The final pages of this booklet list selected academic publications.

Exchange Visits

Conferences

Capacity-Building

Oslo Roundtables

Online Communication

Selected Publications

Exchange Visits

Throughout the IDSA-PRIO cooperation, provisions for Visiting Fellowships and academic visits have allowed researchers to work closely on collaborative research, in India as well as Norway. In addition, joint fieldtrips to other parts of India and the Arctic region have provided opportunities for networking and firsthand experiences of the issues at stake.

IDSA as an Indian security think tank and PRIO as an international peace research institute have rather divergent profiles in terms of their mandate and funding, and structural conditions in general. Some might even see them as polar opposites, and there were in fact several initial warnings about the alleged problems of cooperating with the “other”, that were fortunately ignored. An extensive research collaboration requires trust and understanding of differences. Flexible and longterm funding is an important prerequisite for such a collaboration, but frequent face-to-face meetings and shared experiences from visits outside the campus and capital can foster appreciation of the diversity of perspectives. The strong focus on exchange has been the real driver of the IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation, which has kept it going and evolving as an innovative meeting of minds for more than a decade.

PRIO visits and fieldwork in India

As mentioned in the introduction, the “IDSA-PRIO story” started with an invitation to PRIO to visit Delhi for IDSA’s Asian Security Conference. The experience of day-long deliberations on the technicalities of missile defense systems came as a shock to the future project leader, and during the first year of the IDSA-PRIO cooperation, there was enough to see and do at the IDSA premises. This changed when IDSA Director General Narendra Sisodia proposed that the research agenda should shift focus from the abstract and theoretical issues about energy and geopolitics, to more tangible questions concerning intrastate conflict. However, research on the Naga insurgency would require fieldwork. It was decided that the team would consist of Åshild Kolås and IDSA’s Namrata Goswami,

who had the local knowledge and necessary language skills as a native of the hills of Assam. Permission to visit the state of Nagaland was granted by the Nagaland authorities, but not by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The research was therefore carried out in Namrata’s hometown, Haflong, in Dima Hasao (then North Cachar Hills). The Maoist conflict was researched by Jason Miklian, a former Banaras Hindu University exchange student and Hindi-speaker, in tandem with Nihar Nayak from IDSA, whose research focus was the Maoists of Nepal. Later the “Maoist team” was strengthened with the appointment of P.V. Ramana, the leading expert on the Maoist movement at IDSA. The main output of this initiative was a PhD project and dissertation by Jason Miklian. At IDSA, there was a new attention to fieldwork, and participant observation as a methodology.

Communication and Exchange

IDSA visits to Norway and the Arctic

The initial IDSA visits to PRIO were month-long Visiting Fellowships, with simple lodging at the student town. In September 2008, after the second phase of cooperation had started, IDSA Director General, Narendra Sisodia made an official visit to Oslo, and presented on the topic of “Federalism in India” in a well-attended public lecture at PRIO.

The first IDSA-PRIO visit to the Arctic took place in the autumn of 2007, during Namrata Goswami’s stay as a Visiting Fellow at PRIO. The “Naga study team” (Kolås and Goswami) travelled to the core Sami areas in the Finnmark region (Karasjok and Kautokeino). The purpose of this trip was to visit institutions of key relevance to the Sami people, including the Sami Parliament, where staff of the secretariat gave an introduction to the Sami parliamentary system and the development of Sami political institutions in Norway, Finland and Sweden. While in Karasjok, we also visited the Sami broadcasting station (NRK) and in Kautokeino, we met with staff of the Sami University College and the Resource Center for Indigenous Peoples Rights.

In the third IDSA-PRIO phase, several more visits were made to the Arctic region. In 2012, the Barents secretariat in Kirkenes acted as host for an IDSA-PRIO delegation consisting of IDSA Director

General Arvind Gupta, H.E. Ambassador R.K. Tyagi, Uttam Sinha and Åshild Kolås. The tour included a presentation and visit to the Norwegian border patrol station, followed by a day-trip across the Russian border to Nikel, where local authorities held a mini-seminar to explain their cooperation with the Barents secretariat and the relations between Russia and Norway, as seen from their perspective. We were also given a highly informative presentation on the Northern Sea Route at the Centre for High North Logistics in Kirkenes. In the wake of this visit, Arctic governance and India’s application for observership status in the Arctic Council gained momentum.

In 2013, the same delegation paid a visit to the northern city of Tromsø, to meet with the secretariat of the Arctic Council and discuss implications of the Indian observership status in the Council. The visit took place just two months after India had gained observer status in the Council. The meeting with the secretariat was directly concerned with the potential role of India in the Council itself, and its various thematic working groups.

In 2017, under the INDWORLD project, we paid a visit to Svalbard together with Vijay Chauthaiwale, in charge of BJP’s Foreign affairs, accompanied by Uttam Sinha and Åshild Kolås. After a program in and around the town of Longyearbyen, the two IDSA guests travelled to New Ålesund for a visit to the Indian research station Himadri, together with Kim Holmén from the University Center in Svalbard (UNIS).





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Conferences

Joint conferences have played a vital role in the IDSA-PRIO institutional cooperation, as a forum to introduce new research questions and set the agenda for critical debate, and an opportunity to share ideas and research findings with academics and policymakers.

India's Climate Mitigation and Adaptation: Key Strategies

**Hilton Hotel, Bonn
(17 November 2017)**

The final IDSA-PRIO event was held during the 2017 Conference of Parties COP23 Summit in Bonn, Germany. The event was an output of the subproject on Climate Change and CBDRC, and its aim was to provide a platform for COP23 participants, particularly from Norway and India, to meet informally, share knowledge and discuss India's views, initiatives and key strategies in climate change negotiations. As an additional output of the event, we wrote a Report on India's Climate Mitigation and Adaptation: Key Strategies, outlining prospects for climate-related research and development cooperation.

Food Security Debates in India: Experiences From the Grassroots

**Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
(28–29 September 2016)**

This conference, hosted by the Malaviya Centre for Peace Research, Banaras Hindu University, launched the INDWORLD subproject on Food Security and Globalisation. The event looked at the wider implications of food security, beyond the disciplinary bounds of agricultural economics, to consider the procurement of food for the Public Distribution System, the nexus between agro-business, the bureaucracy and politicians, and the uprooting of farmers from their land. We thus approached food security through a myriad of perspectives, as a highly complex socio-political phenomenon.

India's Role in Global Nuclear Governance

**IDSA, New Delhi
(24–26 February 2016)**

This three-day conference brought together leading experts on nuclear governance from across the world to discuss challenges and opportunities of the emerging nuclear governance architecture, and how India might play a more proactive role as a driver of new ideas. The conference broke new ground by covering both nuclear security issues and non-proliferation frameworks, envisioning a holistic nuclear governance architecture for the future. In preparation for the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit, the event provided an opportunity to discuss alternatives to the fragmented nuclear security mechanisms of the present.

The Geopolitics of the Arctic

**IDSA, New Delhi
(23–24 September 2013)**

Hosted by IDSA and co-organised with Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI) and the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, this conference was a part of the AsiArctic project and a followup to IDSA-PRIOs Roundtable on Governance and Resource Use: The Case of the Arctic. The aim of the conference was to discuss Asian perspectives on Arctic governance, with an emphasis on India, Japan, China and South Korea, centred on these countries' newly obtained observer-ship status in the Arctic Council.

Transboundary Rivers: Multilateral Frameworks for Cooperation

**Taj Palace Hotel, New Delhi
(30 November 2011)**

With the increasing importance of transboundary river water in South Asia, hydro-diplomacy can be seen as a new framework for regional cooperation, with opportunities for dialogue, consultation and data-sharing. The conference aimed to assess the potential for dialogue and new mechanisms for cooperation between three Asian countries with transboundary rivers: China, India and Bangladesh.

Climate Change: Security Implications

**Hotel Himalaya, Kathmandu
(22–23 November 2010)**

The two-day conference on Climate Change: Geopolitical and Security Implications in South Asia was organised around four broad themes: the interface between climate change and security; the impact of climate change on water resources; climate change and scarcity; and the role of regional cooperation in addressing climate change issues. The conference was attended by scholars and experts from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, the Maldives, Sri Lanka, Norway and the United Kingdom.

Africa's Role in Energy Security: Global Issues, Local Responses

**IDSA, New Delhi
(23–24 June 2008)**

India has attempted to support developing African nations in global trade and international regimes. This IDSA-PRIO conference explored African views on energy security, and especially how African oil might serve as a “security hedge” in the foreign policy-making of import-dependent countries. The significance of oil in transformation of oil-rich African countries was another topic of debate.

Frameworks of Conflict Management

**IDSA, New Delhi
(8–9 January 2008)**

As a component of capacity-building on Conflict Management Frameworks and Negotiations, the aim of this two-day conference was to introduce conceptual issues related to conflict management and resolution in diverse societies. Presenters were asked to highlight conflict resolution lessons from both India and abroad, covering mechanisms of conflict management, insurgencies in India's Northeast and the Maoist conflict, Norway's Sami Parliament, and the Northern Ireland Assembly.

Geopolitics of Energy Security: The Rise of Asia

**Ashok Hotel, New Delhi
(15–16 December 2006)**

This conference brought together scholars from India, China, the USA and Europe to take a ground-breaking look at the linkages between three vital issues: global warming, peak oil, and the world's growing dependency on Persian Gulf oil reserves. India's Minister of State for External Affairs and Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs both held opening addresses at the conference.

Capacity-Building

IDSA-PRIO capacity-building was primarily designed to encourage interaction between bureaucrats, civil society actors, policymakers, academics and other professionals, to bring academia into closer contact with the ground realities under study. The informal, participatory approach offers learning experiences for all, regardless of “expertise”.

The first IDSA-PRIO activity under the “capacity-building” rubric was the workshop on Conflict Management Frameworks, held at IDSA in January 2008. The workshop brought together practitioners, academics, and policymakers from India, Northern Ireland and Norway to share experiences and discuss alternative visions of conflict management.

It is worth noting that IDSA-PRIO capacity-building was envisioned as a dialogue, rather than a one-way street running from North to South. In fact, several if not all of our activities offered learning opportunities for Norwegian scholars and practitioners as much as they did for their Indian counterparts. For instance, in April 2010, IDSA-PRIO organised a roundtable at the IDSA campus for staff of Norwegian diplomatic missions, for an open and interactive discussion on “Afghanistan, Pakistan and India’s Role”.

When the IDSA-PRIO cooperation turned its attention towards environmental challenges, researchers at IDSA wanted to use rigorous statistical analysis, while PRIO researchers were developing new methodologies to study links between environmental stress, population growth, and political violence, involving systematic compilation and analysis of high-resolution geo-referenced data on floods drought, freshwater availability, etc., in combination with data on violent conflict events.

In January 2012, PRIO researcher Helge Holtermann visited IDSA to give a technical training workshop for a group of interested IDSA researchers, which included an open session introducing the basics of the methodology. The workshop on “Using Quantitative Data in Conflict Research” included sessions on the types of conflict data available, how to organise and describe data using Excel, how to import and manage data

in STATA, how to generate variables and create graphical descriptions of trends and illustrate distributions with maps.

As opposed to the classroom-type capacity-building on quantitative methods, a fieldwork-style format was employed in a joint IDSA-PRIO visit to the PRIO Cyprus Centre in Nicosia in May 2010. The capacity-building workshop on Conflict Resolution Experiences in Cyprus was designed to investigate ongoing peacebuilding and negotiation efforts, and discuss how lessons from the longstanding Cyprus Problem might be applied to South Asian cases. In Nicosia, a roundtable with leading experts on the Cyprus conflict was followed the next day by a guided tour of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, as well as the buffer zone, adding firsthand impressions to the previous day’s theoretical presentations.

Indian scholars from IDSA, Janki Devi Memorial College (University of Delhi) and Banaras Hindu University attended the Peace Research course at the International Summer School, University of Oslo, as a part of the IDSA-PRIO cooperation:

Nihar Nayak (2007)
Medha Bisht (2008)
Venkatshamy Krishnappa (2008)
Priyanka Singh (2009)
Samuel Rajiv Savolu (2010)
Udai Bhanu Singh (2010)
Ali Ahmad (2011)
Manoj Kumar Mishra (2012)
Ajay Rajit Dubey (2012)
Prashant Kumar (2016)
Pratyasha Ghosh (2017)

Several MA students were associated with the IDSA-PRIO cooperation during 2007–2010, three of them with supervision by the project leader:

Ksenia Glebova (Department of Political Science, University of Helsinki) “Media Securitization of Migration: Constructing Bangladeshi migration to Assam as a Security Threat to Assamese identity”.

Aditya Mishra (Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford) “Human Security and Conflict Resolution in the Context of the Naxalite Movement in India”.

Maria Alte (Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Oslo) “The Framing of a Social Movement: Actor Perspectives on Joining, Leaving and Refraining from Membership in the Naxalite Movement in South India”.





Oslo Roundtables

A new format introduced as a part of the INDWORLD project was the Oslo Roundtable. Each of the three INDWORLD subprojects organised one Oslo Roundtable, all under Chatham House Rule.

India's Role in Global Nuclear Governance

**Thon Hotel Atrium, Oslo
(28 October 2015)**

Launching the Nuclear Governance subproject, this Oslo Roundtable debated India's attempts to join the multilateral export control regimes, and its potential role in the emergence of a multilateral nuclear governance architecture. The Roundtable discussed likely implications of India's acceptance into the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group, and Nuclear Suppliers Group, especially regarding non-proliferation and nuclear security concerns. A broader theme was the role of multilateral export control regimes in supporting and promoting a more comprehensive non-proliferation and nuclear security architecture.

The following key questions were presented as topics for debate:

- Can existing multilateral export control regimes play a more proactive role in addressing nuclear threats and promoting nuclear security and non-proliferation?
- What is India's strategy for accommodation to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and other regimes to which it seeks membership?
- Will India be accepted into the multilateral control regimes, and what are the major obstacles that might block its membership or acceptance?
- How does India view itself as an actor in the development of a global nuclear governance architecture for the future?

India's Global Climate Agenda: New Paradigms, New Leadership?

**Thon Hotel Opera, Oslo
(4 July 2016)**

In connection with the launch of the INDWORLD subproject on Climate Change and CBDR-RC, this Oslo Roundtable brought together experts and scholars, practitioners and civil society actors to discuss India's role as a global climate actor, and the interplay between climate change and development as major concerns in contemporary Indian debates.

The Roundtable raised two questions for debate:

- Should we expect India to maintain its support for the principle of “Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities” (CBDR-RC) in future Conference of Parties (COP) summits under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change?
- Considering India's climate change mitigation efforts and its commitment to supporting and achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), what are the current prospects that India will move in new directions and launch innovative policies on the international stage?

India's Food Security: Local and Global Dimensions

**Thon Hotel Opera, Oslo
(30 May 2017)**

India has legislated the Right to Food with the introduction of the National Food Security Bill, and Indian initiatives are often acknowledged as a “model” for other developing countries. At the same time, India hosts a third of the world's undernourished and poor, and the number of malnourished people has increased over the last decade, while India's food grain production continues to rise.

These questions were debated at the Roundtable:

- How can the Right to Food be ensured when we know that access to food, food entitlements and distribution of food under government schemes takes place in negotiations where the poor are also particularly vulnerable?
- Can India actually achieve its SDG commitment to put an end to hunger and malnutrition by the year 2030, considering the persistence of malnourishment and chronic poverty?
- How can we come to better grips with the *processes* that lead to food insecurity, in rural as well as urban India?



Online Communication

Digital media and web-based media platforms have provided tools to reach out to interested readers and audiences, beyond the narrow confines of academia and the policymaking community. Here, we present a sample of digital media outputs from the INDWORLD project. More Open Access outputs are listed under Selected Publications.

Op-eds and blogposts

In addition to the PRIO blog, INDWORLD researchers have published content related to the IDSA-PRIO cooperation in online newspapers and journals based in India and Norway:

- Reena Baral, Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya, and Ajay Kumar Yadav. [Food Security and Urban Poor: A Case Study of Varanasi](#), *Peaceworks*, 7(1): 20–37, 2017.
- Åshild Kolås. [What to Expect from India at COP23?](#) *PRIO blog*, 1 November 2017.
- Uttam Sinha. [Time for India to adopt an Arctic strategy](#), *Newsmobile*, 17 August 2017.
- Rajiv Nayan. [India: Den pragmatiske nedrustningspartneren](#) [India: The pragmatic disarmament partner], *Ny Tid*, 15 December 2016.
- Reshmi Kazi. [Nuclear suppliers group: What's next for India?](#) *South Asian Voices*, 7 December 2016.
- Elida K. U. Jacobsen. [Digital India: Less Cash, but not Cashless](#), *PRIO blog*, 30 November 2016.
- Rajiv Nayan. [India's Membership of the Missile Technology Control Regime](#), *PRIO blog*, 18 August 2016.
- Uttam Sinha and Sanjay Gupta. [Hope Floats for India](#), *The Pioneer*, Agenda, 12 June 2016.
- Rajiv Nayan and Alisha Anand. [India's role in global nuclear security role in global nuclear security governance](#), *The Pioneer*, Sunday Edition, 10 April 2016.
- Rajiv Nayan. [After the 'final' Nuclear Security Summit, international community must review all other mechanisms](#), *Firstpost*, 7 April 2016.
- Jason Milkian and Scott Carney. [Fire in the Hole](#). *Foreign Policy*. 6 August 2010.

Materials for download

Materials from IDSA-PRIO events are shared on both the IDSA and PRIO websites, offering conference and workshop reports, key speeches, and videos of seminar presentations:

- Conference Report on [Food Security Debates in India: Experiences from the Grassroots](#) (PRIO)
- Conference Report on [International Conference on India's Role in Global Nuclear Governance](#) (IDSA)
- [India and its Neighbourhood: Challenges and Opportunities](#) - Seminar with Amb. Jayant Prasad (PRIO)
- Report on [IDSA-PRIO Workshop on Global Governance and Resource Use: The Case of the Arctic](#) (IDSA)
- [Opening Address by the Norwegian Foreign Minister at the IDSA-PRIO Seminar On Energy Security](#) (IDSA).

Selected Publications

The publications presented in the following pages are (with a few noted exceptions) based on research carried out under the IDSA-PRIO cooperation, within one or more of its projects.

Publications marked with * are IDSA-PRIO-related works by PRIO researchers supported by projects with synergy to IDSA-PRIO, such as “Imagined Sovereignities: Frontiers of Statehood and Globalization” (funded by the Research Council of Norway).

Publications that are freely available online are marked with an Open Access logo accompanied by a link to the full-text document.

As the INDWORLD accounts close (31 December 2017), there are still forthcoming publications, of which three of them deserve particular mention:

In press:

Special Issue of *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* on “Northeast Indian Enigmas”, January 2018 (edited by Åshild Kolås)*

Forthcoming with Knowledge World Publishers:

India in Global Nuclear Governance, co-edited volume by Reshmi Kazi and Åshild Kolås

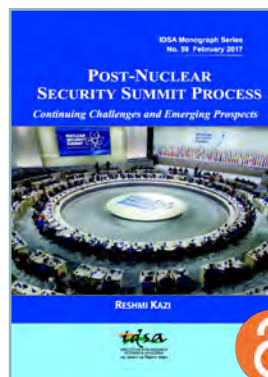
Under consideration by Routledge India:

Food Security and Globalisation in India, co-edited volume by Ruchita Beri, Elida Kristin Undrum Jacobsen and Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya



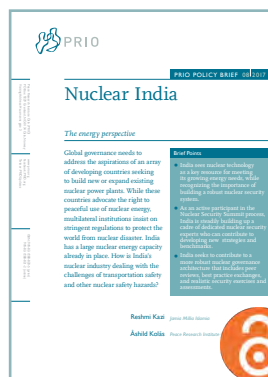
- 1 Kolås, Åshild (ed.) (2017) *Report on India's Climate Mitigation and Adaptation: Key Strategies*. INDWORLD Conference Report. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.

bit.ly/indworld1



- 2 Reshmi Kazi (2017) *Post-Nuclear Security Summit Process—Continuing Challenges and Emerging Prospects*, IDSA Monograph Series No. 59, February 2017. New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses.

bit.ly/indworld2



- 3 Kazi, Reshmi and Åshild Kolås (2017) *Nuclear India: The energy perspective*. PRIO Policy Brief, 8/2017. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.

bit.ly/indworld3



- 4 Kolås, Åshild (2015) 'Framing the tribal: Ethnic violence in Northeast India.' *Asian Ethnicity*, 18(1): 22–37.*



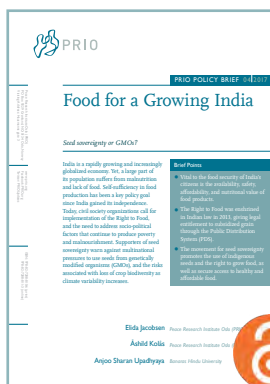
bit.ly/indworld4



- 5 Sinha, Uttam; Åshild Kolås and Jason Miklian (2017) *India in Climate Change Negotiations*. PRIO Policy Brief, 10/2017. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.



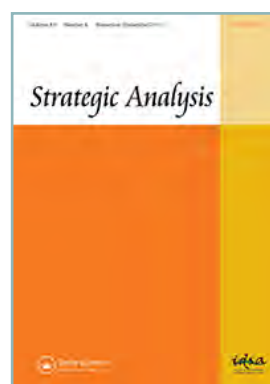
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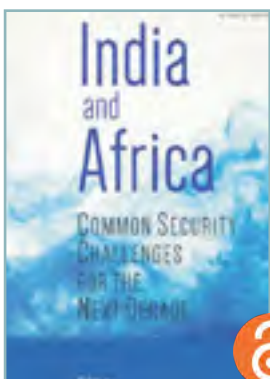
- 6 Jacobsen, Elida K. U.; Åshild Kolås and Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya (2017) *Food for a Growing India*. PRIO Policy Brief, 4/2017. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.



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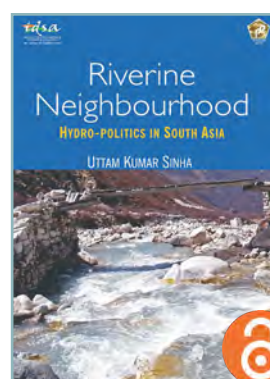
- 7 Tønnesson, Stein and Pavel K. Baev (2017) 'Stress-Test for Chinese Restraint: China Evaluates Russia's Use of Force.' *Strategic Analysis*, 41(2): 139–151.*



- 8 Beri, Ruchita (ed.) (2016) *India and Africa: Common Security Challenges for the Next Decade*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press.



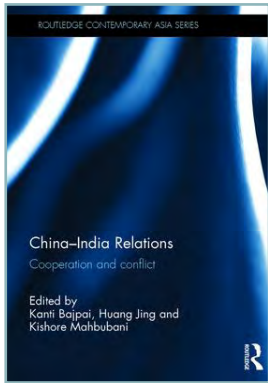
bit.ly/indworld8



- 9 Sinha, Uttam (2016) *Riverine Neighbourhood: Hydro-Politics in South Asia*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press.



bit.ly/indworld9



- 10** Sinha, Uttam (2016) 'Towards riparian rationality: An Indian perspective.' In Bajpai, Kanti; Huang Jing; and Kishore Mahbubani (eds) *China-India Relations: Cooperation and Conflict*. Abingdon: Routledge, 167–181.

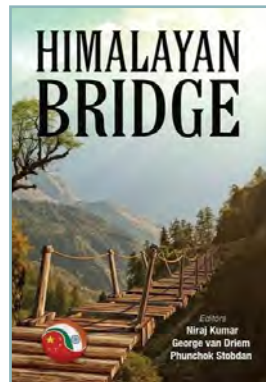


- 11** Kazi, Reshmi (2016) 'The Roadmap for India's Nuclear Security.' *Strategic Analysis*, 40(5): 371–378.



- 12** Upadhyaya, Anjoo Sharan (2016) 'Non-Violent Protest Movements Ripple across the Land: From *Nirbhaya* to *Occupy Baluwatar*.' *Peaceworks*, 1(6): 14–27.

bit.ly/indworld12



- 13** Sinha, Uttam (2016) 'Challenges to the Himalayan Watershed.' In Kumar, Niraj; George van Driem; and Phunchok Stobdan (eds) *Himalayan Bridge*. New Delhi: Knowledge World Publishers.



- 14** Nayan, Rajiv (2016) 'Focusing the debate on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons: An Indian perspective.' *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(899): 815–830.



- 15** Miklian, Jason and Ida Roland Birkvad (2016) 'Religion, poverty and conflict in a garbage slum of Ahmedabad.' *International Area Studies Review*, 19(1): 60–75.*



- 16 Nayan, Rajiv (2015) 'How can countries ensure that the Nuclear Security Summit does not lose momentum and become just *another* gathering? Position: Consensus, not enforcement.' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 68(2): 84–86.



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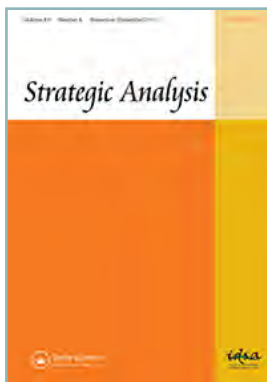
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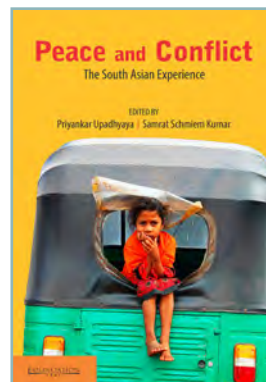
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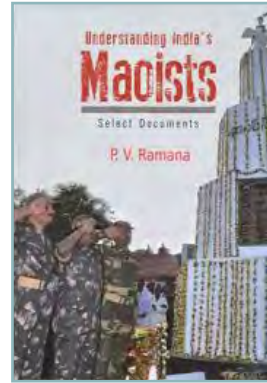
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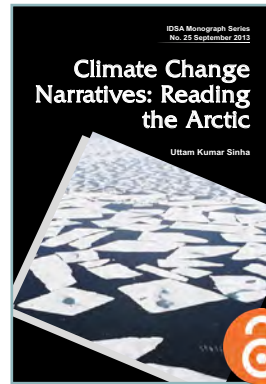
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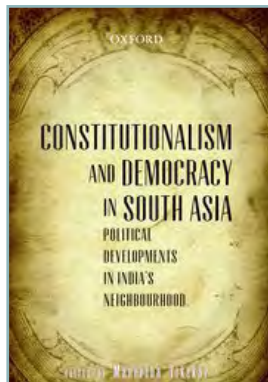


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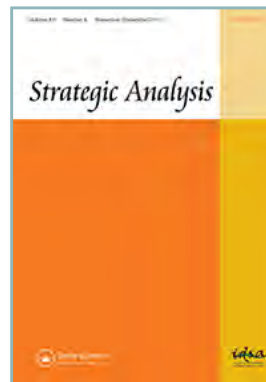


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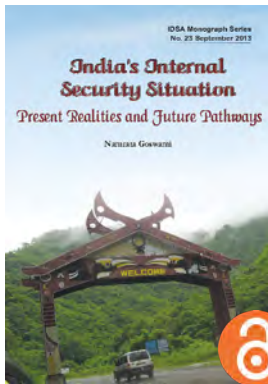
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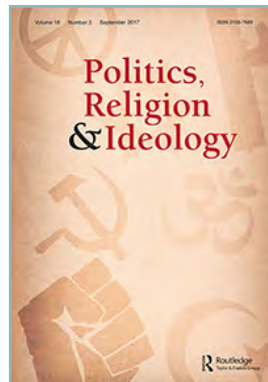
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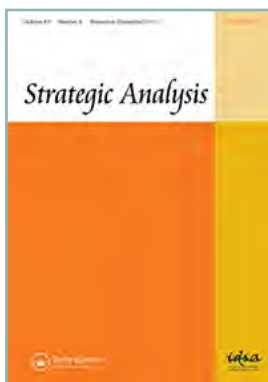
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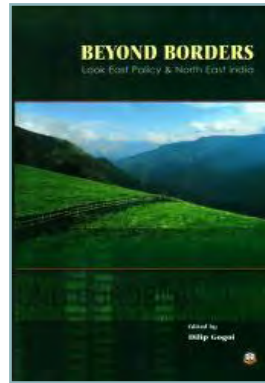
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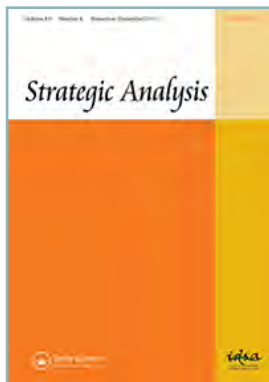
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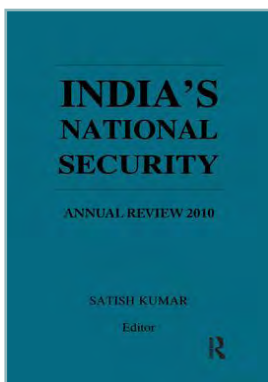
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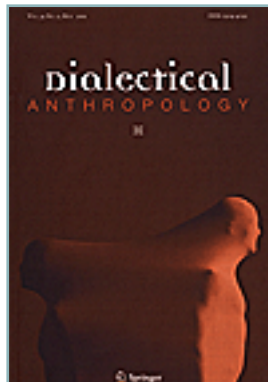
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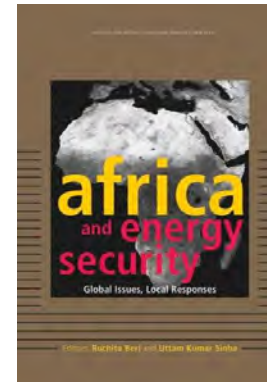
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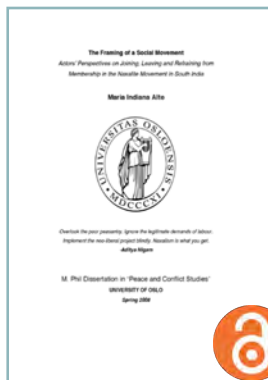
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Crossing the bridge

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