



## Proceedings

TERI-KAS Resource Dialogue on Climate Change and Security

# **‘Securitization’ of Climate Change** *International and National Implications*



## Project, team and acknowledgement

### **Project**

The project on climate change and security is partnered by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and implemented by The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). Through research and dialogue, the project seeks to understand what securitization of climate change means for current paradigms in climate change and security policies.

### **Research team**

The team from TERI for this research project includes Ms. Shailly Kedia (Principal Investigator), Ms. Swati Ganeshan (Team Member) and Ms. Pooja Sehbag (Project Intern).

### **Documentation**

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### **Acknowledgment**

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## About the dialogue

We are facing a global crisis unlike any since the Second World War. The current outbreak of novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) has led to shocks in economic and labour markets. Scientists expect to see changes in the timing, location and severity of the disease outbreaks as global temperatures rise. Climate change, along with other environmental disturbances, could trigger the rise of more novel diseases. As the climate changes, many animal species will change behaviour and migrate to new geographical areas increasing the likelihood of their coming into contact with humans. Such future phenomenon requires not only scientific query but also a revisit of present policy paradigms in terms of institutional mandates, response and collaboration. In the wake of the COVID-19 outbreak, defence establishments around the world are involved in activities such as rescue, control, prevention and even cure. The United States Department of Defense, for instance, has army researchers who are working and collaborating to develop rapid COVID-19 testing technology and vaccines. The present crisis calls for swift and coordinated policy responses and better preparedness for future crises scenarios at the local, national and global levels along with strong multilateral leadership in all domains including science, development and security. Climate change can no longer be treated as a second-order world problem.

The resource dialogue partnered by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and implemented by The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) aimed to bring together a diverse set of experts, ranging from scientists to practitioners, drawn from the domains of climate change, governance and security.

The dialogue on 'climate change and security' deliberated on the following issues:

- Non-traditional security dimensions of climate change
- Implications of climate change on defence establishments
- Implications of climate change on internal security
- Politics of securitization of climate change

The overarching question of the dialogue was: Has 'securitization' of climate change led to the elevation of climate change from being a second order concern to a first order concern in the worldview of realpolitik?

Away from the hustle and bustle of Delhi and Mumbai, the dialogue aimed to bring together key scholars, intellectuals and thought leaders in the calmer environs of Kumarakom, Cochin. The dialogue included an inaugural session, a framing presentation by the TERI team and four technical panels. Organized by TERI and KAS, the dialogue on climate change and security specifically discussed the dependent variable of 'climate change policy narrative' with the independent variables being various aspects of 'securitization of climate change' such as non-traditional security, external security, internal security and alternative viewpoints.

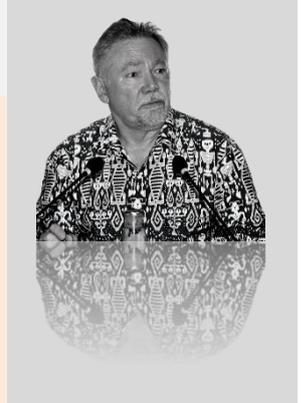
The proceedings here aim to document the discussions of the dialogue and also serve as a primary reference document for researchers, development practitioners and decision makers.

## Inaugural session: Global and national implications of securitization and climate change

### Opening Remarks

**Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung**

*Mr. Peter Rimmele laid the context for the dialogue by explaining the nature of the problem of climate change and the challenges that climate change presents to current paradigms of security policy. He also underscored that climate change is not only a concern for a singular policy measure; rather, it is a cross-sectoral issue.*



Climate change is a very important and urgent challenge of our times. It is a great concern to young people. In Germany and across the Global North, youth movements are becoming widespread; every week, young people take to the streets and protest for action to combat climate change.

What exactly makes climate change so important and challenging? Firstly, climate change is a transboundary issue that affects everyone around the world. While there is a line of control between India and Pakistan, in the context of climate change, there is no line and no one point of control. It is not possible to address climate change with national and localized policies alone; it requires global cooperation. That is what makes climate change different from many other issues facing the world.

Secondly, climate change is not just one challenge that will need one special policy but rather a cross-sectoral issue. It is an issue that affects various aspects such as energy politics, food security, health, economic activities and movement of people and species. Climate change can be regarded as a threat multiplier that has the potential to lead to increase in competition and perhaps conflicts between states. It could possibly catalyse state failure which in turn could destabilize countries through increased competition of resources and aspects such as migration.

It is very likely that water scarcity may become a huge challenge for India. Delhi and Bangalore may soon not have enough water to support the people living in these cities. India has enormous problems but the potential for solutions in India is much larger than the problems the country faces. Migration can possibly become a problem for India as well; with floods and rise in sea levels, more people will migrate from Bangladesh. Thus, there is a connection between dimensions of climate change and global security. Climate change as a global problem presents a challenge to current approaches to security policy. The present conference aims at understanding how climate change can influence our understanding of security policy. It is a difficult question with a set of perhaps difficult answers.

**Welcome Remarks**

**R.R. Rashmi, Distinguished Fellow and Programme Director, The Energy and Resources Institute**



*Mr. R.R. Rashmi highlighted that the Paris Agreement on climate change does not talk about the peace and security issue directly but alludes to the concepts of human rights and climate justice. He also underscored that linkages between climate change and climate action needs to be explored from all issue areas including security.*

It is important to discuss climate change as a threat at global and national levels and understand the implications for traditional security at both national and global levels. Any debate or discussion on any aspect of climate change gives rise to very strong views and very strong thoughts. In fact, at one point of time in the past, even the scientific evidence on climate change was disputed. Fortunately that debate has been closed now. It is now a settled fact that the problem of climate change is real and urgent.

Some see climate change as a threat multiplier; apart from being an environmental threat, the impacts of climate change trespasses on economic and socio-political systems and affect the survival of all species on this planet. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has called climate change a global risk as climate change will affect not only natural systems but also human systems. The global risk of climate change thus has several dimensions.

The Paris Agreement, which is a ratified treaty today, does not talk about the peace and security issues directly but alludes to the concepts of human rights and climate justice. In global debates on sustainable development goals, Goal 16 talks about peace and justice.

Depending on the perspective and scientific evidence, climate change can become a serious threat having large implications on human security. Linkages between climate change and climate action needs to be explored from all issue areas including security and at global, regional, national and sub-national levels.

**Introductory Remarks**

**Chandrashekhara Dasgupta, Member, Governing Board, Centre for Policy Research and Emeritus Distinguished Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute**



*Ambassador Chandrashekhara Dasgupta laid down the context of non-traditional security issues being of relevance to traditional security in the post-Cold War period. He also emphasized that since climate change is a threat multiplier, greater international cooperation is required for climate change adaptation.*

How is climate change related to international security? In the post-Cold War period, with major military and political change becoming less critical, the idea of non-conventional threats to security have become more prominent.

This is not to imply that the concern about non-conventional threats only began after the end of the Cold War as there is no alternative superpower in the post-Cold War period. Global balance of power is again changing with China being

a revisionist power. Therefore, the traditional security concerns are also coming back. Non-traditional threats to security including the threats from non-state actors and climate change have become a global concern. For example, the question of non-state actors and the threat posed by terrorist organizations along with the threat of large-scale migration will continue to be causes of concerns.

While this may be speculation, climate change is going to induce a major change in geo-politics because the shape of land and water masses are going to change. The Arctic is going to become more navigable; it has the potential to become a major maritime route that will be transpolar. This will also have major implications for geopolitical trade and could change the existing military geography.

Why does climate change have implications for security concerns? Climate change affects the physical geography of our planet causing rise in sea levels, desertification in many areas, and also redistribution of resources particularly water. There are security implications as though climate change is slow and gradual, it is not just a single threat; rather, it is a threat multiplier. Climate change will result in increase in trends such as migrations from water stressed areas or heavily populated areas to less populated areas. Due to sea level rise, if a large part of Bangladesh goes under water, there will be a scenario of mass migration.

Since climate change can be seen as a threat multiplier, there is a need for substantial global cooperation not only for mitigation of climate change but also to adapt to the impact of climate change. International cooperation is required in areas such as agriculture, health, and migration. There is a need for cooperation in terms of finance and sharing technologies for effective climate change adaptation. Developed countries need to transfer technologies in order to make more vulnerable developing states resilient and ready to face the threats posed by the impacts of climate change. This is not an act of charity but rather a question of future planning to which the United Nations system needs to pay much greater attention.

***Inaugural Address***

**Deepa Gopalan Wadhwa, Governing Council Member, Institute of Chinese Studies**

*Ambassador Deepa Gopalan Wadhwa highlighted the fact that despite calls from the scientific community for more ambitious climate targets, COP 25 failed to reach a consensus and a number of decisions have been postponed. She emphasized that the preference of most developing countries including India is on international cooperation for climate action consistent with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities with respective capabilities framed by the United Nations.*



After twenty-five Conference of Parties (COP) meetings under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, there still seems to be complacency and lack of urgency in implementing pledged actions among Member States. This complacency is prevalent despite the intensity and frequency of extreme weather events and scientific evidence of the impact of climate change on the environment, society and economy. The United Nations Secretary General recently tried to bring the subject back to the central stage in the last General Assembly when he convened the Climate Action Summit. Public attention on climate change has also been called for by young people like Greta Thunberg.

An authoritative report by the United Nations recognizes that the collective pledges by governments to reduce emissions under the Paris Agreement are still consistent with a global warming of 3 degrees Celsius by the end of the century.

This is alarming! In contrast, a path that would prevent a rise of much more than 1.5 degrees Celsius would require annual emissions to fall by about 50% between now and 2030, and reach net zero by 2050. Despite scientific calls for more ambitious targets, COP 25 (the 2019 United Nations Climate Change Conference) failed to reach a consensus and a number of decisions have been postponed to the next COP to be held later in 2020.

There is a growing school of thought which argues that time is running out and the consequences of global warming related problems will be so dire as to cause mass migration and conflicts which will then be a threat to world peace and security. While this process of securitization of climate change is not unquestioned, the subject of climate change and security has now been on the international agenda for some time; it has also been discussed several times in the UN Security Council in the form of open debates and informal settings.

Strong proponents of the linkages between climate change and traditional security assign a high probability of climate change being a security threat which would continue to accelerate over the coming decade with a wide range of implications in the geo-strategic environment. According to the German Advisory Council on Global Change, climate change could trigger national and international distributional conflicts and intensify problems which are already hard to manage such as state failure and rise in violence. Those who contest the direct causal approach between climate change and security, ignore contextual factors. Moreover, in most cases, literature considers climate change as a threat multiplier rather than a single threat.

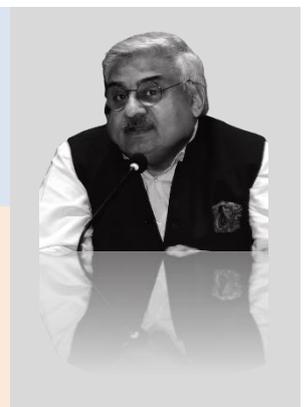
The dimension of the North–South divide has also coloured the debate. On one side of this debate is what the North can do to help the South and this is a debate on development. The other side concerns the argument that the underdeveloped South’s problem of poverty, resource scarcity and environmental degradation poses a threat to the industrialized North because socio-economic conditions can be further exaggerated due to climate change.

There is also an unease about global governance mechanisms such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) taking decisions on this subject despite restricted membership and the fact that the UNSC’s mandate is to deal with security in the traditional sense. The preference of most developing countries like India is therefore cooperation and collaboration for climate action consistent with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities with respective capabilities (CBDR-RC) framed by the United Nations. This is not to deny that climate change in the long run does not give rise to national and international security concerns. It is necessary to highlight the need to strengthen international cooperation in the context of managing conflicts, and to involve internal security and national defence establishments in strategies and policies that combat global warming and the impacts of climate change.

**Thematic Address**

**Anil Wadhwa, Distinguished Fellow, Vivekananda Foundation and Former Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India**

*Ambassador Anil Wadhwa cited the Joint Doctrine of the Indian Armed Forces, 2017 which acknowledges climate change as a non-traditional security challenge for defence establishments. He also highlighted the fact that solutions to security implications of climate change can be found within the framework of international cooperation which demands greater exchange of data as well as cooperation for humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.*



In the beginning of climate change negotiations, there were doubts about the scientific evidence that linked anthropogenic activities to global warming. However, going by the various conventions, protocols and agreements beginning with the global convention on climate change of 1992, the Kyoto Protocol of 1997 and then the Paris Agreement of 2015, there is no doubt that now countries all over the world recognize the problem of climate change.

Though the debate on climate change continues, there is a polarization of views among the developed North and the developing South which is more vulnerable to the existential threat of climate change. The debate continues among global powers, some of who are still in denial concerning historical responsibilities, capability, capacity, funding and means of implementation to tackle climate change.

One dimension of this polarization concerns the linkages between climate change and traditional security. Securitization of climate change, which is the subject of today's discussion, has been ascribed to various factors and there are those who see it as a part of the post-Cold War trend to broaden the discourse on security to include non-traditional threats many of which, like climate change, is now being covered in security studies. As this discourse widens and the scope expands, climate change can be seen to directly cause political and social instability by leading to transboundary problems such as mass migration and interstate conflicts – all of this will call for the deployment of security related institutions.

Some Western countries have already begun to include climate change in their national security strategy. For example, in 2014, the United States Pentagon Report termed climate change as an immediate risk to national security. In 2015, the United States' national security strategy elevated climate change to the same threat level as that of mass destruction and terrorism. Likewise, the United Kingdom too in their national security strategy recognized climate change as a national security concern.

Arguments in favour of securitization of climate change are built on the basis of the potential of its serious effects on inter- and intrastate conflicts. The impacts of climate change such as sea-level rise is seen as threatening the existence of island states; it also includes glacial melts and flooding and mass migrations caused by droughts, desertification and disasters. Another element in favour of securitization of climate change is the consequences of climate change on military and non-military installations. This issue was first brought to the notice of the Security Council by the United Kingdom in 2007. Subsequent follow-up meetings took place in 2011, 2017, 2018 and most recently January 2019.

A resolution was also passed in the United Nations General Assembly in 2008 on the possibility of securitizing climate change to which only 35 per cent Member States provided inputs. The Security Council President's report of 2011 called climate change a challenge to the implementation of security mandates. United Kingdom, Japan, France and Germany played an active role in placing climate change in the agenda of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Among the permanent members, China has taken the position of the G-77 (a coalition of developing countries in the UN) which is that the issue of climate change can be better addressed in other bodies of the United Nations such as the General Assembly and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The stand of G-77 and China was as expected, given the nature of the United Nations Security Council, its membership and modalities of working. The efforts to bring climate change within the mandate of UNSC however continue.

There has been an interesting development wherein China, which opposed the discussions on climate change in the Security Council changed its position in 2018 and supported the inclusion of climate change within the ambit of comprehensive security risks. This has been a calculated shift keeping in mind the geo-political influence that is

exercised by China. It is also possible that given the potential of conflict with India as most of the trans-boundary rivers originate in China's territory, China sees some virtue in the linkage of climate change to traditional security concerns.

The concern of India and much of the developing world to climate change and its linkage with international peace and security have been very well articulated by the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations who recorded his last statement on the January 2019 Open Debate in the Security Council. The Permanent Representative referred to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change which does not clearly bring the evidence of the effect of the climate change and variability on violence. India has also contested which global governance mechanisms are best suited to tackle the challenge posed by climate change. Securitization of climate change may heighten awareness but also lead to diversion of resources to militarization, which should be otherwise used to combat climate change. India has insisted that cooperation through the United Nations Framework in Climate Change is clearly a better option. The United Nations Security Council is a structurally unrepresented institution; it is exclusionary and secretive in its approach.

Many studies that justify the securitization of climate change have cited examples such as the conflicts in Darfur, Syria and Lake Chad. The crisis in Darfur and Syria have been blamed on droughts induced by climate change. However, ethnic factors could be the main cause of conflict in Darfur; while in Syria, long standing political grievances could have been key factors that led to the civil war. Many also cite the shrinking of Lake Chad basin as a reason for the growth of terrorist organizations like Boko-Haram. However, the radicalization could equally be due to the young population of the region being unable to find employment opportunities. In all these cases, there is little evidence of direct causal relationship which shows that climate change can automatically lead to conflicts, war and migration.

In the global South, water and food scarcity are existing problems leading to underdevelopment. What therefore can be summarized is that climate change is, in many cases, a vulnerability multiplier. In most cases, climate change has intensified the pre-existing problems and tensions rather than lead to new causes of conflict.

The melting of the Arctic Polar Ice Cap could open up the Northern sea route that is along the Russian coast line and North-west Pacific, linking the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. This has implications on commercial engagements resulting in overlapping territorial claims which may become a challenge for global peace and security.

The implications of climate change on India's national security should be seen in the light of India's sub-continental size and geography which is particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. The last decade has seen a sharp rise in extreme weather events with unprecedented spells of changing weather and unpredictable rainfall patterns with high intensity droughts and floods, receding glaciers, sea-level rise and coastal erosion and greater frequency of cyclones. The defence forces have been increasingly deployed for disaster relief and evacuation and post-disaster reconstruction within the country. Some examples include the Uttarakhand floods of 2013 and the Chennai floods of 2015.

The National Action Plan on Climate Change serves as a key policy framework for India's response to climate change. The 2017 joint doctrine of the Indian Armed Forces acknowledges that environment is a very critical area of the security paradigm and that climate change is a non-traditional security challenge.

The realization of the direct impact of climate change on the military installation was first brought home by the devastation caused by the Tsunami in 2004 on the Car Nicobar Air Force Base. The impact of the 2014 cyclones on the eastern naval command further heightened the awareness concerning the effect of frequent and intense storms, sea-level rise on India's naval infrastructure. The Indian army in a similar manner is deployed in ecologically sensitive zones

on our borders along the Himalayas where the Siachen Glacier has receded by 800 meters in 20 years; this melting could also have operational consequences. Climate change will thus increasingly have an impact on the tactics of operation and strategies in India.

India's security environment is also affected by the effects of climate change. Some threats which have been perceived are increasing water stress and the resulting implications involving Pakistan which has already resulted in demands for revision in the water share provision of the Indus Water Treaty. China being the upper riparian state and thus receiving the main blow of climate change may engineer the diversion of Brahmaputra's route. In terms of the existing water sharing agreement with Bangladesh, climate change may cause greater and legal implications for the low lying areas of Bangladesh in the times to come.

In all these scenarios, the security dimensions are of paramount importance and solutions perhaps have to be found within the framework of cooperation and greater exchange of data. This is what India has been insisting on while communicating with other countries in the last few years. Humanitarian assistance/disaster relief (HADR) has to become the standard mark of military cooperation with other countries.

In summary, at the global level thinking on security, the prime question relates to whether resources for military solutions to problems can be directed to non-military means which is enhanced international co-operation and the development and use of better technologies, better water management, and better disaster management. Discussions related to security and climate change are best carried forward in universally represented bodies such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the United Nations General Assembly. At the national level, climate change may pose security challenges; the solution should be found in greater international cooperation. It is thus necessary to involve security establishments, including the defence forces, in national planning related to responses to threats which are posed by climate change.

**Keynote Address**

**S.N. Pradhan, Director General, National Disaster Response Force, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India**

*Mr. S.N. Pradhan, from ground experience with the National Disaster Response Force, highlighted the fact that there are several instances of unseasonal weather indicating that climate variability and climate change threats are real. He underscored that it is not an issue through what security perspective climate change should be seen—traditional or non-traditional; the issue is recognizing the threats that climate change poses and seeing and responding to these differently and in a more inclusive manner.*



Three examples can help in contextualizing the discussion. First is the recent Cyclone Fani. The name Fani comes from Bangladesh and the term means the 'hood of the snake'. The cyclone was unexpected and unseasonal as Fani came in the month of May although cyclones that come in the eastern coast traditionally come in the winter season. This unanticipated weather pattern is a clear evidence of climate change variability. Nobody anticipated this extremely severe cyclone in the month of May. As the head of India's National Disaster Response Force (NDRF), which is one of the institutions of the disaster management ecosystem that the Indian government has devised, it is important to be prepared for such unseasonal events.

Responses by the NDRF, the State Disaster Response Force of Odisha and other stakeholders led to the mobilization of 30,000 volunteers who went into action to evacuate more than a million people within the time window of 48 hours. This was the cooperative work of several stakeholders which included the armed forces and the coast guard. Hence, it was an all hands on deck approach.

Last year's floods due to unseasonal events resulted in the flooding of more than fifty per cent of India's landmass which is unprecedented. Rajasthan, where ponds have not been filled up for more than four decades, were also flooded. For such events too, NDRF is called along with other state agencies.

One of the themes of the recent Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) disaster management exercise that NDRF hosted in the coast of Odisha was the protection of heritage sites in the BIMSTEC region. This is an example of international cooperation where countries have agreed to cooperate for the protection of heritage sites in the face of disasters.

Right now there is a build-up of a swarm of locusts in the Horn of Africa region. It is heading towards India and will possibly hit the country in the month of June. This will be an event that the country has not seen before. It is encouraging that at the ground level, Pakistani and Indian authorities are collaborating with Iranian authorities and are talking to the Horn of Africa countries.

Indian policy orientation suggests that India is already placing climate change within the country's traditional security strategy. Though there is an opinion that India is not including climate change in the security realm, judging by its actions, it has become clear that India has placed climate change very well in its security strategy in a more inclusive and broad-based approach.

The Copenhagen School of Security Studies talks about the term 'securitization', and 'securitization' being a speech act implying that (state) actor tries to move a topic away from mainstream politics into an area of security concerns thereby legitimating extraordinary means against the socially constructed threats. There is enough evidence to show that India and the Indian government sees climate change as a security threat and an 'urgent' threat but the narrative in India on climate change and security is not a militaristic approach. While documents concerning disaster management authority and disaster management plans do not use terms like 'security', there are enough mentions of 'threat', 'national level threat' and 'urgency' in various reports; these are preferred terminologies in the Indian context. The threat perception in the Indian policy narrative is very much there. It may not be an external security approach explicitly but certainly there is a non-traditional security approach and an environmental security approach, an inclusive approach or probably it is more appropriate to call it the human security approach or the human rights approach. If natural disasters are seen from the perspective of human rights or human security and international cooperation, then 'climate change knows no borders' should be the way forward.

NDRF emerged as a consequence of the Disaster Management Act; Section 44 to be exact, which says that NDRF is a specialist response force to disasters or situations which could lead to a disaster. At a federal level, NDRF is seen as the first respondent. Disaster management has been regarded as a responsibility of the states and local governments. Thus, NDRF provides assistance to state governments or local governments. It is a specialist response force and is seen as the first force to respond to disasters; but this does not mean that other stakeholders (including the army) do not act. The one lesson that NDRF has learnt in the last year, which was an unprecedented year in terms of disasters and effects of climate change, is that everybody must collaborate to make an effective disaster response.

NDRF is a unique entity in the world of disaster response and provides useful lessons to the rest of the world as being a specialized force with the single mandate of disaster response of all kinds except fire. Climate change is a non-traditional security issue and a different kind of threat to the national security.

In his statement, the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations mentioned that when you have only a hammer in hand all you see is nails. There is a perspective biasness that surface when national security vis-à-vis climate change are discussed globally. The traditional approach to security may not be the healthiest way of approaching climate change; but then again, traditional institutions cannot be discounted. Through what perspective of security, traditional or non-traditional, climate change should be seen is not the issue. The issue is recognizing the threat climate change poses and see it differently. NDRF has learnt as it progressed while facing disaster situations and responding to them. A more inclusive and multi-stakeholder approach is the approach that works best.

**Vote of Thanks**

**Shailly Kedia, Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute**



*Ms. Shailly Kedia thanked all the speakers of the opening session and summarized emerging issues for the rest of the deliberations. The key question pertains to whether securitization of climate change can bring a paradigm shift to responses to climate change at global, regional, national and sub-national levels.*

A very solid base has been set for deliberations on the issue of climate change and security by all the speakers of the opening session. The key question pertains to whether securitization of climate change can bring a paradigm shift to responses to climate change and security by international organizations, national and sub-national agencies. Global responses to climate change so far have been very disappointing. The financial goals set by the Copenhagen process of 100 billion dollars per year by 2020 have not been mobilized; nor are there signs of global greenhouse gas emissions peaking in the required time frame. While the present time has witnessed youth climate activism and various hashtags such as #ClimateChange, #ClimateEmergency and in India, #ClimateJustice, outcomes even in Europe have been quite disappointing in terms of climate goals. The hammer in the hand quote is very important when discussing global institutions, inclusive responses to mitigation and adaptation responses to climate change.



## Session I: Contextualizing ‘securitization’ of climate change in global and national discourses

### Chair

**Chandrashekhra Dasgupta, Member, Governing Board, Centre for Policy Research and Emeritus Distinguished Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute**



*This session focused on the background research undertaken by The Energy and Resources Institute. The team presentation covered the dimensions of the securitization discourse, implications of climate change for traditional security, implications for security establishments and global deliberations. The team presentation also looked at the implications of all these dimensions for India and for the global community.*

The Chair of the session remarked that the Paris Agreement set the goal for limiting global temperature rise to 2 degrees Celsius as compared to pre-industrial levels and encourages nations to aim for a more ambitious goal of 1.5 degrees Celsius temperature rise. To meet these targets, time is rather short and addressing the implications of securitization of climate change at the global and national levels for human security, national security and global security are matters of exceptional importance.



**Shailly Kedia**  
Principal Investigator



**Swati Ganeshan**  
Team Member



**Pooja Sehbag**  
Project Intern

*In this session, Shailly Kedia, Swati Ganeshan and Pooja Sehbag presented the study by TERI. The presentation by the TERI team covered four key aspects:*

- *The discourse on securitization of climate change*
- *Non-traditional security and climate change*
- *Traditional security and climate change*
- *Politics of securitization of climate change*

A fundamental critique of the discourse on securitization of climate change is the overtaking of environmental discourse by the security discourse. For realists, ecological threats such as anthropogenic climate change would be characterized

as a second-order problem in the sense that there is very little evidence that climate change could threaten the great powers of the world. For developed countries like the United Kingdom and Germany, 'securitization' of climate change was seen as a way to raise the stakes and elevate the concern on the global front while positioning themselves as norm leaders. In the Indian discourse, studies on mass media coverage show that food security is the most covered aspect followed by energy security. Water security and national security are almost equivalent followed by a small coverage on the human security dimension.

The TERI presentation highlighted an index for climate security which ranked 187 countries based on composite scores. The index comprises seven broad dimensions of security including non-traditional security such as water security, food security, energy security, sea-level rise impact on inhabited land, social stability, health, and economic resilience and is based on the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change approach of evaluating three related components of exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity. Ranked at the 100<sup>th</sup> position, India is placed in the bottom half of the list of ranked countries implying higher vulnerability.

On the traditional security front, the presentation highlighted the fact that the standard procedure is to view climate change impacts within the predefined space of territorial sovereignty and pre-existing institutional arrangements, hence leading to complex and challenging transitions. Traditional security concerns emanating from climate change include climate based impacts, foreign policy, national strategy and global defence policy shifts. Implications for defence establishments were highlighted which include ensuring climate resilience with respect to defence infrastructure, adapting defence policies to climate change commitments and needs, and preparedness for disaster response. The presentation also highlighted the work and dynamics of the Arctic Council. While military engagement is not part of the Council Mandate, the council looks at issues of marine pollution, biodiversity preservation, indigenous populations, emissions control and emergency response. This also has to be seen in the light of existing tensions between the West and Russia as well as the increasing interests from non-Arctic states due to the possibility of the opening of new Arctic sea lanes. In the context of India and security establishments, enhancing centre–state relations would be critical to ensure success in addressing climate change impacts along with existing security establishments adapting to the impacts of climate change.

Securitization of climate change can be problematized when securitization can lead to exclusion in terms of mass participation. Moreover, by creating a sense of urgency, securitization demands unconditional obedience, and is convenient for states. In the context of global institutions, Article 39 of the United Nations Charter gives the power of determining a security threat to the United Nations Security Council. So far, five open debates have been held in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) concerning climate change and security where Member States basically debated if climate change can be considered as a security issue. They have also debated if UNSC should be allowed to address security concerns of climate change. A total of 266 statements have been made in these five debates and 110 Member States have participated. The European Union Member States favour legitimizing UNSC's role in addressing security concerns of climate change. All Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS) who participated in the debates agree with the viewpoint that if UNSC deals with climate security concerns, it will elevate the issue of climate change to a priority in global deliberations. The majority of the Member States (59%) of G-77 and China and the Non Aligned Movement have opposed the legitimization of UNSC to deal with climate change. Among the Permanent Representatives of the United Nations Security Council, France and United Kingdom have supported the legitimacy of UNSC to deal with climate change, while Russia and China have opposed it. The position of the United States remains

ambiguous. In terms of India's position, UNSC reform is needed in the wake of new challenges such as climate change, famines, natural disasters, pandemics, cyber security and humanitarian crisis. India has also emphasized that more representative bodies can better deal with climate change. The power to securitize may lead to UNSC taking a stand on issues related to climate refugees, inter-state water and resource conflicts and countries like India may become victim of this power play. Further, inclusion of climate related intra-state conflicts and responsibility to protect (R2P) may invite undesired UNSC intervention, especially for states who are not permanent members of the UN organization.

***Discussions***

The discussion which followed the team presentation covered the following issues:

- International climate finance
- Adaptation
- Interactions between civil and defence institutions
- Brahmaputra and China being an upper riparian state and the possibilities of water related conflicts
- Domestic water sharing in India and management of Teesta waters
- Recent lull in debates concerning climate change issues in the Indian parliament



**Group photo**



## Session II: Non-traditional security dimensions of climate change

### Chair

**Nitya Nanda, Director, Council for Social Development**



*Dr. Nitya Nanda highlighted the fact that the boundary between traditional and non-traditional security can be blurred. Non-traditional security issues have differential implications for people from the weaker socio-economic strata.*

There are areas where the boundary between traditional and non-traditional security aspects concerning climate change blurs and it is difficult to distinguish between the two. Migration is an example of this blurring.

Security in finance is very different from security in climate change. There is a class based interpretation of migration. The poor cannot afford to be an international migrant. She or he cannot afford to fight the system and become a recognized international migrant.

Nationally, however, it is different issue and the term used to refer to these migrants is 'internally displaced people' as 'national migrant' is not an official term. If we talk about Bangladesh, the borders are very fluid. We must reflect on how the people living in the border areas will be governed under migration regimes.

### Panellist

**Surabhi Singh, Chief Administrative Officer, India Centre for Migration, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India**



*Dr. Surabhi Singh highlighted the fact that 'migrant' and 'refugee' are two separate terms that are very much entangled in the politics of the usage of these terms. She also underscored that resource scarcity may lead to the formation of two kinds of hotspots: in-migration hotspot and out-migration hotspot.*

Migration is very much discussed politically and non-politically. It can be seen from two perspectives: one is human security and the second is the international framework where migration and climate change interact with each other.

Climate change can become one of the key drivers of migration. Climate related factors for inducing migration include reduction in agricultural potential of the soil and water scarcity. Due to these factors, people in rural areas migrate from one place to another. In coastal areas, sea-level rise can be the main driver that forces inhabitants to leave their premises and migrate to find safe habitations.

A study done by Dolman and Milord, in the context of India, found that drought frequency has a significant effect on

inter-state migrations in India. From a human security perspective, migrants are among the most vulnerable groups. Poor housing conditions, inadequate social protection measures and insufficient resources make them more vulnerable. Extreme weather events affect migrants more than the others as they lack resources to cope with these events. In 2018, the World Bank estimated that three regions (Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia) will generate 143 million more climate migrants by 2050. These three regions constitute 55 per cent of the population of the developing world. Even if measures are taken to mitigate, adapt and build resilience, there still will be 31.77 million people who will be displaced across the three regions. There are also gender issues related to migration. When men migrate in order to find a job, women take charge of all the duties that are otherwise done by men. Still a woman gets neither credit nor the capital for taking charge of these jobs.

Resource scarcity may lead to the formation of two kinds of hotspots: in-migration hotspot and out-migration hotspot. In-migration hotspot will be mega cities, where people may arrive for employment. In the case of India, for instance, if we look at the potential prospects of receiving migrants from Bangladesh due to sea-level rise, the Indo-Bangladesh border is, in many parts, very fluid; at places, it is only marked by a stone near the riverside.

Concerning migration policy, 'migrant' and 'refugee' are two terms that are very much entangled in the politics of the usage of these terms. As far as an international framework on migration is concerned, in 2018, a Global Compact on Migration was formed. The roots of this framework are in the New York Declaration of 2016. This declaration has two separate compacts, one for refugees and the other for migrants. The format was purposively kept as a non-binding framework because as far as migrations are concerned, a convention does not work well. At times, states do not ratify these conventions and they are not bound by it. The idea was to keep the compact open in the format of a framework so that countries can regulate their policies within this framework.

**Panellist**

**Himanshu Shekhar Mishra, Editor, Government Affairs, New Delhi Television Limited (NDTV)**

*Mr. Himanshu Shekhar Mishra highlighted the fact that the right to compensation for disaster victims is still not present in the mainstream policy discourse in India. He cited the example of the Stafford Act of the United States which gives rights to disaster victims to seek compensation.*



Disasters happen and eventually victims are forgotten. In the Kerala floods of 2018, according to the Home Ministry report, 54,11,712 people across 14 districts of the state were affected. 486 people died and the rest had to seek shelter in 5645 relief camps. It was the worst monsoon disaster since 1924. In terms of the financial losses incurred, according to Dr. S. Sajikumar, Chairman, Kerala Chapter of the Confederation of Indian Industry, the estimates due to direct losses alone in terms of capital investment and machinery are to the line of INR 20,000 crores. Another INR 10,000 crores to 20,000 crores is estimated to be indirect losses. The *New Climate Economy Report 2018* estimates that in the previous year, climate related disasters were responsible for thousands of deaths and USD 320 billion in losses. In an interview with NDTV, the former Head of the Indian Meteorological Department, Mr. Ramesh said that the Kerala floods were an outcome of the impacts of climate change itself. The country has witnessed evidence of significant changes in extreme

precipitation events.

During the Kashmir floods of 2014, the valley went under water for three weeks, a situation that is unimaginable. As a result of the Kashmir floods, 287 people died, 2.54 lakh homes were shattered and crops were badly affected in an estimated area of 6.51 lakh hectares. The state finance minister, while presenting the state budget, estimated that the incomes of people of the state declined by 5 per cent for the year 2014–15. Similarly, in the Chennai floods of 2015, in terms of loss and damage, 470 people died and 4.92 lakhs houses were damaged. If we see the economic losses of Jammu and Kashmir, Chennai and Kerala floods, the cumulative economic loss amounted to INR 1,00,000 crores for Jammu and Kashmir, INR 15,000 crores for Chennai and INR 40,000 crores for Kerala floods. These three incidents together incurred INR 1,55,000 crores in loss and damage.

The right to compensation for disaster victims is still not in the mainstream policy discourse in India. In terms of compensation and relief to the disaster affected people, we should have an institutionalized system for providing compensation, especially to the poor and under privileged people because there are structural weaknesses in our existing system. A rights based approach is required. We need to open up the debate about what should be compensated and what should be the quantum amount of compensated money. There is a need for a legal framework. The United States has enacted a law called the Stafford Act. This act has given disaster victims the rights to seek compensation while co-operating with very specific provisions. The law provides for an orderly and systematic means of federal natural disaster assistance for state and local governments in carrying out their responsibilities to aid citizens.

**Panellist**

**Prakashkiran Pawar, Non-resident Fellow, Stimson Center**

*Dr. Prakashkiran Pawar said that there are significant research gaps when it comes to climate change and water security. He emphasized on the need for inter-disciplinary approaches to help address knowledge gaps and inform policies concerning water sharing arrangements.*

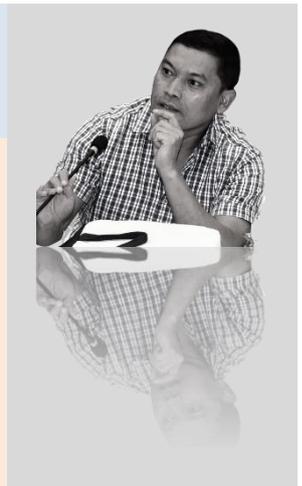


The Indus water presents an example of a sensitive issue related to climate change and security especially when it comes to India and Pakistan. The share of area of the Indus river basin shared by India, Pakistan, China and Afghanistan is 39%, 47%, 8% and 6% respectively. Apart from the well-known Indus Water treaty, there are also some international frameworks that work as a guideline to govern river water sharing. These include the Helsinki Rules of 1966. In 1997, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses. This also works as a governing framework for the governance of transnational rivers. All these frameworks can guide the way in the event of water stress blackmailing or during water scarcity and scarcity induced conflicts. However, there are significant research gaps when it comes to climate change and water scarcity and there is a need for inter-disciplinary approaches to help address knowledge gaps and inform policies concerning water sharing arrangements.

**Panellist**

**Vimal Khawas, Faculty, Sikkim University**

*Dr. Vimal Khawas highlighted the vulnerability and non-traditional security issues in Sikkim. He shared how impacts of climate change are becoming more visible in areas of livelihoods and crop productivity.*



The Teesta Project is the largest project in Sikkim. It is a 1200 MW project. If the settlement at the Teesta river basin in Sikkim is observed, it is obvious that the settlement here is very vulnerable to river floods. The area is also facing the issue of decline in agricultural productivity in the last two decades. Many agricultural crops have declined in productivity. Orange used to be grown in Sikkim; now it has almost disappeared in terms of production. Farming has been very badly impacted in the last 30 years.

Due to climate change, orchards are becoming prone to diseases. Change in temperature has been observed in the region in recent years. This has become a potential factor for the decline in productivity. The high temperature has made indigenous people grow new crops in the region; plants not conventionally a part of the crops that were grown in Sikkim. Birds, animals and insects are changing their habitation (adapting to the changed temperature).

Small streams have started drying up in the Sikkim and Darjeeling region. Out of 266 glacial lakes in the region, a recent study concluded that 55 are potentially dangerous lakes, which may cause floods in the region. Non-traditional security issues are becoming more visible in the areas of livelihoods and displacements due to glacial outbursts.

**Panellist**

**Ulka Kelkar, Director (Climate Program), World Resources Institute**

*Ms. Ulka Kelkar emphasized that one of the most effective ways of promoting mitigation to climate change is to give rights to indigenous communities. She also highlighted that any kind of pricing policy for climate change mitigations needs to be accompanied by revenue allocations due to distributive implications.*



With regard to climate impacts, the question is whose algorithm and whose data is used to estimate the impact and what the intent is. Any disaster is the outcome of a chain of bad decisions. When we move from the issue of climate impact to climate mitigation, the image of yellow vest protests in Paris prop up. People were protesting because Macron had increased carbon price and protesters alleged that Macron was worried about end of the World but they were worried about the end of the month, about their pay cheque.

Any kind of pricing policy needs to be accompanied by revenue allocations due to distributive implications. Another way of looking at the issue of winners and losers is by looking at the example of large solar farms. In India, the farmers in semi-arid regions can make money by giving their land on lease for solar farms as they anyway were not making any profit by growing crops. This may not be applicable in pastoral lands or land in other productive regions. For low carbon energy transitions, there is a need for investment in skills, access to finance and safety nets to deal with the trade-offs.

One the most effective way of promoting mitigation to climate change is to give rights to indigenous communities. Evidence shows that in areas where indigenous communities have access and rights to the forests, there is more afforestation than the other places.

### ***Discussions***

The discussions in the session concerned the following:

- Linkage between socio-economic structure and vulnerabilities to the effects of climate change
- Urban settlements and their linkages with the vulnerability to disasters and climate change
- Lobbies behind unplanned settlement



## Session III: Climate change and national security: Implications for defence establishments

### Chair

**Ajai Shukla, Senior Journalist and Retired Colonel of Indian Army**

*From his experience of serving in the Indian Army, Colonel Ajai Shukla, highlighted the capacity constraints of the defence infrastructure when it comes to extreme weather situations. He emphasized that there is a need for long-term changes in existing security doctrines for which research and development and budgetary allocations are required.*



Some seventy Indian army soldiers have died in the last four years due to avalanche and snow slides. These unfortunate deaths have linkages to climate change concerns. In Siachen, the Indian Army has lost more soldiers due to environmental reasons than due to armed conflicts. It needs to be recognized that many military operations and establishments are based in extreme environments.

Climate parameters govern a lot of issues like stocks and clothing for soldiers. For example, while operating a military tank in areas like Rajasthan, the temperature in summers is in the range of 35–40 degrees Celsius and the temperature inside the tank is around 50 degrees Celsius. In order to stay alive and maintain body temperature, a tank man has to drink a glass of water every fifty minutes. For this, a certain amount of water is always stocked in the tank. There is a limit for this water stocking and if temperature increases further, this could in some ways imply that tanks will become defunct as it has limited capacity to store water. Already there is a practice of carrying first-aid boxes in ships in order to respond to any disaster in disaster prone areas; due to extreme weather events, these packs have to be larger. There are many implications for defence infrastructure that have still not been thought about.

The Arctic issue has serious operational implications for India as the country's naval strategy with China is based on our capability to interdict their line of communication in the Indian Ocean. When there is a new line through the Arctic, the entire strategy will have to be revisited.

During the Burma Campaign of the Second World War, more soldiers of the 14th Army were lost due to malaria than by the Japanese bullets. As the temperature rises, incidences of vector-borne diseases like malaria will increase.

The United States National Defence Authorization Act 2020 provides a framework for coordination between defence, intelligence and government agencies in analysing climate security. This implies that the United States recognizes the problem of climate change and are considering safety measures no matter what Trump is publically saying and doing about climate change. India will also have to deal with this issue, including charging the Defence Research and Development Organisation to develop advanced technologies. There is a need for long-term changes in existing security doctrines for which research and development and budgetary allocations are required.

**Panellist**

**Nitin Pai, Co-founder and Director, Takshashila Institution**



*Mr. Nitin Pai underscored the need for a risk management approach when it comes to climate change and defence establishments. For improved risk management, climate intelligence as a part of military intelligence is required.*

Why should the Armed forces consider paying attention to climate change? Why it is a security issue? If the world ends tomorrow and all the people die at the same time, then there is no issue. But if the world will end gradually and people die due to different impacts of climate change at different points of time, politics kicks in. Moreover, it is better to manage risks than to predict events.

Armed forces need to have some expertise in climate science and disaster management. Both the armed and internal security forces should have the requisite know-how. A pre-planning to manage extreme weather events is required. Humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) in domestic space needs to be strengthened to manage climate risks better. Humanitarian operations need to be done across various borders. The Rohingyas crisis, for example, was handled in a shameful manner as a genocide was in progress, probably activated by climate change and resource scarcity and responses to it were so inadequate. Cooperative operations are required to combat climate change issues concerning traditional security; this can only be done by collaborating with our allies as well as adversaries.

A climate science department should be included in the National Defence University which is supposed to come up soon. Intelligence capabilities need to be updated keeping in mind the changed climate scenarios. Having climate intelligence as a part of military intelligence is required. Civil–military cooperation in terms of conflict resolution is very much required. Climate change does not require pure military operations; we need to also consider the civilian angle.

**Panellist**

**M. Mayilvaganan, Associate Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies**



*Dr. M. Mayilvaganan pointed out the impact of weather conditions and landslides on the mobility of defence forces. He also highlighted that ecological conditions have implications for defence infrastructure, especially in high altitude areas.*

Climate change has impeded security operations in many ways. One example is the Border Roads Organisation which works throughout the year to maintain and enhance the quality of roads; even with their tireless endeavours, it is common to see landslides which degrade the quality of roads. This affects the mobility of defence forces.

Another impact of climate change is on utility services as due to extreme weather events, telephone lines and wireless lines get affected.

Climate change also leads to ecological impacts which impacts defence infrastructure, especially in high altitude areas. The low visibility in high altitude areas inhibits troops operations in these locations. Health infrastructure has also not advanced as per the requirements arising from climate change implications.

**Panellist**

**Nihar R. Nayak, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses**

*Dr. Nihar R. Nayak emphasized that climate change related security issues of two landlocked countries in the Himalayan region, Nepal and Bhutan, should also be integrated in Indian security concerns. He pointed out the need for greater cooperation with neighbouring states to combat climate change emanating security concerns.*



The strategic locations on the Himalayan side of the borders are also ecologically sensitive; for example, the Siachen Glacier. Most of the country is dependent on glacial fed rivers for satisfying their water demand. Glacial fed rivers are being affected because of climate change. There used to be many herbal plants that grew in the Himalayan areas; due to climate change, these herbal plant species are fast disappearing. The Himalayas have been protecting India from extreme weather conditions and have always been a buffer between other civilizations and the Indian civilization. However, now climate change has made the Himalayas ecologically sensitive.

Climate change related security issues of two landlocked countries in the Himalayan region, Nepal and Bhutan, should also be integrated in Indian security concerns. However this has not been a part of India's security approach. Due to political concerns, the spill-over effect that may arise in the future from this region still remains completely ignored. This attitude is also generating a negative image of India. Apart from this, glacial melting, flooding, and glacial lake outbursts are issues of great concern when it comes to the Himalayan region. The underpinning point is that cooperation with neighbouring states is required in order to combat climate change emanating security concerns which is not happening due to strained political bilateral relations in the region. In terms of the initiative taken to collaborate in the immediate neighbourhood, India is trying to project a cooperative image through the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

**Panellist**

**Oliver Nelson Gonsalves, Associate Fellow, National Maritime Foundation**



*Dr. Oliver Nelson Gonsalves highlighted the security implications of climate change related to the Arctic region. The Arctic region will not only see increased involvement of the Chinese because of new maritime routes but the opening of the region will also lead to change in energy related geopolitics and economic dynamics.*

Due to climate change, ice is receding in the Arctic region which is thereby becoming navigable. What does this imply for India, especially when we look at Chinese activity in the Arctic region?

The Arctic region has also become a new avenue for oil extraction. This has provided an opportunity for adjacent countries to extract oil resources and opened up new options for oil importing countries. The possibility of oil extraction has also opened up the question of energy shipping and the related industry. Out of 95000 odd ships that are registered, only 175 are energy carriers. To this sector, energy ice-breakers are a new entry, as they are required to transport the energy from this area. There are geopolitical and economic implications which need to be explored with the opening of the Arctic region. It may cause a decrease in shipping volumes in the Gulf region and revenues of oil exporting states being affected.

**Panellist**

**Sameer Patil, Fellow, Gateway House**



*Dr. Sameer Patil highlighted the fact that gradual degradation of natural resources creates a conflict-prone situation over a period of time. He also pointed out the need to debate and discuss the environmental implications of the established security policies.*

Environmental security has become the overarching issue area if security is defined broadly through the lens of human security. Massive population growth and inequitable land distribution force people to move to ecologically fragile areas. This makes these regions more prone to the effects of climate change. It is not that climate change has led to conflict amongst communities in a short period of time. The gradual degradation of natural resources creates a conflict-prone situation over a longer period of time. For example, the genesis of the Darfur conflict in 2005, according to a UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) study, may have been due to long and gradual degradation of pastoral land.

The role of defence establishments is to respond to worst case scenarios but looking at the current pattern, extreme weather events have already become common. In the Indian context, the Indian defence establishment has faced infrastructural loss due to weather related events; for example, in the case of Car Nicobar Island during the 2004

Tsunami. Therefore, there is no point in denying that climate change presents a major threat to defence establishments and infrastructure. Basically, climate change has been considered as an issue of low politics but now there are conscious attempts to raise it to the level of high politics. There is also a need to debate and discuss the environmental implications of the established security policies. Technology transfer to the states of the global South is also important.

### ***Discussions***

The discussions after the session interventions covered the following points:

- Pre-planning and budgetary allocations for disaster preparedness
- Pricing of green energy and green technology
- Climate research in defence think tanks and research institutions
- Inter-sectoral collaboration for disaster response
- Military infrastructure and climate change



## Session IV: Climate change and internal security for India

### Chair

**Gopal Krishna Pillai, Former Home Secretary, Government of India  
Speakers**

*Mr. Gopal Krishna Pillai listed the ecologically sensitive Himalayan region, sea-level rise and water stress as being three areas which are linked to internal security concerns for India vis-à-vis climate change. He also highlighted that the recent narrative constructed against migration is being strongly promoted across the world.*



There are three major internal security concerns for India vis-à-vis climate change. First is the vulnerable and ecologically sensitive Himalayan region. Second is the sea-level rise and possible migration from Bangladesh. Third is the possibility of water stress in the country due to glacial melting.

The projection of mass migration makes an image that this phenomenon is new to India. However, this is not true. Forty-nine years ago, people from the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) migrated to India. However, the situation at that point in time was better. People in India were more welcoming in nature and migrants were received openly; it was not a matter of political concern.

This new narrative constructed against migration is being strongly promoted across the world in recent times. In the Indian context, anti-migration sentiment lies in the heart of moves like the National Register of Citizens and the Citizenship Amendment Act. This was not the case earlier. India has received millions of refugees in the post-Independence period; the country also embraced Tibetan refugees. It is not that refugees have settled only in border areas; they have settled in different parts of the country. India had always had a welcoming attitude for refugees but the political situation is starkly different today.

The National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) was established in the post-2004 Tsunami period. Before that, there was no specialized force to respond to natural disasters. Climate related research and studies are required not only in defence institutions but also in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

### Panellist

**S.N. Pradhan, Director General, National Disaster Response Force,  
Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India**

*Mr. S.N. Pradhan highlighted the fact that the National Disaster Response Force being housed in the Ministry of Home Affairs shows how disaster response has become a matter of internal security. He also cautioned against internal security being interpreted in a narrow sense of being linked to maintaining law and order.*



Internal security in the traditional sense is interpreted as being linked to maintaining law and order. In India, law and order is a state subject. The Union government may need to play the role of an assistant or a facilitator.

NDRF personnel basically belong to the paramilitary forces. These personnel have been typically trained to use arms for maintaining law and order but when they join the NDRF, they are not supposed to be on the offensive. They have to be trained to become a rescuer. In 2018, 58 per cent of the Indian landmass was flooded. The collaboration amongst agencies is the niche for effective response to any disaster. NDRF has always been welcomed in all states, wherever its presence was required. The reason for this is that NDRF is at the disposition of the local administration. When NDRF is not operating, the personnel of NDRF receive training. In 2001, disaster response was transferred from the Agriculture Ministry to the Home Ministry. This transfer in itself explains how disaster has become a matter of internal security. The earlier paradigm was basically a post disaster response and not a pro-active response to prevent disaster and reduce risk.

From field experience, it can be said that climate change induced resource scarcity and unemployment together are becoming the breeding grounds of Naxalite movements. Another important and critical issue relates to dams.

**Panellist**

**Ipshita Chaturvedi, Founding Partner, C&C Advisors**



*Ms. Ipshita Chaturvedi highlighted the fact that there is no clarity of sharing of responsibility for climate related internal security concerns as some subjects are a part of the state list while other climate related subjects are in the union list. She also underscored that India does not have cumulative data on coastal communities.*

If we look at the scientific aspect of it, we find that climate change and its effects have become a vicious cycle. In terms of security implications of climate change, there are two sorts of concerns. First, short-term concerns that are immediate such as extreme weather events, Tsunamis and earthquakes. Second are long-term, gradual but noticeable concerns. It is a settled fact that climate change has become an issue of internal security.

India needs low carbon green technologies for which both finance and technology transfer are needed. Developed countries are duty bound under the provisions of CBDR-RC to help developing countries. One of the agencies that look at technology transfer is the Climate Technology Centre and Network. Project insights point out that there are some barriers related to intellectual property rights that inhibit technology transfer.

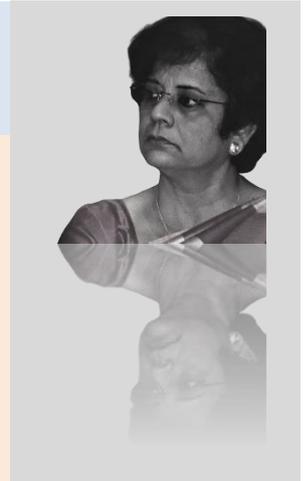
India does not have cumulative data on coastal communities. Our country should not always rely only on the West for technology transfer as countries in the Far East are also setting very good examples in terms of adaptation and they are willing to share their technologies. Geo-informatics can be used for climate change responses. Security dimensions should not only look at security of life but also at economic security. In India, there is no clarity of responsibility for climate related security concerns. Some subjects are part of the state list while other climate related subjects are in the

union list. This creates a lot of confusion and invites red-tapism.

**Panellist**

**Geeta Madhavan, Lawyer and President, International and Strategic Analysis Institute**

*Dr. Geeta Madhavan highlighted the fact that while India has layers of laws and institutions such as Green Tribunals and Pollution Control Boards, there is a paucity of human and financial resources. What India also lacks is environmental jurisprudence.*



Boston has called the rising sea level an existential threat and has now begun investments in aqua-fencing for deflecting sea waves through these metal barriers. Vector-borne diseases cannot be left unaddressed. Similarly, decrease in crop productivity may eventually become a reason for local conflicts giving rise to internal security concerns. The Chennai floods were a human-made disaster, as the lake was filled with water in order to serve the city in low rain seasons; heavy rainfall made the authorities take the decision of opening the gates and flooding the city. All these aspects can become a matter of internal security.

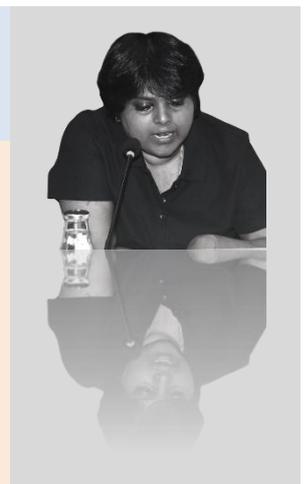
In India, there is a growing xenophobic response to migrants, even internal migrants for that matter. Migration can create fear of losing identity among indigenous communities which can eventually create tensions.

Directive principals and fundamental duties both mention the protection of environment and the safeguarding of forest and wildlife. Article 21 has been expanded to include the right to clean, healthy and pollution free environment. India is stuck more on structures than on procedures. Green Tribunals and Pollution Control Boards are being set up but there is a paucity of personnel, funds and expertise. Concerning judicial activism, courts apply different standards on a case to case basis which stop the judiciary from forming a doctrine, as there are no standards. In India, we have layers of law; environmental protection law, air law, water law. What we lack in the country is environmental jurisprudence.

**Panellist**

**Mallika Joseph, Policy Adviser, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict**

*Dr. Mallika Joseph highlighted the fact that the plethora of challenges that climate change poses cannot be resolved by law enforcing agencies alone. Conflict prevention should be the major concern and that too through collaboration with all major stakeholders.*



The preparedness to climate change and climate induced disasters should go beyond security forces. There is a plethora of challenges that climate change poses and these challenges should be brought out from the mandate of merely law

enforcing agencies. Poor governance, shrinking civil space, polarization, radicalization, extremism are social issues that can be further aggravated because of climate change. These are not issues directly caused by climate change but they are accentuated by climate change; they invite long-term mitigation and a resolution strategy, a holistic response which is beyond the mandates of law enforcing agencies.

Scarce resources may become the reason for social friction, thereby requiring local conflict prevention mechanisms. Unequal distribution of resources may become a fuel to these social tensions. The case of Naxalism shows that merely following the dictates of law and order lens does not lead to solutions. The climate change issue may lead to many conflicts; land disputes are going to be a key issue. Conflict prevention should be the major concern and that too through collaboration with all major stakeholders.

### ***Discussions***

The discussions in the session concerned the following:

- Sea-level rise as an issue for India
- Adverse implications of climate induced migrations
- Mapping of coastal areas
- Nationally determined contributions

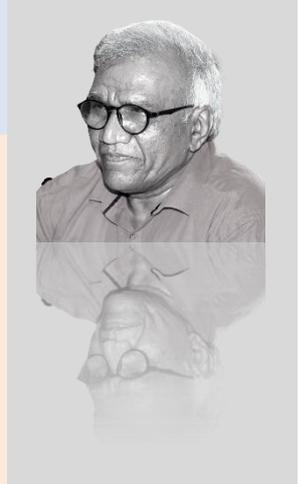


## Session V: Politics of ‘Securitization’ of climate change: By whom and for whom?

### Chair

**Gopal Guru, Editor, Economic and Political Weekly**

*Professor Gopal Guru highlighted the existing problem of perception as migrants are perceived as a threat rather than climate change victims. He also underscored that taking and fixing responsibility from a moral standpoint is important.*



What is the role of politics and law in tackling issues? Why do we need the law? We need the law as there is a lack of consensus amongst people in society for regulating certain issue areas. When the law becomes inadequate, it is not able to govern. Then comes the question of morality and who takes the responsibility of fixing a problem. Thereby, taking and fixing responsibility from a moral standpoint becomes important.

When industries do not abide by laws, then who should fix the responsibility upon them? If the developed countries do not follow laws, then who should fix the responsibility upon them? The question we have at hand is whether human security is more important than narrow national security. Is there any focus on morality? Climate change is a global issue and has global implications.

What will fragmentation or slicing of security implications of climate change such migration, violence concerns achieve? The very definition of security is problematic as one is securitizing someone’s life against someone else’s life. When it comes to climate migrants, migrants are perceived as a threat and not as climate change victims. This is a perception problem. Terminology should be such that it should set a meaning for common understanding. There is also a difference between academic consciousness and the consciousness of the common people.

### Panellist

**Archna Negi, Associate Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University**

*Dr. Archna Negi highlighted the fact that the nature of climate change challenges the dominant state-based understanding of world politics. She also emphasized that while understanding climate change and security, caution should be exercised when trying to fit the novel challenge of climate change into the narrow framework of traditional security.*



The question whether climate change is a security concern is a scientific one but the question should it be securitized is a political question. While answering the question—is climate change a security issue—impacts of climate change on warfare establishments and military operations are discussed. This is within a very narrow understanding of security which is the traditional sense of security. There are also debates concerning climate change leading to violent conflicts. This is again a narrow understanding of security.

If climate change is treated as a security issue, then there is a set of procedures that automatically follow. Aspects of which institutions address security concerns and the manner in which politics pan out, all take a certain trajectory. When discussing securitization of climate change, implications of securitization of climate change cannot be avoided. There is a need to look upon what are the implications of climate change discussed in the Security Council. The political motives behind securitizing climate change should also be understood.

Is climate change a security issue? Environment in general and climate change in particular are not studied the way it should be in international relations broadly and in security studies specifically. This is basically because new challenges to the planet challenge the dominant state-based understanding of the world. This new challenge was famously referred to by former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, as ‘problems without passports’. The problem of climate change defies the state-based understanding of the world system.

In the ongoing climate change negotiations, Member States continue to negotiate through the perspective of national interests. Before the Second World War, it was unimaginable that states would give up some part of their sovereignty and accept membership to any international organization. Yet, we have witnessed the existence of two universal international organizations: first, the League of Nations, and second, the United Nations. Now we have reached another tipping point and there are already scientific deliberations about the *Anthropocene* which refers to the current geological age, viewed as the period during which human activity has been the dominant influence on climate and the environment.

Another aspect of climate security relates to the impact of climate change on human security. This has a broader security element in it. Here, the element of violence is not required for the issue to become a cause for security concerns. Food shortage, water scarcity and danger to life due to flooding or sea-level rise are enough to call it a security matter.

In addition to the open debates that are happening in the UNSC, there are also some Arria Formula meetings that take place in an informal setting. There are political benefits in making climate change an issue that the Security Council can deal with traditionally; whichever issue is considered by the Security Council becomes a priority. This will have an impact on ongoing negotiations under the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change). There are legitimate concerns about UNSC pertaining to accountability and lack of democratic structure.

Overall, there should be a different way of understanding climate change and security. Caution should be exercised when trying to fit this novel challenge into the already established narrow box of traditional security. Climate change should be seen as a crisis and this is where it will be differentiated from the current development-based placement of the issue.

**Panellist**

**Chandra Bhushan, President and Chief Executive Officer of the International Forum for Environment, Sustainability and Technology - iFOREST**

*Mr. Chandra Bhushan proposed that history needs to be re-written by keeping nature at the centre instead of humans. He also underscored that negotiations taking place under the UNFCCC are highly problematic as they are slow and based upon economic competitiveness.*



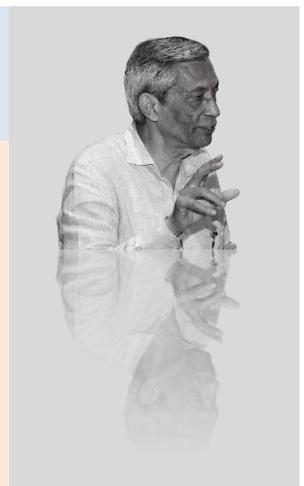
Climate change and the security debate in India revolve around points related to sea-level rise, the Arctic, river basins and disaster risk reduction. Climate has determined who we are today. Historical patterns of climate show that there are warm periods and cold periods wherein humans have evolved during the warmer periods. The history of climate patterns has been written from a Western perspective. There should be a place for an Indian interpretation of climate as the first-order determinant of who we are. Now climate change poses a new threat and is seen as a risk multiplier. It poses both traditional and non-traditional security threats. There is a blurring of the line between what is traditional and what is non-traditional form of security.

Till now, historians have kept human beings as the pivot. There is a need to rewrite history by keeping nature at the centre. Resource scarcity is a real risk and should not be discounted. Even if desalinization of water is a solution to water scarcity, calculations say that we cannot desalinize enough water for everyone and for every use. Technology has limits. Risks posed by climate change should not be bracketed as traditional and non-traditional. Sudden or slow onset of disasters are also risk types posed by climate change. Negotiations that are taking place under the UNFCCC are highly problematic as they are slow and based upon competitiveness; hence, they may not be productive. UNFCCC have become too politicized and there is a need for brain-storming to bring about global governance reforms.

**Panellist**

**P. K. Gautam, Honorary Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Armed Forces Historical Research, United Service Institution of India**

*Colonel P. K. Gautam said that questions related to securitization of climate change have been mainly understood from a Western theoretical perspective. He highlighted the need to look at Indian texts of Arthashastra which becomes relevant as it talks about ethics.*



The Delhi-based think tank, the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses has also deliberated on the theme climate change and security. The key observations of that deliberation were as follows: 1) Securitization could lead to sanctions; 2) Sanctions are inadequate to address climate change; 3) Climate change is a global problem; and 4) UNSC is not the appropriate forum to address climate change. The established trend of targeted sanctions through UNSC is problematic. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a European think tank opposed securitization of climate change. Meanwhile, there are also debates concerning usage of Chapter VII along with Article 39 of the UN Charter in order to resolve the climate security issue.

The politics of securitization revolve around the questions: by whom and for whom? More emphasis needs to be placed upon the why and how of securitization. These questions have been mainly understood from a Western perspective as we have been importers of theories. Indian literature can also bring some insights into the issue. The 'why' question has been answered by Western scholars who cite the dominant theory of international relations. This theory is state, sovereignty and power centric in nature. Western scholars have recognized how geopolitics determines the economic character of the states. *Arthashastra*, the ancient classical Indian text becomes relevant as it also talks about ethics. If we look for Indian literature or articles that expound on the issue of securitization of climate change, nothing much can be found. There is a serious need to do research in India and stop relying upon Western theoretical work. The scientific data and reports produced by IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) are a point for reference and further research can be done on the basis of that.

**Panellist**

**Anjan Kumar Sahu, Faculty, Central University of Rajasthan**



*Dr. Anjan Kumar Sahu highlighted the fact that India has rejected climate change as a security concern and rather accepted it as a developmental issue. This threat discourse concerning economic development may lead to the securitization of development policy.*

Emphasis is intentionally laid upon the securitization of development, not on securitization of climate change. There is a need to understand the theoretical aspects of securitization. The concept of securitization was brought forward by the Copenhagen School scholar, Ole Weaver. The underpinning point of this concept is 'speech act' which implies that the speech concerning a securitized issue should be translated into action. The theory goes further and talks about threat construction and who constructs the threat. Once a reality is constructed to be a threat, speech act dynamics limits the number of people who have the right to speak and act on that matter. This is where elitism is injected in the process of securitization. The process of threat construction itself is not a neutral process; there are underlining politics to it. Security is a state-dominant issue area; it is in fact a restricted and elitist issue area. In the context of India's position, India has rejected climate change as a security concern and rather accepted it as a developmental issue. Domestically, in 2007, the Prime Minister's Council on Climate Change was established; the body's establishment is proof enough that climate change has been a matter of urgent concern for India. India prioritizes development over climate change; but at the same time, the Indian narrative views climate change as a threat to development. This threat discourse

concerning economic development may lead to the securitization of development policy. When the Prime Minister's Council on Climate Change was formed in 2007, the National Security Adviser was made a member of this council. Thereby, climate change was given a place similar to a security issue. As far as the Indian position is concerned, India is domestically treating climate change as a security matter but giving priority to development and treating climate change as a roadblock to development.

**Panellist**

**Saurabh Mishra, Research Fellow, Indian Council of World Affairs**



*Dr. Saurabh Mishra highlighted the fact that climate change is less of a conventional security issue and more of a human security issue and the implications of taking this issue to the Security Council should be carefully deliberated. He also said that the most vulnerable states are the developing countries who are sceptical about the traditional security linkages of climate change.*

If we look at the underlying currents of the opening up of a debate on whether climate change should be addressed through the Security Council, we find that the states that are picking or initiating this debate are least vulnerable to the security impacts of climate change. The most vulnerable states are the developing states who are sceptical about the traditional security linkages of climate change. Climate change is less of a conventional security issue and more of a human security issue and the implications of taking this issue to the Security Council should be carefully deliberated. Is the Council even equipped to address this issue, especially in terms of its structure? Climate change and its effects cannot be seen in one bracket; we need to open it up and see which issue deserves the attention of the Security Council. For example, migration is a cross-border problem and needs international collaborative attention.

A careful analysis is demanded by the question: who is to decide or determine what is transnational and a matter of global concern? If the decision is to be taken by a few states, then again petty national interests and power play may defeat the whole purpose. Meaning thereby, that without structural changes in the Security Council, there cannot be any decisive way forward to resolve this issue. The UNSC needs to be adapted to the new realities and new threats that we face today. Keeping in mind the current structure of the Security Council, securitization of climate change is not feasible and will lead to no concrete solutions.

**Discussions**

The discussions were centred on the following issues:

- Climate security and discourse of securitization
- Politicization of the UNFCCC as a forum
- Colonial projection and impacts on climate change vulnerability
- Digital humans and their role in combating climate change

The event ended with the summarization of the discussions, concluding remarks and vote of thanks.



## Annexure 1: Conference agenda

### TERI-KAS Resource Dialogue

## Climate Change and Security Implications of 'Securitization' for International and National Realms

**20-22 February 2020 (Thursday-Saturday)  
The Zuri Kumarakom, Kerala Resort and Spa**

#### Arrival and Inaugural Dinner

##### Day 1

**2000 Inaugural Dinner**

#### Conference

##### Day 2

**0830 – 0900 Registration**

**0900 – 1030 Inaugural Session**

#### **Securitization and Climate Change: Global and National Implications**

- Opening Remarks: Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative India, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
- Welcome Remarks: R.R. Rashmi, Distinguished Fellow & Programme Director, The Energy and Resources Institute
- Introductory Remarks: Chandrashekhar Dasgupta, Member, Governing Board, Centre for Policy Research & Emeritus Distinguished Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute
- Inaugural Address: Deepa Gopalan Wadhwa, Governing Council Member, Institute of Chinese Studies
- Thematic Address: Anil Wadhwa, Distinguished Fellow, Vivekananda Foundation and Former Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India
- Keynote Address: S.N. Pradhan, Director General, National Disaster Response Force, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India
- Vote of Thanks : Shailly Kedia, Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute

**1030 - 1100 Tea/Coffee break**

1100 – 1230

**Session I**
**Contextualizing ‘securitization’ of climate change in global and national discourses**

*At the global level, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change has the objective of stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent ‘dangerous’ anthropogenic interference with the climate system. The term ‘security’ encapsulates the sense of danger much better than concepts of mitigation, adaptation or vulnerability and also offers a framework where danger can be recast as risks to welfare and sovereignty. This session will seek to contextualize various levels of security (human security, national security and global security) to climate change risks and responses.*

*Presentation of the monograph*

*Presenters:*

- Shailly Kedia, Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute
- Swati Ganeshan, Fellow & Area Convenor, The Energy and Resources Institute
- Pooja Sehbag, Doctoral Researcher, Jawaharlal Nehru University

*Chair:*

- Chandrashekhar Dasgupta, Member, Governing Board, Centre for Policy Research & Emeritus Distinguished Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute

1230 - 1330

**Lunch**

1330 – 1500

**Session II**
**Non-traditional security dimensions of climate change**

*It is relatively uncontentious that climate change may render human welfare and livelihoods less secure and hence have implication for human security. Environmental insecurity increases vulnerability when underdevelopment and poverty are compounded by environmental change. Climatic stresses would increase social and economic vulnerabilities requiring accelerated strategies and timely response to managing or preventing threats. The islands in the South Asian region are threatened by sea-level rise and hence, the disappearance and appearance of islands will shift borderlines. Changing land use patterns and water stress are posing a significant threat to rain fed/irrigated agriculture in India. Climate change could have an impact on transboundary governance and internal challenges simultaneously. A case in instance is the sharing of transboundary river water, and the internal dynamics of water sharing from the same river domestically. This session will aim to bring together the scientific knowledge on transboundary and intrastate security risks as a result of climate change such as migration, resource conflicts and human security.*

*Chair:*

- Nitya Nanda, Director, Council for Social Development

*Speakers:*

- Surabhi Singh, Chief Administrative Officer, India Centre for Migration, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India
- Himanshu Shekhar Mishra, Editor, Government Affairs, New Delhi Television Limited (NDTV)
- Prakashkiran Pawar, Fellow, Stimson Center
- Vimal Khawas, Faculty, Sikkim University
- Ulka Kelkar, Director (Climate Program), World Resources Institute India

1500 – 1630

**Session III**
**Climate change and national security: Implications for defence establishments**

*The ability of conventional national security establishments and policy to appropriate climate change is a function of how climate change is understood as a risk to security. Military establishments are principally responsible for national security and command a large share of public resources for that purpose. Should climate change have drastic impacts, militaries may have to be prepared for conflicts, disaster response and even peacekeeping. This session will seek to bring together the understanding from the perspective of military establishments and strategy.*

Chair:

- Ajai Shukla, Senior Journalist and Retired Colonel of Indian Army

Speakers:

- Nitin Pai, Co-founder and Director, Takshashila Institution
- M. Mayilvaganan, Associate Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies
- Nihar R Nayak, Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
- Oliver Nelson Gonsalves, Associate Fellow, National Maritime Foundation
- Sameer Patil, Fellow, Gateway House

1630 - 1645

**Tea/Coffee break**

1645 – 1815

**Session IV**
**Climate change and internal security for India**

*The movement of population and rivalry over natural resources has been a factor of environmental conflicts and may lead to social tensions and insecurity. Climate extremes and variability can enhance migration as an attractive if not the only option to preserve livelihoods and quality of life. In developing countries like India, planning for enhanced internal migration is needed given that they are more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Identity conflicts along with political and institutional factors can aggravate such situations and lead to violent conflicts. From a national security perspective, stresses exacerbated by climate change could have implications for police establishments and internal security. This session will seek to bring together the understanding from the perspective of internal security establishments and strategy.*

Chair:

- Gopal Krishna Pillai, Former Home Secretary, Government of India

Speakers:

- S.N. Pradhan, Director General, National Disaster Response Force, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India
- Ipshita Chaturvedi, Founding Partner, C&C Advisors
- Geeta Madhavan, Lawyer & President, International and Strategic Analysis Institute
- Mallika Joseph, Policy Adviser, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict

1900

**Dinner**

**Conference**  
**Day 3**  
**0930 – 1100**

**Session V**

**Politics of 'Securitization' of climate change: By whom and for whom?**

*Security certainly communicates a certain gravitas that is important for climate politics. But what does it mean if climate change is framed as a 'security' issue? Is there a clear scientific basis? Does it make climate change a military rather than a foreign policy issue? Does this make climate change a sovereignty rather than a global common problem? Would it lead to increased attention of securing territory against climate refugees? Will militarization of climate change impacts de-emphasize other sources of threats to human insecurity? What would be the motive in national and international politics to securitize climate change? What are the implications of climate change being an issue in the Security Council? This session will seek to answer these questions in the context of environmental politics.*

*Chair:*

- Gopal Guru, Editor, Economic and Political Weekly

*Speakers:*

- Archana Negi, Associate Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- Chandra Bhushan, President and Chief Executive Officer of the International Forum for Environment, Sustainability and Technology - iFOREST
- P. K. Gautam, Honorary Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Armed Forces Historical Research, United Service Institution of India
- Anjan Kumar Sahu, Faculty, Central University of Rajasthan
- Saurabh Mishra, Research Fellow, Indian Council of World Affairs

**1100 – 1115      Tea/Coffee break**

**1115 – 1230**

**Session VI**

**Moving forward: Congregating ideas and policy recommendations**

*Conference Summary:*

- Swati Ganeshan, Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute
- Pooja Sehbag, Doctoral Researcher, Jawaharlal Nehru University

*Concluding Remarks:*

- R. R. Rashmi, Distinguished Fellow & Programme Director, The Energy and Resources Institute

*Vote of Thanks:*

- Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative India, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

**1230 onwards      Lunch, checkout and departures**



**Abstract**

We are facing a global crisis unlike any since the Second World War. The current outbreak of novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) has led to shocks in economic and labour markets. Scientists expect to see changes in the timing, location and severity of the disease outbreaks as global temperatures rise. Climate change, along with other environmental disturbances, could trigger the rise of more novel diseases. As the climate changes, many animal species will change behaviour and migrate to new geographical areas increasing the likelihood of their coming into contact with humans. Such future phenomenon requires not only scientific query but also a revisit of present policy paradigms in terms of institutional mandates, response and collaboration. In the wake of the COVID-19 outbreak, defence establishments around the world are involved in activities such as rescue, control, prevention and even cure. The United States Department of Defense, for instance, has army researchers who are working and collaborating to develop rapid COVID-19 testing technology and vaccines. The present crises calls for swift and coordinated policy responses and better preparedness for future crises scenarios at the local, national and global levels along with strong multilateral leadership in all domains including science, development and security. Climate change can no longer be treated as a second-order world problem.

The resource dialogue partnered by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and implemented by The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) aimed to bring together a diverse set of experts, ranging from scientists to practitioners, drawn from the domains of climate change, governance and security domains.

The dialogue on 'climate change and security' deliberated on the following issues:

- Non-traditional security dimensions of climate change
- Implications of climate change on defence establishments
- Implications of climate change on internal security
- Politics of securitization of climate change

The overarching question of the dialogue was: Has 'securitization' of climate change led to the elevation of climate change from being a second order concern to a first order concern in the worldview of realpolitik?

Away from the hustle and bustle of Delhi and Mumbai, the dialogue aimed to bring together key scholars, intellectuals and thought leaders in the calmer environs of Kumarakom, Cochin. The dialogue included an inaugural session, a framing presentation by the TERI team and four technical panels. Organized by KAS and TERI, the dialogue on climate change and security specifically discussed the dependent variable of 'climate change policy narrative' with the independent variables being various aspects of 'securitization of climate change' such as non-traditional security, external security, internal security and alternative viewpoints.

The proceedings here aim to document the discussions of the dialogue and also serve as a primary reference document for researchers, development practitioners and decision makers.

**Contact**

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