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India's View on Human Security:

Citizens First, Holistic Urbanisation and Cooperation with the European Union

By

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Executive Summary

Human Security as a concept is highly contested. Currently, there are two broad schools of thought. The first sees human security as an all-encompassing formula which includes human development, human rights, human freedom, human dignity and security. The second, narrower understanding of human security limits itself to freedom from fear, conceptualising human security as freedom from organised violence, repression and human rights abuses. The two understandings of human security – broad and narrow – have mirrored a North-South divide within the United Nations. Western countries, such as the US, Canada and European Union member states, have mostly embraced the freedom from fear agenda, while the global South and Japan have rallied behind the freedom from want agenda. For developing countries, the narrow conceptualisation is wedded to the Responsibility to Protect norm, fearing that human security may be instrumentalised to legitimise interventions, invite interference and compromise sovereignty.

India has long been criticised especially in the West for not supporting the notion of human security in the light of gross violations against humanity, like the ongoing conflict in Syria. In this regard, India has largely been painted as a spoilsport at the United Nations and non-player in the international arena. For many in the West, India's growing international profile does not match its global responsibility. However, this is a gross misconception. As this paper aims to establish, India is arguably making the largest contribution to further human security. As a country representing one-seventh of humanity including a third of the world's poor, India sees human security through two main lenses: democracy and development. The Indian approach to human security simply translates into 'citizens first' and the country today is managing the world's largest domestic development programme while its international development assistance footprint is widening progressively.

Until now, human security has remained a restricted area for bilateral cooperation between the EU and India. Significant differences in the understanding of the concept of human security have reined cooperation. Yet, as pillars of an emerging multipolar world and strategic partners, the EU and India must find ways to collaborate and advance the debate on human security which remains of global significance. Expecting India to conform to Western views would be misplaced. Appreciating the breadth of India's challenges, as well as its self-perception as a former colony wary of foreign inference in domestic affairs, is required. The EU and India can most effectively collaborate on human security by enhancing bilateral cooperation on sustainable urbanisation. Urbanisation is one of the top challenges facing India as well as a leading priority and its impact would be felt across hundreds of millions if not 1.25 billion lives in the country over the next decades. While India has embarked on the journey towards urbanisation, it is essential to ensure that the path to urbanisation is both sustainable and green. The EU has extensive experience in building sustainable, socially inclusive societies. Advancing bilateral cooperation on sustainable urbanisation under the human security paradigm would not only enable both partners to make an important contribution to a significant percentage of the world's population but also pave the way for enhanced and deeper dialogue on human security at the bilateral and multilateral echelons.

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I) Introduction

The understanding of 'human security' as a concept that places emphasis on the security of the people and not just that of states is not alien to India. The country's human security agenda was ingrained into the very ethos of modern India through Mahatma Gandhi's broad concept of security, which essentially focused on the basic element of society – the individual. Gandhi's political philosophy was defined by the term *Sarvodaya,* which he coined in 1908, meaning welfare for all. He established a dynamic link between the individual, collective well-being and security. India's domestic and foreign policies have been very much influenced by this ideology. Over decades, successive Indian governments have adopted policies generally directed to enhance human security at the domestic level. Under Prime Minister Nehru (in power from 1947 to 1964), India espoused an uncompromising opposition to colonial rule and racism, particularly as regards freedom movements in South Africa and other African countries. India took the lead in pushing the United Nations to take action against apartheid in South Africa and was a founding member of the G77 and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

In the post-Cold War period, human security has been largely associated with Western normative discourse and seen as part of the West's foreign policy agenda. Much has been written about the various understandings of human security. Western leaders have evoked human security with a focus on 'freedom from fear', namely political oppression or violence. The limited use of the term in India's official communications and by Indian political leaders may suggest that India no longer welcomes the idea of human security. However, India's commitment to human security endures.

India sees human security through two main lenses: democracy and development. First, the values enshrined in India's democratic constitution resonate with the 1994 Human Development Report (HDR), which categorised human security as including challenges emanating from the economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political spheres.[1] This understanding encompasses three key paradigms: 'freedom from fear', 'freedom from want' and 'freedom to live in dignity'.[2] But despite remarkable achievements, India has struggled to deliver on various aspects, such as economic or health security. India's main challenges remain the implementation of government programmes and its inability to effectively deliver and distribute national public goods. However, democracy and democratic values are widely regarded in India as the bedrock of human security.

Second, the concept of human security matches India's development agenda. India is an overwhelmingly poor country with massive development challenges. It is home to a third of the world's poor, with 29.5 per cent of the total population (or 363 million people) living below the poverty line of $1.25 per day (according to purchasing power parity PPP) 2014.[3] In 2012, 59.2

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[1] [1] UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[2] Acharya, A. et al. (eds.), *Human security: From concept to practice: case studies from Northeast India and Orissa* (London: Imperial College Press, 2011).

[3] According to the Rangarajan Committee Report

Rangarajan Report on Poverty, Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Planning Commission, 07-August-2014, available at: http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=108291

per cent of Indians lived on less than $2 per day (compared to 68.8 per cent in 2010)[4] and India still ranks 97th of 118 countries on the Global Hunger Index (63rd in 2003[5]).[6] The sheer size of its population – more than 1.25 billion people – makes guaranteeing human security for all a daunting task.

Moreover, India today faces unprecedented urbanisation and infrastructure-upgrade challenges. By 2030, an additional 250 million inhabitants - or a total of nearly 590 million (out of nearly 1.47 billion projected) - will join India's existing urban population. By the same year, beyond the nearly 1 million jobs a month required to be created by the Indian government to employ an increasingly growing and young population,[7] India faces the Sisyphean task of having to build each year, according to McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) estimates, a city like Chicago annually.[8] 68 Indian cities are forecast to have more than 1 million people each. Essential services - which include sanitation, clean water, transport, healthcare and housing – all need an urgent mega transformation given they currently work at below-optimum levels and rarely extend outwards of the urban core. Demand for food, water, and energy, notwithstanding price volatility, will also shoot up. Delivering urban development is therefore a critical priority.

India thus interprets human security predominantly through a domestic focus, and sees it as encompassing the wide spectrum of development activities the state undertakes: poverty reduction, education, urbanisation, social inclusion, and resource security, amongst others. Since the 1990s, India's economy has expanded at a sustained pace, and so has its influence at the regional and, in some respects, global level. India's stronger international profile has been accompanied by significant criticism at what is perceived as India's unwillingness to engage internationally on issues such as human rights, responsibility to protect, and humanitarian intervention. To assess India's position, it is first necessary to fully understand India's concept of human security. This paper aims to shed light on India's domestic interpretation and implementation of human security and the country's approach to human security at the international level. Finally, the paper will explore how the EU and India could optimally cooperate on the subject.

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[4] The World Bank, Poverty and Equity, Country Dashboard, India, available at: http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/IND.The World Bank, Poverty headcount ratio at $2 a day (PPP) (% of population), available at:
http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.2DAY
[5] 'India still far behind in the Global Hunger Index', *The Hindu*, 15 October 2013, available at: http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-still-far-behind-in-the-global-hunger-index/article5234511.ece
[6] Von Grebmer et al. 2016 Global hunger index: Getting to zero hunger. Bonn Washington, DC and Dublin: Welthungerhilfe, *International Food Policy Research Institute, and Concern Worldwide,* Washington DC, 2016 Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.2499/9780896292260
[7] An additional 270 million Indians will join the country's workforce by 2030 or the total number will constitute a quarter of the global workforce. 70 per cent of the jobs required will be urban jobs
[8] Sankhe S; Vittal I; Dobbs R; Mohan A; Gulati A, India's urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth, McKinsey Global Institute, New Delhi, April 2010

II) Inside India: what human security means for India

1) The debate in India

Human security has the individual as the main referent of security. It also includes a number of actors beyond the state as providers of human security – non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil society, and regional organisations, among others. The term human security was first coined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 1994 Human Development Report, which dramatically expanded the scope and understanding of security to include seven key provisions to secure human life: economic security (assured income-generating work with provision of a social safety net as a last resort); food security (physical and economic access to food); health security (basic protection from diseases, public health regimens); environmental security (protection from natural and man-made nature disasters, as well as resource scarcity); personal security (protection from physical violence arising from state or non-state actors, safety from human rights abuses); community security (protection from sectarian and ethnic violence as well as oppressive community practices); and political security (freedom from state oppression and violation of human rights).[9]

Human security is a much contested topic. Currently, there are two broad schools of thought. The first sees human security as an all-encompassing formula, including human development, human rights, human freedom, human dignity and security. Key documents like the 1994 HDR, the Commission on Human Security (CHS) (supported by the Japanese government and co-chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen), and various scholars subscribe to this understanding. This approach broadly reflects the efforts of the so-called 'global South' to put development concerns, non-military threats to security and issues of equity on the international security agenda, not least through the initiatives of groups like NAM and the G77 (even though at the 1995 World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen the G77 expressed suspicion and distrust at the concept, as many of its members felt that their sovereignty might be affected).

The second, narrower understanding of human security limits itself to freedom from fear, conceptualising human security as freedom from organised violence, repression and human rights abuses. The most popular proponents of this definition have been Canada and Norway, through the creation in 1999 of the Human Security Network (HSN), composed of foreign ministers of 13 countries.[10] In 2000, the Canadian government also supported the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), chaired by Gareth Evans and Mohammad Sahnoun, which elaborated the principle of 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P). Under this principle, states are responsible for protecting their people from four mass atrocities – genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing. Should states be unwilling or unable to provide such protection, the international community would help and would be entitled, as a last resort, to intervene to protect civilians. In 2004, the then European Union (EU) High Representative for common foreign and security policy Javier Solana commissioned a report to assess European security capabilities and develop proposals towards the implementation of the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS) itself. The report, entitled 'A Human Security Doctrine for Europe' (known as the Barcelona Report), advocated a human

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[9]UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[10]HSN members include Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland and Thailand, with South Africa as an observer.

security doctrine for European foreign and security policy and focused on freedom from fear (while also mentioning violations to the rights to food, health and housing). To achieve its operational objectives, the report recommended the creation of a Human Security Response Force, composed of 15,000 men and women (military and at-least one-third civilians), and backed by a legal framework for intervention and directing operations on the ground.[11]

The two understandings of human security – broad and narrow – have mirrored a North-South divide within the UN. Western countries, such as Canada and EU member states, have mostly embraced the freedom from fear agenda, while developing countries have rallied behind the freedom from want agenda, also backed by Japan. For the global South, the narrow conceptualisation is wedded to the R2P idea. Developing countries fear that human security may be instrumentalised to legitimise interventions, invite interference and compromise sovereignty.

India has not formally adopted a definition of human security. But India's former Ambassador to the United Nations (UN) Hardeep Singh Puri's statement on 'Implementing the Responsibility to Protect' at the 2009 General Assembly Plenary Meeting provides a clear indication of the government's approach:

> *Human security encompasses the inter-linkages between peace, development and human rights. The common understanding of this issue needs to recognize that the primary responsibility for human security rests with States and their Governments. Governments retain the primary role for ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of their citizens [...] Our latest decadal census shows that we are a country with 17.5 % of the human population; we are about 1.21 billion and it is absolutely essential that every single Indian must achieve a quality of life which allows him or her to have a decent standard of life. Already 17.5 % of the world is our responsibility, which is something we not only take seriously but is our national priority. Coupled with that, we have a country which believes that whatever we have for ourselves, we should try to the extent possible, share with others, especially, our brethren in countries where developing priorities are of an extremely high order and where vulnerability are great.*[12]

The academic debate on human security is limited in India. But for most Indian academics and analysts that have written about the concept, human security evokes either development challenges (poverty) or the role of the government or both. The government's role in providing security to the people has increased in India, in particular given the need to improve poor living standards of a large and growing population. There is consensus over the fact that state

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[11] Kaldor, Mary., et. al, 'A human security doctrine for Europe: the Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities', Barcelona: Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004. For a broader analysis of the human security debate in Europe, please see:
Christou George, "The European Union's Human Security Discourse: Where are we now?", , European Security, Volume 23 Issue 3, 2014
[12] Statement by Ambassador Manjeev Singh Puri at the UN General Assembly, 15 April 2011, available at: https://www.pminewyork.org/adminpart/uploadpdf/41080ind1847.pdf

institutions are responsible for the provision of citizens' needs, even if their effectiveness is undermined by bureaucratic infighting and corruption.[13]

Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, who esteems development itself as a freedom, has led the debate for many years.[14] For Sen, economic development arises from the interlinkage between various freedoms: political freedoms, inter-relational transparency, freedom of opportunity (including access to credit), and protection from abject poverty. He also introduced the notion of 'unfreedoms', which ensue in the absence of any of the prior mentioned freedoms. He focuses on three 'unfreedoms' in particular: fear of illiteracy, fear of early death and fear of starvation.[15] Poverty is thus a key threat to human security. In Sen's view, poverty is a complex problem and human security cannot be achieved by simply raising basic or average per capita incomes, but it requires upholding the right and ability to individual self-determination. He accords a large role to the free market to address poverty.

For Mallika Joseph too, human security relates to fighting poverty and the state is supposed to play a primary role. For her, human security in India is undermined by the vast economic disparities, and this has a major bearing on national security itself.[16] India's international projection and identity are contingent on the success of the country's domestic social and political delivery systems and whether it is able to narrow the vast economic gap by distributing the benefits of growth. Other analysts such as Swaminathan have stressed that it is not sufficient to target economic disparity alone, but rather it would be necessary to remove or reduce religion and caste-based inequalities too.[17]

Most Indian scholars regard human security as encompassing human development and human rights. "The term human security is expansive in that it extends the concept of security to human beings, to conditions of everyday life, the social and economic crisis created by modern development that adversely affect and impact lives of people. The emphasis is on enhancing human development and human rights of people".[18] Some place a large focus on human dignity.[19] Official government documents have reflected this approach. For instance, the National Planning Commission's Report on Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas notes that 'equal status and equal dignity is not merely a Constitutional right but also a basic human right'.[20]

There is also acknowledgement at the highest political level that human insecurity generates risks and threats, including to state institutions, such as in the case of naxalism.[21] During a

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[13]Kolås, Â, and Miklian, J. (eds.), *India's Human Security: Lost Debates, Forgotten People, Intractable Challenges* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013).

[14] Sen, A., *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[15] Roy, A.N., 'Human Security in India: a mixed bag', Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for Policy Studies, 2007, available at: http://cps.org.za/cps%20pdf/pia20_1.pdf

[16] Joseph, M., 'Human Security Challenges in India', Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2011, available at: http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=548#.UpNB1cSsim5

[17] R. Swaminathan, 'India's Internal Security Dimensions', *The Asian Studies WWW Monitor Database*, 17 March 2008.

[18] Hebbar, R., 'Human Security and the Case of Farmers' Suicides in India: an Exploration', Conference on 'Mainstreaming Human Security an Asian Perspective', Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 3-4 October 2007, available at: http://www.academia.edu/2462924/Human_Security_and_the_Case_of_Farmers_Suicides_in_India_An_Exploration.

[19] Acharya, op. cit.

[20] National Planning Commission, 'Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas', available at: http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf

[21] 'Naxalism biggest threat to internal security: Manmohan Singh', *The Hindu*, 24 May 2010, available at: http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/naxalism-biggest-threat-to-internal-security-manmohan/article436781.ece

national press conference in 2010, former Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that 'naxalism remains the biggest internal security challenge facing our country'.[22] Almost exactly five years later, during a visit to Dantewada in Maoist affected areas of the Indian state of Chhattisgarh, current Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi recognised that "development is the only road" to solve Maoists' problem.[23] Naxalism (Maoist extremism) is relevant in that it stems from human insecurity (lack of overall welfare) and can only be structurally addressed by the government if it provides holistic socio-economic welfare to the citizens involved.[24] Chronic malgovernance, administrative apathy and neglect of marginalised communities by various Indian governments over the years have been the key cause of human insecurity, of which naxalism is a symptom.

Despite numerous reports of human rights violations, India's constitution and government uphold the individual's right to life with dignity. The Charter of Fundamental Rights embedded in the Indian constitution guarantees citizens six fundamental rights: right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, and right to constitutional remedies. In 1993, a National Human Rights Commission, an independent and autonomous body, was set up by the Protection of Human Rights Act and tasked with the effective implementation of human rights provisions under national and international instruments. The Commission is the first of its kind in South Asia. [25] In addition, a number of states within the Indian federation also have their own Human Rights Commissions.

There is also a focus on the security of vulnerable groups, such as women, children, religious minorities, caste-based minorities, scheduled castes and tribes, as well as farmers.[26] Ritambhara Hebbar raises the case of farmers' suicides, which he feels is inset in the discourse on poverty and deprivation, with a central responsibility of the state in addressing even the psychological security of its citizens.[27] In the last few years, there has been a large outcry in India about gender-specific security, where vast sections of Indian society have spoken against very serious levels of violence against women.

Given its vast challenges, India's human security focus remains largely domestic. Some have linked India's global ambitions to its domestic obligations. For instance, Apurba Kundu believes that India should concentrate on boosting the human security of its citizens rather than focus on national frontiers or any other 'unnecessary' international ambitions, including armament spending.[28]

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[22] Ibid.

23 'PM Modi to Maoists: Embrace humanity, listen to your victims', *IndianExpress*, 10 May 2015, available at: http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/pm-narendra-modi-to-visit-dantewada-today/

[24] Tripathi, A., 'Maoist Insurgency as a Threat to Human Security: The Indian Experiences', Academia.eu, 2011, available at: http://www.academia.edu/1214235/Maoist_Insurgency_as_a_Threat_to_Human_Security_The_Indian_Experiences

[25] Sinha, M.K., 'Role of the National Human Rights Commission of India in Protection of Human Rights', 2005, available at: http://www.rwi.lu.se/pdf/seminar/manoj05.pdf

[26] The terms 'scheduled castes and scheduled tribes' are official terminology used by the Indian government in documents to identify former 'dalits' or 'untouchables' and tribes. The word dalit has been declared 'unconstitutional' and a number of Indian state governments have ended the official use of the term.

[27] Hebbar, op. cit.

[28] Kandu, A. 'External, Internal and Human security in India', EU-India-US Trialogue, Brussels, 30 September 2004, available at: http://www.eias.org/conferences/euindiaus300904/kundu.pdf

2) India's domestic achievements and challenges

A) UPA-led Government (2004-2014)

This section will focus on the Indian government under the Indian National Congress Party led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coalition of centre-left political parties during its two consecutive five-year terms beginning in 2004.

Human security in India is mostly hindered by poverty. Poverty implies under-development, ill-health, hunger, disease, illiteracy, political discord, conflict and a host of other negative derivatives. India's challenges, however, are not limited to poverty eradication, but include also the need to secure the vast spectrum of resources necessary to fuel a nation of 1.25 billion people. Despite a few shortcomings, the current and former Indian governments (at the federal and state level) have made remarkable progress in achieving freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity. Between 2004 and 2012, national development expenditure increased from 38 per cent to 45 per cent of GDP.[29] Per capita income has almost tripled (€881.94 in 2012-2013 from €309.70 in 2004-2005), having increased at an annual average of nearly 20 per cent.[30] However, 23.6 per cent of the population, or about 300 million people, still lives with less than $1.25 per day according to the World Bank (2012 data) or 29.5 per cent of the total population (363 million people) according to the Rangarajan Committee Report's figures for 2014.[31]

In dealing with domestic instability, the UPA government made a conscious effort to provide a holistic response to security tensions in India's north-eastern states, in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, and in naxalism affected areas, instead of resorting to armed measures only. As a result, the UPA-led government reported that militancy related incidents decreased ten-fold between 2004 and 2012.[32] In Jammu and Kashmir, incidents were reduced from 2,565 in 2004 to 220 in 2012. The number of terrorists, security forces and civilians killed dropped from 1,964 to 102 in the same period. The number of incidents and fatalities also decreased from 1,234 and 524 in 2008 to 214 and 34 in 2012, respectively. Successive governments in India have concentrated on development and employment, targeting youth in particular. Major infrastructure projects have been initiated which have supported growth. A number of extremist groups have been engaged in dialogue and have joined the region's mainstream politics.

On a similar note, in 2010 the then UPA-led government initiated an ambitious development scheme focused on 82 naxalism-affected districts. The so-called Integrated Action Plan (IAP) for Left Wing Extremism received an additional budget of Rs 1,000 crores a year (around €150 million) for four years in the 2013 national budget. The IAP will be merged with the Backward Regions Grant Fund Programme (BRGF), initiated in 2007 to correct regional imbalances in development and which covers 250 districts in 27 states.[33] Among other initiatives, for example,

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[29] Rao, K., 'India's poverty level falls to record 22%: Planning Commission', *Livemint*, 23 July 2013, available at: http://www.livemint.com/Politics/1QvbdGnGySHo7WRq1NBFNL/Poverty-rate-down-to-22-Plan-panel.html

[30] Government of the United Progressive Alliance, 'Putting India on the road to progress 2004-2013', 2013.

[31] The World Bank, Poverty and Equity, Country Dashboard, India, op. cit.

[32] Government of the United Progressive Alliance, op. cit.

[33] Government of India, Press Information Bureau, 'Backward Regions Grant Fund', available at: http://pib.nic.in/newsite/efeatures.aspx?relid=79312.

India's communications agency, Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) installed 2,199 low cost mobile towers in those areas.[34]

A variety of programmes had also been devised during the UPA-led government tenures to tackle poverty and social backwardness, and address people's needs. The 2005 Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), a massive social welfare scheme, provided employment to more than 50 million households, with a total expenditure of over $6.7 billion. The scheme benefited one in every five rural households and was targeted mainly at vulnerable groups: scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and women. It provided 'livelihood security',[35] by guaranteeing remuneration for one hundred days in a financial year of unskilled, manual work.

The Indian National Food Security Act (also Right to Food Act), signed into law in September 2013, was particularly noteworthy. Under the law, the government is tasked to provide 5 kilograms of subsidised food grains per eligible person to approximately two-thirds of the population. In addition, the scheme provides daily free meals for pregnant women, lactating mothers, and certain categories of children.

Expenditure on health almost quadrupled in 2012-2013 to €3.456 billion from €896 million in 2003-2004. There has been a 335 per cent increase in allocations for the health sector in the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017) compared to the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-2012).[36] Consistent efforts have been made over the years to reduce infant and maternal mortality rates. Life expectancy levels have significantly improved (more than 5 years for both sexes) and the country has successfully eradicated polio.[37] Under the Integrated Child Development System (ICDS), which began in 1975 and is one of the world's largest early childhood development programmes, a package of integrated services (supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check-ups, referral and education services, etc.) is provided to children and women. Almost 1.4 million crèches have been built.[38]

Systematic efforts over the years by successive governments to increase education have been rather effective. In 2012, 96.5 per cent of all rural children between the ages of 6-14 were found to be going to school.[39] The 2009 Right to Education Act provides free and compulsory education to all children between six and fourteen years old. The act made it compulsory, including for private schools, to include a 25 per cent quota of children from poor or disadvantaged sectors of society, who will receive free education.[40] Various other programmes, like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA), the Mahila Samakhya programme, or the Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyaan (RUSA), target questions such as the universalisation of

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[34] Sharma, Y.S., Goswami, U., 'Rs 1,000-cr fund for 82 Naxal-affected areas to continue', *The Economic Times*, 15 June 2013, available at: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-06-15/news/39993105_1_backward-districts-integrated-action-plan-central-assistance

[35] Government of India, Ministry of Rural Development, 'Mahatma Gandhi NREGA at a Glance', available at: http://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/home.aspx.

[36] Government of the United Progressive Alliance, op. cit.

[37] No new cases have been recorded for the past two years.

[39] Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) 2012

[40] Right to Education Platform, 'What does the 25% quota obligation of private schools imply? What is the obligation of aided schools?', available at: http://righttoeducation.in/what-does-25-quota-obligation-private-schools-imply-what-obligation-aided-schools

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elementary education, women's education and empowerment,[41] or improving accessibility and skill development at higher education level respectively.[42]

The agriculture sector was also a prime focus of the UPA-led government under whom price protection as well as credit was offered. By 2013, agriculture credit increased by 700 per cent from 2004, with more than 65 million farmers having been financed by the banking system.[43] India's Debt Waiver and Debt Relief Scheme for Small and Marginal Farmers is one of the largest household debt relief programmes in history. It was set up in 2008 and waived Rs715 billion ($14.4 billion) of agricultural debt between 1997 and 2007.[44]

However, India continued to face enormous development and human security challenges. For example, over 300 million people lacked any access to electricity and 70 per cent of the country's population even now lives in under-developed rural areas.[45] India still accounts for the highest number of maternal deaths in the world – (17 per cent or nearly 50,000 people).[46] Infant mortality rate remains as high as 63 for 1,000 births. Tuberculosis, malaria and other preventable diseases still cause millions of deaths each year.[47] In 2013, 550,000 Indians died of tuberculosis, the biggest cause of disease-related deaths, followed by malaria (120,000 people).

Despite remarkable progress and worthy goals, the UPA governments faced numerous challenges and shortcomings. Governance and administration remained weak. The effectiveness of food and fuel subsidies was highly contested. Policy paralysis was a big challenge, according to Vivek Dehejia, Associate Professor of Economics at Carleton University and author of Indianomix.[48] In addition, implementation of important programmes remained defective given the prevalence of corruption. UPA flagship initiatives, like MGNREGA and the Right-to-Food programme, aimed to provide employment and subsidised food to the poor and improve infrastructure, were riddled with corruption charges, delayed payments, and poor quality of public works. Corruption became one of the most crippling challenges for India during the two UPA terms and was not surprisingly a game-changer in the 2014 national elections. According to Global Financial Integrity, a US-based group, corruption cost India $123 billion in the decade between 2001 and 2010.[49] India ranked 94 out of 176 countries in Transparency International's 2013 Corruption Perception Index.

[41] Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 'New Agriculture Policy', available at: http://rrtd.nic.in/agriculture.html
[38] Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Higher Education, 'Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan National Higher Education Mission', January 2013, available at:
http://www.mu.ac.in/rusa.pdf
[43] Government of the United Progressive Alliance, op. cit.
[44] Government of India, 'Statewise Number of Farmers Benefited from Agricultural Debt Waiver and Debt Relief Scheme in India', New Delhi: IndiaStat and Rajiya Sabha Report, 2008.
[45] 'About 70 per cent Indians live in rural areas: Census report', *The Hindu*, 15 July 2011, available at: http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/about-70-per-cent-indians-live-in-rural-areas-census-report/article2230211.ece
[46] 'India has highest number of maternal deaths', *The Indian Express*, 7 May 2014, available at: http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/india-has-highest-number-of-maternal-deaths/
47 Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME), 'Global, regional, and national incidence and mortality for HIV, tuberculosis, and malaria during 1990–2013: a systematic analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2013', *The Lancet*, 22 July 2013.
[48] 'Top 10 challenges for India in 2013', *LSE*, 19 December 2012, available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/indiaatlse/2012/12/19/top-10-challenges-for-india-in-2013/
[49] Kar, D., 'The drivers and dynamics of illicit financial flows from India: 1948 – 2008', Washington, DC: Global Financial Integrity, 2010, available at: http://www.scribd.com/doc/43005152/gfi-india

B) NDA-led Government (since 2014)

This section will focus on the Indian government under the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) coalition of centre-right political parties during the first two years of its five year term beginning in 2014.

Current Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has a more integrated, comprehensive approach to human security. While the UPA political and development agenda could be described as largely "pro-poor" socialism targeting foremost the lowest echelons of society, the NDA approach goes beyond the pro-poor narrative, to equally underscore the middle class, encompass modernisation, advance urban empowerment, and propel business and industrialisation. Narendra Modi has in effect espoused a shift to integrated development rather than isolated development. He has opted for 'freer' market economic principles in a bid to end India's poverty from the socialist planning model that defined the first 67 years of independent India.

The Modi-led NDA government's transformation of India has begun with a full conversion of the country's economic model from an internal consumption-based one to a manufacturing one. The understanding behind this kind of transformation is that the manufacturing model will help bring foreign capital and investment into the country, boost jobs and growth, engender wealth distribution and hence deliver a better standard of living for large sections of society. In September 2014, Modi introduced his signature programme, the 'Make in India' initiative which seeks to turn India into a global manufacturing hub. Not only does Make in India invite foreign companies to manufacture in India, but is also a substantial boost to national companies. Since the initiative's launch, FDI in India grew by 61 per cent in one year.[50] India attracted $63 billion in FDI (2015), emerging as the top destination globally for foreign direct investment, surpassing even the US and China.[51]

Make in India is however not a stand-alone initiative and has been sustained by Modi's efforts to cut red tape, downsize government bureaucracy, assuage unions, limit corruption and black money, introduce competition, encourage start-ups, cut subsidies, deregulate protected industries and attract foreign investment. The idea is that an efficient Indian economy with limited red tape will boost the traditionally hindered Indian business while creating a more conducive environment for foreign companies. But an economic transformation and the flood of FDI means that India must also overhaul its creaking, outdated infrastructure in a big way, an issue recognised by Narendra Modi during the 2014 elections. Not only did Modi speak about transforming India into an urbanised country during his electoral campaign, but also introduced the country to the concept of 'smart cities'. Arguably, the promise of urban transformation based on Modi's positive credentials of the development of the Indian state of Gujarat as its Chief Minister (2001-2014), was a major factor for his electoral victory.

Indians have long felt the pain of India's need to urbanise. India's urbanisation challenges have long presented a sobering picture. Already-congested Indian cities with outdated infrastructure face rising, almost untenable rural to urban migration as more and more people leave agricultural jobs and their rural settings for a "better life" in cities. While India's information

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[50] Ashworth, David, "Foreign Direct Investment in India Up 61% since Last Year", *Market Realist*. 28 May 2015
[51] "India pips US, China as No. 1 foreign direct investment destination", *The Times of India*, 30 September 2015.

technology (IT) professionals became global leaders abroad, the country's own IT infrastructure remained far from cutting edge. A quarter of urban India resides in slums (half of Mumbai still lives in sub-standard housing). The vast majority of the country's waste has long ended up on streets and eventually into landfills given poor levels of waste treatment. India's ancient trains and railway lines were a constant visual reminder of its colonial times and impoverishment while road surfaces had remained abysmal: Indian trucks clocked the world's lowest average speeds and used for 60,000-100,000 kilometres annually – less than half of the average in developed states.[52]

Since assuming office, Modi has rolled out an ambitious agenda for India's urban transformation. On 25 June 2015, Narendra Modi launched a flagship programme for developing 100 existing Indian cities into smart cities. The smart cities initiative has been opened to foreign collaboration. The US and India for instance will collaborate on the development of three Indian smart cities: Allahabad, Ajmer and Visakhapatnam. While Germany has agreed to develop a further three smart cities in India. The smart cities initiative was followed by a 'smart villages' initiative, the Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojana (launched on 11th October 2014), which aims to create at least 2,500 smart model villages by 2019 which will have access to clean water, sanitation, low-carbon energy, and internet connectivity.[53]

Transport is also a running priority with significant investments made towards expanding the country's road and railway transportation infrastructure. The government has also cooperated with other countries and multinationals towards this goal: American multinational General Electric and French company Alstom have agreed to build 1,000 new diesel locomotives in India under the Make in India scheme. Japan is jointly constructing the Shinkansen bullet train with India linking Indian cities Mumbai and Ahmedabad. China has as of 2015 pledged to invest $20 billion in Indian infrastructure and manufacturing sectors. China is moreover constructing high-speed rail links and two industrial parks in Indian states of Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Indian highway network is being expanded with better access to remote areas. Under the Pradham Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) all villages will be connected with roads. Rural road construction today averages at 100 kilometres a day up from 70-75 kilometres per day under the previous government. Simultaneously, 101 rivers are being converted into national transport waterways. Under the 'Setu Bharatam' Program, 208 rail-over and rail-under bridges will be built while 1,500 decade-old bridges will be reconstructed.

Two other Modi/NDA government initiatives on economic empowerment are notable: Startup India (and its rural version: Deen Dayal Upadhyay Swaniyojan Yojana) and Skill India. Startup India, launched on 16 January 2016, is a $2 billion government action plan which seeks to foster start-ups that will in-turn promote innovation, entrepreneurship and job creation.[54] Since its launch, India has become the fifth largest global start-up host and third largest in technology driven startups.[55] Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana or Skill India on the other hand is a large scale initiative of the Modi government launched in 2015 to train 400 million people in

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[52] Gauri Khandekar, "Towards an EU-India partnership on urbanisation", *Global Relations Forum*, 27 July 2015

[53] http://www.saanjhi.gov.in/

[54] Startupindia.gov.in

[55] "India world's third biggest tech startup hub: Study", *The Economic Times*, 21 August 2016, available at: http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/small-biz/startups/india-worlds-third-biggest-tech-startup-hub-study/articleshow/53794155.cms

different skills (in line with latest technologies) by 2022.[56] The initiative targets recognition and standardisation of skills. Lack of skilled labour across industries has been raised as a crippling factor for India by many independent studies over the years.

Beyond economics, the government has maintained a strong focus on poverty alleviation, provision of basic needs, access to essentials and social empowerment, and the protection and empowerment of vulnerable groups including children and women. The government has launched a scheme that promises 'Housing for all' Indians by the year 2020 and the reduction of home loan interest rates.[57] Under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (urban housing scheme) 20 million homes will be constructed by 2022 with a budget allocation of $30 billion.[58] 2,508 cities and towns have so far been identified in 26 states as of April 2016 for construction of houses for the urban poor.[59] The homes will be owned by women or jointly with males. Its rural counterpart, the Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana (PMAY), previously Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), will replace all kuccha houses by 2017.[60] More than 20 million toilets have been built and around 70,000 villages have been freed from open defecation.

To address the issue of female foeticide and encourage girl child education, the Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao or Save Girl Child, Educate Girl Child women's welfare initiative was launched by the Modi Government on 22 January 2015.[61] The $15 million initiative directly addresses the issue of declining child sex ratio (CSR) in over 100 selected districts with low CSR. The government has also more than doubled fully paid maternal leave from 12 weeks to 26 weeks – one of the longest in the world.[62] Operation Smile is a programme that rescues missing children who end up in prostitution or into bonded labour. As of September 2015, over 19,000 children have been rescued.[63]

Even though India offers public healthcare services free of cost to those living below the poverty line, the Modi government has developed plans (to be finalised in 2016) to launch the world's largest universal healthcare system which will offer healthcare to all 1.25 billion citizens of India regardless of income, age and employment.[64] The draft plan notes that 63 million Indians have been driven into poverty by healthcare costs. The National Health Plan (NHP) would double the healthcare budget from 1.04 per cent to 2.5 per cent of the GDP effectively making the government the biggest purchaser of healthcare services in the country. The government has already made registration, appointment of doctors and medical records available online in more than forty major hospitals.

[56] http://pmkvyofficial.org/

[57] 'Every Indian to have a house by 2020, says minister', *Rediff Business*, 28 May 2014, available at: http://www.rediff.com/money/slide-show/slide-show-1-every-indian-to-have-a-house-by-2020-says-minister/20140528.htm

[58] pmjandhanyojana.co.in/awas-yojana-housing-for-all-2022-scheme/

[59] Ibid.,

[60] Ibid.,

[61] http://www.betibachaobetipadhao.co.in/

[62] Prashant Nanda, "Six months maternity leave gets cabinet nod", *Livemint*, 11 August 2016, available at: http://www.livemint.com/Politics/6GoTpMAeAnl4KrXs299d8K/Cabinet-clears-amendment-to-Maternity-Benefits-Act.html 63 Rahul Tripathi, "Rajnath Singh's 'Operation Smile' rescues 19,000 missing children from slavery, abuse", *Economic Times*, New Delhi, 19 September, 2015, available at: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-09-19/news/66706107_1_shelter-homes-missing-children-jharkhand-police

[64] Draft National Health Policy 2015, *Ministry of Health and Family Welfare*, New Delhi, India, December 2014, available at: http://www.mohfw.nic.in/showfile.php?lid=3014

The Modi government has also made noteworthy strides on clean energy by linking it directly to the fight against global warming and saving the environment.[65] Between 2015 and 2016 wind energy capacity was augmented by nearly 44.2 per cent while solar energy increased by 116 per cent.[66] Over 77,000 solar water pumps have been distributed to farmers across the country for irrigation. The Pradhan Mantri Fasal Beema Yojana is a new $2.6 billion crop insurance scheme launched in January 2016 to protect the farmers at the lowest premium. The Mandi e-NAM scheme further enables a farmer to sell his produce online in any market across the country.

The Indian government also provides insurance and pensions to the public. The Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana is a government life insurance scheme available to all Indians between 18 and 50 years of age with bank accounts, requiring an annual premium of around $5.[67] In case of death due to any cause, the nominee is paid $3,000.[68] A similar accident insurance scheme, the Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana, was also launched in 2015 which covers people aged between 18 and 70 years with annual premium of 18¢ providing $3,000 in case of full disability or death and $1,500 in case of partial permanent disability.[69] The Atal Pension Yojana, launched on 9th May 2015, is a government-backed pension scheme focusing at the unorganised sector. It is linked to the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana launched on 28th August 2014 which is a national mission for financial inclusion to ensure access to financial services for all. On the day of launch itself, 15 million bank accounts were opened. The scheme provides its beneficiaries (210 million so far) with the ability to open zero-balance bank accounts, RuPay debit cards, free accidental insurance cover of $1,500 (by 'HDFC Ergo'), and mobile banking services. Similarly, the Sukanya Samriddhi Account, launched on 22 January 2015 is a government backed saving scheme encourages parents to build a fund for the future education and marriage expenses for their female child and offers 8.6 per cent interest per annum with tax benefits.[70]

Electrification is a major priority for the government. The Modi government has aimed to bring electricity to 18,452 villages by May 2018, a feat likely to be completed by March 2017. The Unnat Jyoti by Affordable LEDs for All (UJALA) launched by Narendra Modi on 1 May 2015 is the world's largest LED programme which aims to replace 770 million incandescent bulbs in India with LEDs by 2019, leading to an annual estimated savings of over 100 million kwh and $5.9 billion in electricity bills.[71] Around 163 million LEDs have been distributed, more than 56 million households have benefitted and around $2.1 million per day in cost has been saved.[72] Under the Digital India initiative launched on July 1, 2015 the government's aims to "ensure that government services are made available to citizens electronically by improving online infrastructure and by increasing Internet connectivity or by making the country digitally empowered in the field of technology".[73] The initiative aims for universal digital literacy, universally accessible digital resources and to ensure that all citizens' documents/ certificates are available on cloud (the DigiLocker Scheme providing all citizens a secure dedicated personal electronic space of 1GB).[74]

[65] Narendra Modi, Independence Day Speech, 15 August, 2016
[66] Ministry of Power, Coal and Renewable Energy Renewable Energy, Indian Government
[67] http://www.pradhanmantriyojana.in/pradhan-mantri-jeevan-jyoti-bima-yojana-scheme-details/
[68] Ibid.,
[69] http://pmjandhanyojana.co.in/suraksha-bima-yojana/
[70] http://www.sukanyasamriddhiaccountyojana.in/
[71] CFL Lighting Scheme – "Bachat Lamp Yojana", United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) website, http://cdm.unfccc.int/ProgrammeOfActivities/Validation/DB/WOW1YYO9VEFAM3D6H2GJ4BZ4AW9YJL/view.html
[72] http://www.ujala.gov.in/
[73] http://drishtikone.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Digital-India.pdf
[74] https://digilocker.gov.in/

The government has ensured that the Aadhar Card, the world's largest national identification number project, launched by the UPA government in 2010, has now been issued to more than 1 billion Indians. The project collects biometric and demographic data to be stored in a centralised database and links to basic services like bank accounts, cooking gas connections and ration cards thereby cutting leakages. Numerous other initiatives have been launched (/amended from previous programmes) by the government. These include the Swachh Bharat (*Clean India initiative*), Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchai Yojana (*$7.4 billion five year mission to improve farm productivity and ensure better utilization of the resources*), Ujjawala Scheme (*which aims to give gas stoves to 50 million families by 2019 to render kitchens smoke-free*), the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (*a $150 billion new institution set up by the government to provide loans to small entrepreneurs*)[75], the Ebasta Scheme (*an initiative which makes school books available in digital form to be read and used on tablets and laptops*)[76] and so on.

Over the past two years of the Modi government, transparency has increased significantly and the progress of initiatives can be seen in real time. In his Independence Day speech on 15th August 2016, Narendra Modi noted that good governance requires the strengthening of every democratic institution in the country, transparency and efficiency. Crucially however, Modi explicitly declared that governance is "to make a difference in the life of the common man, and that the administration should be sensitive, responsible and dedicated to the common man."[77]

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[75] http://www.mudra.org.in/
[76] http://www.pradhanmantriyojana.co.in/
[77] Narendra Modi, Independence Day Speech, 15 August, 2016

III) Human security and India's global role

1) The Indian approach to delivering human security internationally

The government of India recognises its obligation as a democracy to deliver human security to its people. Its efforts lie in empowering the population and securing the resources necessary to harness their potential. India also extends protection to its populations abroad. India has carried out the world's largest international civilian rescue airlift operation having evacuated around 170,000 Indian expatriates from Kuwait and Iraq to Mumbai between 13 August and 11 October 1990 during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. During the April 2015 Yemeni crisis during which Saudi Arabia and a coalition of Arab states led a military intervention against Shiite Houthi rebels in Yemen, the Indian armed force and Indian air force conducted 'Operation Raahat' successfully evacuating 4650 Indian nationals and 960 foreigners belonging to 41 countries. Similar operations were carried out in Libya and Iraq.[78] The current Indian External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj has adopted "fast track diplomacy" as a "proactive, strong and sensitive" work methodology.[79] Swaraj has indeed been proactive, actively responding to various individual pleas for help even issued via social media platform twitter. Other examples of Swaraj's rescue and return missions in the past two years include securing the release of 175 Indians including 46 nurses from civil war-torn Iraq, liberating an Indian woman held by a human trafficking ring in the UAE, aiding an Indian woman stranded in Germany without her passport and money, ensuring the return of a hearing and speech impaired Indian girl stranded in Pakistan, and so on.[80]

At the multilateral level, the Indian government broadly subscribes to the UN's definition of human security. But India staunchly opposes international military interventions, preferring to focus on addressing the impact of climate change, post-conflict peacebuilding and global financial and economic security as the international facets of its human security policy. According to Manjeev Singh Puri, India's former Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations, the concept of human security 'must be people-centric and should go beyond the narrow framework of protection of population from physical security, like war and conflict, to a much broader framework to encompass multidimensional and comprehensive parameters, with development as the central pillar'.[81]

In 2003-2004, the Indian Development Initiative (IDI), now known as Indian Development and Economic Assistance Scheme (IDEAS), was set up to share India's development experience through capacity building and skills transfer, trade, and infrastructure development.[82] In 2012, India set up an external aid agency – the Development Partnership Administration – modelled along the lines of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), with a budget of around $15 billion, a majority of which is allocated to neighbouring countries.[83] India's development aid focuses on a number of projects from infrastructure to sustainable

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[78] Fast Track Diplomacy, Indian Ministry of External Affairs, 08 September 2014
[79] Ibid.,
[80] Ibid.,
[81] United Nations, 'Human Security, More than an abstract concept- for hungry family, it's food on the table, for refugee, it's shelter from Conflict', General Assembly, Meetings Coverage, 2012, available at: http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/ga11246.doc.htm
[82] Export-Import Bank of India, available at: http://www.eximbankindia.in/?q=loc
[83] 'India sets up $15 billion global aid agency', *Global Post*, 2 July 2012, available at: http://www.globalpost.com/dispatches/globalpost-blogs/india/india-global-aid-agency

social development, agricultural research, disaster management and relief, health, green growth and renewable energies. For instance, in 2013 India opened a new line of credit (LOC) to Cuba worth $120 million for developing renewable energy projects, a milk company, a chemical industry and an animal vaccine firm; besides writing off Cuba's debt of $62 million in 2008.[84] In Sri Lanka, India is notably engaged in helping the country in its post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts, with a grant of $83 million for relief and rehabilitation amongst other initiatives. In June 2013, India offered a $300-million line of credit to Ethiopia to construct a railway link to improve regional connectivity and boost economic growth,[85] and in September 2013 Liberia was extended a $144 million line of credit to fund a power transmission and distribution project.[86]

India's assistance programme is primarily predicated on the use of concessional lines of credit. 'As of March 31, 2012, India's Exim Bank , the country's premier export finance institution, had 157 operational LOCs covering 75 countries for a total amount of $ 8.16 billion and by the beginning of 2013 open LOCs reached nearly $ 10 billion'.[87] India's NGOs and private sector also play an important role. India's large pharmaceuticals industry has managed to reduce HIV treatment costs from $10,000 in the 1990s to less than $100 today, through the production and distribution of cheap generic drugs.[88]

Another dimension of India's international engagement in supporting human security, in particular at the regional level, consists of dealing with the consequences of extreme weather events and other natural disasters. South East Asia is the world's most disaster prone region, with billions of dollars in loss of life and property each year. In November 2013, in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan, India sent around 15 tonnes worth of relief material to the Philippines[89] and was the first responder to Myanmar when cyclone Nargis hit the country in May 2008. India's *Operation Sahayata* supplied the first international relief material to the cyclone-hit country.
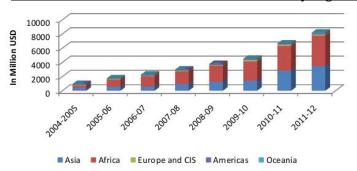
Table 1: Distribution of India's lines of credit by region from 2004-2012

Source: http://idcr.cprindia.org/p/lines-of-credit.html

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[51] 'India offers line of credit to Cuba for renewable energy projects', *The Indian Express*, 20 September 2013.

[85] 'Exim Bank of India extends $300-m credit line to Ethiopia for rail link', *The Hindu Business Life*, 13 June 2013, available at: http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/industry-and-economy/logistics/exim-bank-of-india-extends-300m-credit-line-to-ethiopia-for-rail-link/article4810962.ece

[86] 'India's $144 million Line of Credit to Liberia for power project', *The Economic Times*, 11 September 2013, available at: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-09-11/news/41971814_1_liberia-president-sirleaf-pacts

[87] Mullen, Rani D. and Jain, S., 'Lines of Credit', New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research, 2013, available at: http://idcr.cprindia.org/p/lines-of-credit.html.

[88] Price, Gareth, "For the Global Good: India's Developing International Role", Chatham House, London, UK, 2011, available at: https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Asia/r_indiarole0511.pdf

[89] 'India sending 15 tonnes of relief supplies to Philippines', *Deccan Herald*, 12 November 2013, available at: http://www.deccanherald.com/content/368622/india-sending-15-tonnes-relief.html

Development and humanitarian activities are not the only dimension of India's international projection in support of human security. Democratic governance structures are regarded as the best guarantor of human security at the domestic and international levels. India considers that democracy can best assure human security and that people's empowerment can create strong, sustainable societies. India is the second-largest contributor to the UN Democracy Fund, with a total contribution of $31 million since the fund was launched in 2005 by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and then US President George W. Bush.[90] India was also one of the 10 founding members of the Community of Democracies in 1999, a platform of countries sharing political values.[91] At the initiative of two Indian NGOs and the Washington-based National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the World Movement for Democracy was launched in New Delhi in the same year, convening democracy activists, practitioners, and scholars from over 80 countries.[92]

India supports democratic progress in other countries, but its approach differs greatly from that of the US and Europe. Delhi avoids using the language of 'democracy promotion' and keeps a low profile engagement. This is often perceived by India's Western partners as lack of action or commitment. However, for example, India played a quiet but significant role in Myanmar through its policy of constructive engagement, which has contributed to the country's remarkable political transition. Former Indian Foreign Secretary Ranjan Mathai stressed in 2012 that 'India remains committed to extending all possible assistance and support to the process of national reconciliation and the further strengthening of democracy in Myanmar. Our own experience is that in fact these processes are interlinked and democracy helps take national reconciliation forward both in the sense of bringing communities together and dealing with the gap between rich and poor'.[93]

On a visit to Tunisia in February 2014, former Indian Foreign Minister Khurshid conveyed India's 'support for the people of Tunisia in their struggle for democracy and India's admiration for the significant progress made by the government and leadership of Tunisia in the transition towards a durable democracy'. He informed the Tunisian leadership of India's readiness to share its expertise in building durable democratic institutions, particularly in connection with voting methods and the work of the Electoral Commission. India's overall approach to the prospects of political transition raised by the Arab Spring can be summed up in a speech by then Foreign Secretary Ranjan Mathai:

> *India has, as I said, welcomed democratic transitions in the Arab world and has been willing to share its experience in areas such as electoral management and practice. We are also of the view that sustainable change must take account of diversity and the quest for freedom, for equality, and identity. An inclusive approach is essential for dealing with the realities of multi-cultural societies and regional specificities. It should also be clear that democracy is for the long term; that change is the only constant in politics as in other*

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[90] UNDF, 'UNDEF's new Round focuses on projects in rule of law', 2013, available at: http://www.un.org/democracyfund/sites/dr7.un.org.democracyfund/files/UU18.pdf

[91] Lennon Alexander T.J., Kozlowski A. (eds.), *Global Powers in the 21st Century: Strategies and Relations* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, August 2008).

[92] The WMD was founded 'to strengthen democracy where it is weak, to reform and invigorate democracy even where it is longstanding, and to bolster pro-democracy groups in countries that have not yet entered into a process of democratic transition'. See http://www.wmd.org/about/founding-statement

[93] Mathai, R., International conference on 'India and her neighbours: revisiting relations with Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar , Sri Lanka and Maldives', Imphal, India, 17 August 2012.

walks of life. Constitutional structures and political practices should therefore take account of the possibility of change; of rulers finding themselves in opposition and vice-versa.[94]

India engages in capacity-building and training cooperation especially through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme, instituted in 1964, and its sister programme, the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme (SCAAP).[95] India's development activities in Afghanistan fall under four broad categories: large infrastructure projects, humanitarian assistance, capacity-building initiatives and small development projects. India is one of the largest donors to Afghanistan. It constructed the new Afghan parliament building in Kabul, the Salma hydroelectric dam in Heral province, and supported the development of iron-ore extraction in Bamiyan, amongst more than 200 other economic and development initiatives, including the building of schools (especially for girls), women's empowerment initiatives and police training.

There is a deep underlying normative fissure between the West and India on issues related to democracy promotion. New Delhi believes that it promotes democracy best by example and non-intrusive capacity-building, in contrast to the West's use of sanctions, economic incentives conditional to political reforms, human rights dialogues, democratic clauses and political ostracism. India's foreign policy psychology is deeply influenced by its experience of colonialism and hence the country shuns from imposing anything on others, even cooperation. Constitutional experts and electoral assistance missions (not election-monitoring missions) are sent on request. India offers scholarships for students from many developing countries to study in India and promotes education in these countries, especially in its neighbourhood. Foreign politicians, officials, civil society representatives and businessmen are invited to India's politico-industrial centres to see India's democracy in action and India's brand of unity in diversity.

Democracy is seen as a choice and not an imposition and, least of all, a condition which could encourage or discourage cooperation with another country. For India, a country's domestic affairs are strictly its own business. The principles of sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs are fundamental and Delhi believes in constructive engagement even when it comes to authoritarian regimes. After the Nehruvian era of Indian foreign policy (during which alongside its policy of non-alignment and camaraderie with other developing nations, India also stood up against human rights abuses), India has tended to cooperate with every country regardless of its governance model or human rights record. Self-interest, national security considerations and the rejection of external interference play an important role in shaping India's policy of pragmatic engagement. India's ambivalent approach to supporting democracy and human rights abroad is reflected in the more specific, and controversial, debate on the implementation of the responsibility to protect.

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[94] Mathai, R., Keynote Address, Fifth IISS-MEA Foreign Policy Arundel House, London, 4 October 2012, available at:
https://www.iiss.org/en/research/south%20asia%20security/south%20asia%20conferences/sections/2012-c5b8/fifth-iiss-mea-foreign-policy-dialogue-ec3a/ranjan-mathai-address-5b19
[95]Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, 'Indian Technical And Economic Cooperation (Itec) Programme, available at:
http://itec.mea.gov.in/?1320?000

2)   Responsibility to Protect and the case of Libya

With the backdrop of the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the 1995 Srebrenica massacre, then UN Secretary General (SG) Kofi Annan in his report titled 'We the People: The role of the UN in the 21st Century' released in 2000, raised the question of how the international community must respond 'to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity'.[96] The question went to the core of the challenge of protecting human security in the face of deliberate, large-scale violence. At the initiative of the Canadian government, an International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) was set up in September 2000 to seek answers. Presided by Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, ICISS carried out extensive consultations over the issue and in 2001 released a report on 'The Responsibility to Protect'.[97]

The report was pioneering and put forth a three dimensional response to the question posed by UN Secretary General (SG) Kofi Annan. This included the responsibility to prevent (which entailed addressing the root causes of internal conflict); the responsibility to react (with appropriate measures which include sanctions, prosecutions or military intervention); and the responsibility to rebuild (full assistance for recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation).

ICISS proposed a new qualification to the concept of sovereignty by conferring on states the responsibility to ensure the protection of their citizens, and by conferring on the international community the responsibility to protect those people should the state be unable or unwilling to fulfil its responsibilities. The report also distinguished R2P from humanitarian intervention, by stressing its nature as first and foremost a preventive measure. For ICISS, the first responsibility lies with the state, and military intervention is only the last resort, after all non-military coercive measures have failed.[98]

The 2005 World Summit further clarified that R2P would only apply under four instances of mass atrocities (genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity), there would be no fixed criteria for intervention, and that only the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) could authorise intervention abandoning the ICISS's suggestion for alternative authorisation routes to be utilised upon failure of the Security Council to reach an agreement. With this clarification in place, India voted for the report, which was passed with unanimity.

The Security Council endorsed R2P in various resolutions. The first of them was Resolution 1674 on the Protection of Civilians adopted in April 2006. Some country specific resolutions were passed by the UNSC subsequently, with the first being Resolution 1706 in 2006 on the situation in Darfur, Sudan authorizing the deployment of UN peacekeeping troops.

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[96] United Nations General Assembly, 'We the peoples: the role of the United Nations in the twenty-first century', Report of the Secretary General, *A
/54/2000*, 27 March 2000, available at: http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan000UN
923.pdf
[97] ICISS, 'The Responsibility to protect', Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, Ottawa, ON: International Development Research Centre, 2001, available at: http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf
[98] The report indicated six criteria to justify the extraordinary use of intervention: 1. Right Authority – to approve military intervention for humanitarian purposes; 2. Just cause – causing 'serious and irreparable harm occurring to human beings'; 3. Right intention – absence of ulterior motives for military action other than prevention of human suffering; 4. Last Resort; 5. Proportional Means – the application of the minimum military means necessary to ensure objective of human protection; and 6. Reasonable Prospect – consequences of action should not be worse than the consequences of inaction.

In 2009, UNSG Ban Ki Moon put forth a report on the implementation of R2P outlining a three pillar structure. The first pillar consisted of the responsibility of the state to protect its population; the second of the assistance and capacity building offered by the international community to the state towards these responsibilities; and the third of the timely and decisive response by the international community to prevent and halt genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity should the state fail to do so.[99]

India subscribes to pillars one and two of the R2P principle. However, the third pillar specifying the responsibility of the international community, in particular its interpretation and implementation, poses serious challenges for New Delhi and is the main focus of the domestic debate on R2P. The concern in South Block (India's Foreign Ministry) is that the third pillar could be misapplied to pursue other agendas, be used as an excuse for military intervention and/or aimed at regime change. As India's Ambassador to the UN Hardeep Singh Puri put it, 'several member states are all too willing to expend resources to effect regime change in the name of protecting civilians'.[100]

Three factors explain India's sensitivity. First, a long period of colonial subjugation has left India suspicious, fearing that intervention might be used as a tool for Western neo-imperialism. Second, India's opposition stems from its quest to shape the new emerging multipolar world order according to its own ideas and norms, refusing to be pushed into accepting 'Western' doctrines. Third, although a relic of the Cold War, the policy of non-alignment continues to play an important role in contemporary Indian foreign policy. However, the normative coordinates of non-alignment have shifted. While Nehruvian foreign policy did embody a moral purpose, modern India is more pragmatic and caters foreign policy to national ends. Delhi also argues that in the future, the ability of the UNSC to take effective and legitimate decisions on the implementation of R2P will also depend on its reform, including the question of adjusting the permanent membership to better represent the emerging international system.

India's scepticism towards military intervention under the R2P framework was evident in the case of the 2011 international intervention in Libya. On 1 January 2011, India became a non-permanent member of the UNSC. During the early stages of the Libya conflict, as Gaddafi sought to repress the uprising against its rule through increasing levels of violence, India voted in favour of UNSC Resolution 1970, imposing an arms embargo, travel bans, asset freezes, and referred the situation to the International Criminal Court (ICC). It is important to note that India has consistently opposed the ICC and is not a signatory of the 1980 Rome Statute that established the ICC. But on 17 March 2011, when UNSC Resolution 1973 was adopted, imposing a no-fly zone over Libya, authorising member states (citing Chapter VII of the UN Charter) to take 'all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack', while 'excluding a foreign occupation or force of any form on any part of Libyan territory', India abstained along with China, Russia, Brazil, and Germany. Delhi felt that opposing the resolution in the face of mass atrocities committed in the country would have

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[99] Ban Ki Moon, "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect", UNSG Report, 12 January 2009, available at: http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/implementing%20the%20rtop.pdf
[100] Statement by Ambassador Hardeep Singh Puri at the United Nations Security Council, 9 November 2011, available at: http://www.un.int/india/2011/ind1958.pdf

damaged its reputation.[101] However, India vehemently opposed subsequent NATO airstrikes in Libya, which it felt far exceeded its R2P-based Security Council mandate and were in fact aimed more at ousting the Gaddafi regime than protecting civilians.

In the build up to, and early stages of, the Libya crisis, the Indian government's approach to foreign intervention was that the first response should be peaceful, with use of force seen as a last resort.[102] Early government statements did not condemn the Libyan government and were instead limited to the plight of the 18,000 Indian nationals working in the country. Manjeev Singh Puri, India's former deputy envoy to the UN, told the UN Security Council that the international community had to 'mitigate and not exacerbate the situation, and widening sanctions could hurt the economic interest of the Libyan people'.[103]

Following the NATO-led air campaign in Libya, Indian Ambassador to the UN Hardeep Singh Puri maintained that the intervention in 'Libya has given R2P a bad name' and resolutions would now necessitate much more consultation before ever being adopted again.[104] He criticised the hasty use of force without first exhausting all non-military measures. A Lok Sabha (Indian Lower House of Parliament) debate in March 2011 saw Member of Parliament and Samajwadi Party leader Mulayam Singh Yadav table a motion condemning the NATO-led bombing and any forceful attempt at regime change. It was passed unanimously by the House.[105] Writing for the Times of India, Kanti Bajpai, a leading political analyst, expressed: 'While many Muslims are calling for Gaddafi to be stopped, there are also many others fearful of what an intervention by largely Western forces will mean politically'.[106] Leading daily The Hindu observed that 'India is concerned that the military intervention in Libya is going to result in a prolonged stalemate and growing radicalisation in West Asia. It will inevitably be perceived there as an attempt to partition an oil-rich Muslim state'.[107]

Abstention also triggered a debate on India's foreign policy both within and outside the country. Some praised the decision for being morally superior to approving military action, while others were critical of India's unwillingness to back the resolution and the R2P principle. For the critics, India's objections to Resolution 1973 demonstrated a weak foreign policy and an inability to balance politics with ethics. Indian involvement could have fared strategically well for India, allowing Delhi to be regarded as a power player and a 'responsible stakeholder' in the global community, and could have helped build bridges with the US and other Western powers. It would perhaps also have strengthened India's case for permanent membership of the Security

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[101] Khandekar, R., 'India and the Responsibility to Protect's Third Pillar; Roopmati Khandekar', in Fiott D. and Koops J., *The Responsibility to Protect and the Third Pillar: Legitimacy and Operationalization* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, October 2014).

[102] 'Back on home turf after 38 years in Libya', *Dna India*, 19 March 2011, available at: http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-back-on-home-turf-after-38-years-in-libya-1521896

[103] 'India abstains on resolution authorising use of force in Libya', *The Times of India*, 18 March 2011, available at: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-abstains-on-resolution-authorising-use-of-force-in-Libya/articleshow/7733131.cms

[104] 'The Logic Behind The Libya Decision', *The Times of India*, 2 April 2011, available at: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/opinion/edit-page/The-Logic-Behind-The-Libya-Decision/articleshow/7845331.cms?referral=PM

[105] 'External forces cannot decide regime change: India', *India Today*, 22 March 2011, available at: http://m.indiatoday.in/story/external-forces-cannot-decide-regime-change-india/1/133109.html

[106] 'The Logic Behind The Libya Decision', op. cit.

[107] 'India, no rubber stamp for West', *The Hindu Business Line*, 31 March 2011, available at: http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/columns/g-parthasarathy/india-no-rubber-stamp-for-west/article1585292.ece

Council.[108] India's foreign policy and its abstention on UNSC Resolution 1973 in particular have been sharply criticised as 'a policy of inaction' which 'reflects poorly on its ability and unwillingness to shoulder key global responsibilities and duties'.[109] Yet others argued that India's abstention on UNSC Resolution 1973 did not represent a return to the non-alignment era or an anti-West stand. Arvind Gupta, a retired Indian Foreign Service (IFS) officer and current Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDAS), felt that 'India's abstention on the Libyan resolution was on pragmatic grounds and not in opposition to the R2P doctrine'.[110]

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[108] 'The Logic Behind The Libya Decision', op. cit.
[109] 'Enlightened self-interest or moral outage?', *The Asian Age*, 24 March 2011, available at: http://archive.asianage.com/columnists/enlightened-self-interest-or-moral-outage-933
[110] 'Mind the R2P', *The Indian Express*, 22 April 2011, available at: http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/mind-the-r2p/

Conclusion: the way forward and cooperation with the EU

For India, the approach to human security simply translates into citizens first. India's reality is that of a developing country representing a seventh of humanity, including a third of the world's poorest. Yet today, India has the world's largest domestic development programme and places the fundamental principles underpinning human security - freedom from fear, freedom from want and right to a life of dignity - at the heart of its national development agenda as successive democratic governments in the country have demonstrated. India has effectively committed itself to deliver to its people the seven aspects of human security expounded by the 1994 Human Development Report, namely economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Nonetheless the achievement of human security in India is encumbered by social and economic deprivations as well as policy implementation and enforceability problems. Appreciation of the breadth of India's challenges, as well as its self-perception as a country that endured colonial rule and is wary of foreign inference in domestic affairs, is therefore required.

However India has a growing international profile and the image of the country as an emerging economic power that demands a permanent seat at the UNSC have led to high expectations from the West in particular for India to play a bigger role in supporting the current international order. India has so far been reluctant to play a bigger role as an international security provider and the considerable array of initiatives it has undertaken in support of development and governance reform in other countries is not very visible. With regard to the interpretation and application of responsibility to protect, Delhi remains extremely wary of military interventions carried out to enforce this principle. India is concerned that interventions justified under R2P may actually serve other purposes and lead to regime change. From this standpoint, India's assessment of the NATO-led intervention in Libya in 2011 has been very critical. The approaches of many in the West, including EU member states, and India diverge strongly on R2P, both normatively and ideologically and on the broader components of promoting human security abroad. But differences necessitate confidence-building and greater dialogue. Dialogue in particular could focus on other dimensions of R2P, such as the responsibility to prevent, including assisting third countries in protecting their own population, and political initiatives directed at addressing emerging crises through diplomatic means.

There is indeed growing debate within India too, on its international role and responsibility. Important sections of society agree that India can no longer remain on the side-lines and that non-alignment should not prevent India from playing an active role. As India grows more powerful economically, it will likely become more inclined to project power internationally. However, such foreign policy choices cannot currently be imposed on India. Instead, dialogues with India on international development in third countries, especially in Africa and South Asia, should be deepened. The terminology of democracy promotion per se will continue to prove controversial for New Delhi, but India and its Western partners like the EU can join forces on issues of international capacity-building and societal welfare. Myanmar, Thailand, Sri Lanka, or Afghanistan are good examples of countries where both the EU and India can work together, or at least in mutually reinforcing ways, towards strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law.

Human security as a concept finds itself increasingly at the core of the global discourse on security and sustainability. Yet it continues to be a taboo subject matter for discussion between the EU and India and the term features in no official bilateral documents issued. Significant differences in the understanding of the concept of human security have so far been the main cause behind hindered cooperation between the EU and India. It is however imperative that global actors like India and the European Union work together on advancing the debate on human security. That the EU and India are strategic partners[111] makes it even more essential for the two partners to collaborate on the issue within a shifting global order. Given India's commitment to deliver all three aspects of human security to its own citizens, there exists scope to build synergies with the EU in this field. The EU can effectively build on its long experience of development cooperation in India, updating it to adjust to new requirements and new terms of engagement among *equal partners*. Focus however needs to be shifted homewards from the global arena. Areas for cooperation between India and the EU can thus include sustainable urbanisation, education and disaster management and relief.

Sustainable urbanisation in particular can be the most potent area of cooperation to be framed under EU-India engagement on human security. Alternately appending cooperation on human security to collaboration on sustainable urbanisation can also open up the room for greater dialogue, synergy and partnership between the EU and India on effective multilateralism and at international fora. Urbanisation is one of the top challenges facing India as well as a leading priority and its impact would be felt across hundreds of millions if not 1.6 billion[112] lives in the country over the next decades. Millions in the country still don't have access to electricity, housing, water, food, sufficient healthcare, or better infrastructure. The Indian government in power has a mammoth task ahead and while sections above have shed light on commendable government efforts to deliver basic provisions to its population, the task is unachievable in real time without partners. While India has embarked on the journey towards urbanisation, it is also important to ensure that the path to urbanisation is both sustainable and green. Sustainable urbanisation therefore presents the EU and India an opportunity to work together on human security by supporting India in achieving its pledge to deliver freedom from fear, freedom from want and right to a life of dignity to a seventh of humanity.

At their 13th bilateral summit held in Brussels on 30th March 2016, the EU and India agreed to establish a forum on urban cooperation by 2017. The European Union has extensive experience in building sustainable, socially inclusive societies and can be an important partner to India in this regard. Different EU member states have different strengths and the EU-India Urban Forum as a platform that brings them together can foster cooperation on specific aspects of sustainable development and by extension human security. For instance, waste management is a major challenge for India and has adverse knock on effects particularly on health. In Europe, Sweden has reduced its waste to landfill sites from 62 per cent to 4 per cent. Buildings in Belgium on the other hand are being designed to generate their own energy. Building as energy hubs could successfully address a number of Indian challenges such as access to energy especially in remote or rural areas. Taken together, the EU forms an attractive sustainable societal model which could effectively partner with Indian to achieve its human security objectives.

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[111] The EU and India established a strategic partnership in 2004.
[112] 2050 projection

Until now, human security has been a restricted area for bilateral cooperation between the EU and India, mired in the notions that the EU and its member states focus predominantly on the freedom from fear agenda of human security, and India emphasises the freedom from want component. While the West has largely perceived India to be doing little on human security, India has remained wary of Western actors fearing that the human security agenda would be manipulated to veil international military intervention and regime change, a policy which New Delhi strictly opposes. Expecting India to conform to Western views would be misplaced.

Yet, as pillars of an emerging multipolar world, the EU and India must find ways to collaborate on human security which remains an important subject of global significance. Far from doing little, India has embarked on assuring human security to more than 1.25 billion people while its international development assistance footprint is widening progressively. The EU and India can effectively collaborate on human security most by enhancing bilateral cooperation on urbanisation. Advancing bilateral cooperation on sustainable urbanisation under the human security paradigm will not only enable both partners to make an important contribution to a significant percentage of the world's population but also pave the way for enhanced and deeper dialogue on the norm at the bilateral and multilateral echelons.

List of Abbreviations

BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BRGF	Backward Regions Grant Fund Programme
BSNL	Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CSR	Child Sex Ratio
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
G77	Group of 77
HDR	Human Development Report
HSN	Human Security Network
IAP	Integrated Action Plan
IAY	Indira Awaas Yojana
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICDS	Integrated Child Development System
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IDSA	Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
IDEAS	Indian Development and Economic Assistance Scheme
IDI	Indian Development Initiative
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation
LOC	Line of Credit
MGI	McKinsey Global Institute
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NHP	National Health Plan
PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana

PMGSY	Pradham Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RUSA	Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyaan
SCAAP	Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan
UJALA	Unnat Jyoti by Affordable LEDs for All
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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