

Paper 12
NEGOTIATIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD –
THE ROLE OF INDIA AND EUROPE
IN PIONEERING AN EVENTUAL GLOBAL DEAL

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Executive Summary

Background

Man-made climate change is the overarching security challenge of this century, a global emergency demanding a political response now. The developing world, which was not responsible for the high emissions of carbon and other greenhouse gases that have created the problem, is likely to suffer the worst effects of climate change and see its goal of sustainable development threatened. There is a serious risk that the current Bali – Copenhagen process may not produce an adequate solution to this huge challenge. Leadership is urgently required and we believe India and Europe can lead the world by developing a coherent, imaginative and effective initiative that would reduce greenhouse gas emissions to a safe level and enable India to progress more rapidly towards sustainable development.

Proposal

This new initiative would involve the EU, India and, following their lead, others:

- a) Setting GHG targets, (and how to adjust them), that can realistically be expected to reduce global emissions to a level that stabilises concentrations at an acceptable level. (Paper 1)
- b) An equity based approach leading to equal per capita emission rights (Papers 2,3,4)
- c) Linking an Indian carbon market to the EU-ETS (Papers 9)
- d) Providing other funding streams, technology transfer and capacity building to support sustainable development (Paper 7)
- e) Establishing the necessary institutions to ensure effective decisions on common policies and measures, respect democratic accountability and the rule of law, manage the emissions market, monitor and ensure compliance, mobilise adequate resources, and take responsibility for relations with other Parties, including association agreements as paths to full, and eventually universal, membership. (Paper 11)

A way forward

The merits of such an approach would need serious discussion. If it were decided to proceed further, there are many way of proceeding. A possible four phased process is suggested as one such pathway. To progress to the next stage, phase one, a joint Indo-European working group could be formed. Some substantive pieces of work could usefully be carried out in advance of the next meeting, perhaps by sub groups which would:

- a) Examine the scope for sectoral cooperation including technology transfer
- b) Study options for financing adaptation and sustainable development
- c) Explore the issues relating to the participation of India in the EU-ETS
- d) Model how such a partnership might work within the principles of equity
- e) Make proposals about institutions and implementation

A follow-on meeting to Potsdam is proposed in India in November 2008 or January 2009, to

- a) Review the progress made by the working groups in terms of the opportunities and difficulties identified
- b) Decide whether to go for a Heads of Agreement, setting out the principles of a Euro-India Treaty, and what further preparatory steps, joint or independent, would be necessary either in advance of, or following, such a decision

If there is a decision to proceed further, this would lead into the second phase, the development of an India-EU partnership with its origins in Potsdam, based upon a sense of political equity. As this partnership develops, there is the opportunity to invite others to join, establishing the kernel of a Global Community for Climate Protection and Sustainable Development (GCCP&SD – or GCC for short) with the necessary objectives and institutions required to ensure their achievement: this is phase three. As the community develops within the UNFCCC, phase four sees a process of association agreements which would facilitate the eventual membership of the countries which see the merits of the GCC and wish to participate.

Introduction

This paper seeks to draw together the ideas explored in the other research papers. In particular, it draws upon Chris Layton's European Essay, *A Community of the Willing*¹. It starts with a summary of the thinking with regard to a possible Euro-India partnership, which could form the nucleus for enabling the creation and development of a Global Climate Community (GCC). It explains the reasons why a partnership is needed and why India and the EU are proposed as partners, and outlines the four possible phases. It goes on to explore the ways in which the other papers link in with this proposal, together with key issues to be addressed. One dominant issue, the way in which a Global Climate Community would relate to the post-2012 negotiations within the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is explored in more detail. This is followed by a proposal as to how such a Euro-Indian partnership and Global Climate Community could be brought about.

It is important to emphasise that much in this paper is conjecture. Nothing will happen unless the participants of the Potsdam conference wish it to happen. The reader will need to judge for him or herself the desirability of the vision, the merits of the arguments and whether to proceed further.

The reason why action is needed

Internationally accepted scientific evidence (IPCC et al.) points to the need for a global reduction of carbon emissions in the order of 60% within 50 years if greenhouse gases in the atmosphere are not to exceed 450 parts per million (ppm) CO₂ equivalent, though James Hansen² argues for the need to return to 350 ppm CO₂. The current level is approximately 385 ppm. The latest IPCC report (2007) warned that a failure to cut greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions could lead to an average temperature increase of 4 degrees centigrade, and possibly more, by the end of the century.

The developing world's share of responsibility for the climate change problem to date is low. Yet it is many parts of the South that are expected to suffer the worst impact of global warming and climate change. The developing world has its own priorities in terms of sustainable development, and in the short term, the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals. These are seen as issues of survival. Though the emissions of the developing world have been low in the past, a large proportion of the growth in emissions is now occurring in the developing world.

Ways need to be found to address in parallel the twin objectives of avoiding dangerous climate change and achieving sustainable development. The progress towards the MDGs is slow, as evidenced by the half time review held in April 2008 where it was confirmed that sub-Saharan Africa is not currently expected to achieve any of the goals. The nature of progress within India is discussed in paper 7³. In terms of climate change, the first obligation period of the Kyoto Protocol, made a small start by committing Annex I countries (excluding the United States) to a five percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions to bring them below 1990 levels. Nevertheless, it appears that global emissions are set to rise by 30% in the next decade. COP 13 has led to the Bali Road map. This on its own, though vital, is unlikely to meet the urgent requirement to reduce emissions to a safe scientific level and yet enable development objectives of the growing economies of the developing world to be met. No targets have yet been agreed for the next commitment period and

it is unlikely that the 180 countries involved in the negotiations will be able to commit together to achieve a target sufficient to meet the scientific imperatives.

Leadership is urgently required and we believe India and Europe can lead the world in developing a coherent, imaginative and effective initiative that would reduce greenhouse gas emissions to the level considered safe by the international consensus of climate scientists, whilst at the same time meeting both India's commitment to urgent but sustainable economic development.

Why Europe and India?

India and the European Union (EU) have much in common, as has been made clear in recent high level EU-India meetings, and would make ideal partners. Both share a commitment to democracy, the rule of law, religious and cultural pluralism, the free market and the right of free expression.

India is a solidly-based democracy, capable of applying the rule of law to ensure the effectiveness of necessary measures, for example an emissions trading scheme. It offers a massive potential for leaping beyond the carbon economy. It offers a range of skills and capacities which could be developed in partnerships with European enterprises, not only in industry but also in the green-related service economy. The EU, for its part, has pioneered effective multi-lateral democratic decision making within the rule of Union law, and is in the process of moving into the post carbon economy, which offers enormous potential for further developing its global competitiveness.

The European Union is a community of economically developed states (despite regional and national differences); India is a country experiencing fast growth but is still faced with overcoming widespread poverty and under-development. This is a significant distinction, but within that distinction lies a complementary nature, and the seeds of future partnership.

India and the European Union are well placed to assume a leadership role. India has the potential to lead a major part of the developing world into an equitable partnership with the developed world on climate and sustainable development. The European Union has already taken a leadership role within the Kyoto process, has pioneered a functioning Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS), and played an important part in developing the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM).

A Euro-Indian partnership could be the driving force towards a wider climate/sustainable development community, acting as a vanguard group within the UNFCCC. Applying the community idea in this way would not only be a notable contribution to dealing with this central issue for humanity but could also provide European foreign policy with a powerful unifying *leitmotiv* which is sorely needed after a period of internal self-absorption. The analogy is the role of the Franco-German partnership in the early days of the European Community.

Discussions towards this end have already taken place in various European countries, including Germany, France and the UK, and in India. Bearing in mind the speed of climatic change, there is now an urgent need to place piecemeal discussions within the context of a comprehensive and more ambitious framework.

A four phase process

The proposition is a four phase process. The first phase involves a Euro-India working group following on from Potsdam and preparing a second meeting in Delhi. This would lead into the second phase, the development of an India-Europe partnership, based upon a sense of political equity. As this partnership develops, others will be invited to join, establishing the kernel of a Global Community for Climate Protection and Sustainable Development (GCCP&SD – or GCC for short) with the necessary objectives and institutions required to ensure their achievement: this is phase three. As the community develops within the UNFCCC, phase four sees the progressive

association of others, countries that see the merits of the GCC and wish to participate. Each of these four phases is addressed in turn. But first the basic proposition is set out.

Basic proposition

What is proposed is a new political initiative, within the UNFCCC, that will unite a group of countries – north and south – led by India and the European Union, to lead the world in a commitment to a programme of limiting their carbon emissions by mid-century to levels that avoid dangerous climate change, and a programme of support for a more rapid transition towards sustainable development. A form of enhanced cooperation within the UNFCCC, this new initiative would involve

- a) Setting Green-house Gas targets, and agreeing how to adjust them in the light of new science, that can realistically be expected to reduce global GHG emissions to a level that stabilises concentrations at an acceptable level (Paper 1⁴)
- b) An equity based approach leading to equal per capita emission rights (Papers 2⁵,3⁶,4⁷)
- c) Linking an Indian carbon market to the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme (EU-ETS) (Papers 9⁸)
- d) Providing other funding streams, technology transfer and capacity building to support sustainable development (Paper 7⁹)
- e) Establishing the necessary institutions to ensure effective decisions on common policies and measures, respect democratic accountability and the rule of law, manage the emissions market, monitor and ensure compliance, mobilise funding, take responsibility for relations with other Parties, including association agreements as paths to full membership (Paper 11¹⁰)

Process options

There are a wide variety of paths that could lead to such a position. The choice of path and the pace will be influenced by a variety of factors, including political vision and will, progress or lack of progress within the post 2012 negotiations and the pressure of climate change itself. It is not appropriate to be prescriptive as to how progress should be made. This paper however seeks to show one pathway, as an example, that could lead to the establishment of a vanguard community of willing states, a Global Community for Climate Protection and Sustainable Development. The following four step pathway is this example.

Phase I - Joint Working Group

If there is a shared interest in Potsdam in pursuing these ideas, it is proposed that a joint Indo-European working group would be formed, perhaps with sub-groups which would evaluate key issues flowing from the seminar, leading up to a follow-on meeting to Potsdam, that could be held in Delhi in November 2008 or January 2009,

Phase II - Indo-Europe: an India Europe partnership starting in Delhi

If it is agreed to proceed to proceed further, the parties might decide to

- a) Negotiate a Heads of Agreement, which would lay down the basic principles for a future Treaty.
- b) Maintain a small team / working group, pursuing issues relating to the Heads of Agreement, the preparation for a Treaty negotiation and the relationship with the post 2012 negotiations

It may not be realistic for two major treaties in the same subject area to be negotiated at the same time. It is therefore envisaged that no attempt would be made to negotiate the formal Euro-India Treaty or wider global community before the outcome of the post-2012 negotiations. It is proposed however that if the follow up conference to Potsdam is successful the EU and India, and any other governments that have the will, take a few key people out of their machine. Each party would have a small team under a plenipotentiary, people able to act and create a magnet. They would be able to develop the ideas, and maintain the momentum pending an outcome of the Bali - Copenhagen process or clear indications that its outcome will be insufficient.

The parties would review the situation post the Copenhagen COP, or once the outcome or likely outcome of the post 2012 negotiations was clear, in order to determine how to proceed. Various options might present themselves including the possibility that

- a) An optimum post 2012 outcome had been achieved, and it was not considered possible to improve upon it, or supplement it (though it is highly unlikely that the outcome would include both adequate binding targets and the institutions required to make their achievement effective)
- b) A good but insufficient outcome had been achieved or was likely, and this would need to be supported and enhanced by proceeding with the Treaty as a “Bubble” within the UNFCCC.
- c) A poor or non-existent outcome had been achieved or was in prospect, and a Treaty between India and Europe or a wider group of willing states was essential in order to take the necessary action to address sustainable development and climate change.

Phase III - Formation of a Global Community for Climate Protection and Sustainable Development

If it was decided to proceed with the negotiation of the full treaty, the European Union and India, in the light of the principles they have agreed, could invite other willing participants to be founding members of the GCC e.g. Japan, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, African countries, and then proceed to negotiate the Treaty between the original two participants, or with additional members.

Phase IV - Further development of the GCC

Finally, the GCC would develop as a bubble within the UNFCCC. It is anticipated that other countries would see the success of the community and wish to join. An open chair policy would be maintained, allowing for the progressive association with others, either as full members or as associates with a view to later membership.

Graphically, the above four stage proposal can be summarised as follows:

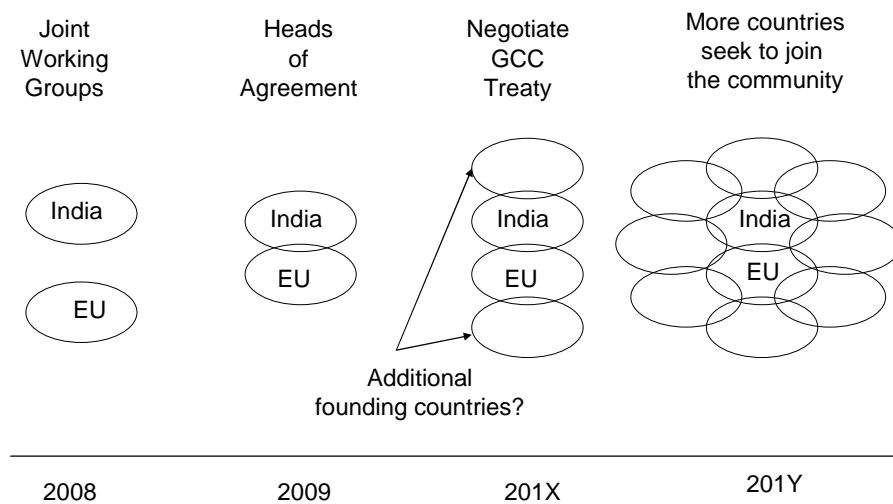


Figure 1: A North South way forward, within the UNFCCC

Key issues and possible options / solutions / scenarios

The other papers in this set provide a context for the Potsdam seminar. Some, such as papers 5¹¹ and 6¹², provide an insight into some of the ways in which societies in both the developed and developing worlds will operate in a post carbon world. The remainder of the papers, in addition to providing a broad background to the issue, explore one or more aspects of this proposal. Some of the key issues are summarised below.

Dealing with Carbon dumping (free riding)

Competitiveness and carbon dumping can be seen in a number of ways and these are set out in paper 9¹³. One approach is to apply some form of border tax or Countervailing Duty. Such options are set out in paper 10¹⁴ under trade measures against non-compliance.

Engagement with US / US states

It is highly likely that a new US Administration will launch a significant programme of action to reduce GHG emissions domestically. What is more questionable is whether the US will initially provide the significant level of funds required to support clean development within the developing world. NEF (Paper 10)¹⁵ quote the cost endured by developing nations as \$130 billion, combining mitigation and adaptation, whilst SEI / Ecoequity (Paper 4)¹⁶ quote figures for adaptation alone of \$10 to \$171 billion. Is the US likely to pay their share of the costs in the developing world, (estimated as between a third and 40%)¹⁷? Furthermore, the US has been resolute in preserving its sovereignty, minimising the strength of any multilateral commitment and avoiding the types of institutions considered necessary to address climate change, as outlined in Paper 11¹⁸. These twin features of US policy are likely to make agreement to a strong, progressive post-2012 agreement difficult to achieve. They are likely to make a more progressive Global Climate Community all the more necessary – and they would imply that the US would be unlikely to be an early participant in a GCC. There is no realistic chance that any US State would be allowed by the Federal Government to become a formal member of the GCC but forms of association with the carbon market might be possible for States that are committed to a rigorous cap.

Engagement with China

China's engagement with climate change is fundamental. The Chinese Government are fully aware of the significance of climate change globally and with respect to China itself. As with the US, but for somewhat different reasons, China is unlikely, at first, to wish to participate in the types of institutions that might be appropriate for a GCC.

Associate status

Neither the US nor China are expected to seek early membership of a Global Climate Community. Nevertheless the close engagement in climate change of both the US and China, representing some 50 % of global emissions, is of paramount importance. Progress on addressing climate change will be achieved to differing degrees domestically. It will be achieved through engagement with the post 2012 regime. It can also be achieved through engagement with the Global Climate Community in some manner other than full membership, a form of Associate Status. The terms of such Associate status would need to be carefully negotiated so as to offer terms befitting such major powers, whilst at the same time, not offering all the benefits of membership such that they have no incentive to later join the GCC.

Open chair policy

An open chair policy would be maintained by the GCC, offering all countries the opportunity to become members of the Community on the assumption that they accept the commitments and institutions of membership. How precise the terms of accession to that open chair would depend partly upon the degree of precision within the terms of the GCC itself. In any event there is likely to be some form of negotiation. In principle the Parties are likely to wish that a country joins the GCC. Therefore it would be important not to make the terms of Associate Membership too comfortable, and risk no benefit in full membership being perceived. Similarly the Parties might

wish to avoid deterring a country from joining because of a huge bill to be paid on day 1 of membership for 'accrued membership fees'. On the other hand, if a party perceives that little penalty would be imposed if they joined late, they would be encouraged to stay out, and join late, thereby managing to avoid 'paying their bills'. Indeed a lenient approach to accrued bills could have precisely the opposite effect from that intended.

Institutions

Paper 4¹⁹ suggest that "the scale and nature of the required financial assistance and technological cooperation is unprecedented; and will call for institutions and mechanisms that have not yet even been envisioned". Paper 11²⁰ touches on the type of institutions that may be required to support the mechanisms and enable the goals to be achieved. Such institutions do exist and are in operation in another context. They have not however been considered in the context of climate change and sustainable development.

Post 2012

All parties engaged with GCC discussions are committed to the UNFCCC and to establishing an effective post 2012 agreement. It is important that there is no misunderstanding in this regard. Nevertheless, the establishment of a Global Climate Community can be of benefit in various post-2012 scenarios. As mentioned above,

- a) In the event of a good but still inadequate post-2012 negotiation, a more binding and effective GCC would go further and lead the way to a comprehensive world response
- b) In the event that the outcome of the post-2012 negotiations is poor, or non-existent, a Euro-India Treaty would be especially important in order to make constructive progress towards sustainable development and addressing climate change.

The inter-relationship between a Euro-India Treaty / GCC and the post 2012 negotiations has three distinct aspects. First, there is the impact of a potential Treaty on the post 2012 negotiations. Secondly, there is the impact of the result of those negotiations on the formation of the Treaty / GCC. Thirdly there is the relationship between the post 2012 regime and the GCC once both are in operation. Each of these three aspects is discussed in turn.

Impact on post 2012 negotiations

Once the Heads of Agreement has been negotiated, the parties would be free to focus on the post 2012 negotiations. The Heads of Agreement could be used by the parties as they wished. They could keep quiet about it, focus on the post 2012 negotiations, and await their outcome. Alternatively, they could make explicit use of the existence of the Heads of Agreement, using the agreement as leverage in the post-2012 negotiations. In practice, it could well be that the existence of the Heads of Agreement becomes known by the other parties to the UNFCCC and that leverage is exerted, without any explicit reference by the parties. It would be known that Europe and India, and others who might join them, had 'somewhere else to go', in the event of a weak outcome to the post 2012 negotiations. As such, the existence of a Heads of Agreement is likely to have a beneficial impact upon the outcome of those negotiations.

Impact of post 2012 negotiations on the formation of the Treaty/GCC

Once the Bali to Copenhagen process has been completed, the parties to the Heads of Agreement would then be free to decide how to proceed – namely whether to proceed to negotiation of a full treaty, and if so when. There might be a desire to see the post 2012 negotiations through to their conclusion, in the event that they are not completed by the end of 2009. There might be a desire to await ratification of the agreement before proceeding further with the GCC. There would be a danger however that in such a case, those antithetical to a good post 2012 agreement would be controlling the timetable and the actions of progressive North South parties. It is likely that growing damage and suffering from climate catastrophes will make it urgent to proceed.

Relationship between the post 2012 regime and the GCC once both are in operation

Once the Global Community for Climate Protection and Sustainable Development has been established, and started to function, it is likely that other countries, from both the North and the South, will see the merit of progressing more rapidly towards a sustainable low carbon future. They will see that the sooner that a country's business community is able to adapt to a low carbon future, the stronger the competitive advantage of that country's business will become. Similarly, the sooner a country's citizens come to terms with a low carbon future, the sooner will they be able to adapt and be able to explore the potential for greater well-being – and the opportunity to provide leadership in this regard.

The relationship between a GCC process and the post 2012 negotiations can be summarised as follows:

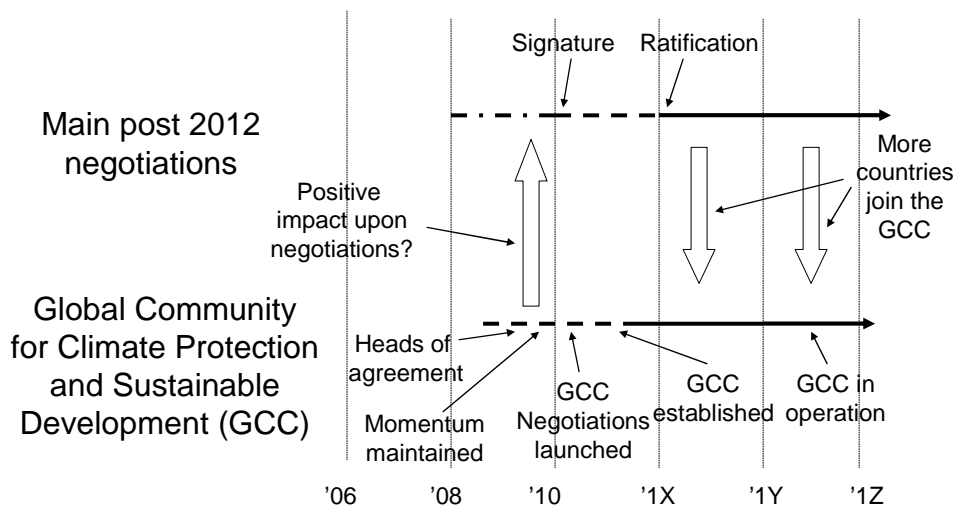


Figure 2: Post 2012 negotiations and a Global Community for Climate Protection and Sustainable Development (GCC)

How to get there

If there is a shared interest in Potsdam in pursuing these ideas further, there are a number of ways in which the initiative could be carried forward. The approach outlined on page 3 has several elements. The key elements would need to embrace the overall decision making architecture and process, the identification and performance of the necessary substantive work to explore and develop the way forward, the means of engaging Government both within India and Europe, and the means of providing co-ordination during this process. These are elaborated below.

The substantive work

To progress to the next stage, an Indo-European working Group would be formed, perhaps with, sub-groups, for example to

- Examine the scope for sectoral cooperation including technology transfer
- Study options for financing adaptation and sustainable development
- Explore issues relating to the participation of India in the European Emissions Trading Scheme
- Model how such a partnership might work, within a framework of equity
- Define necessary common institutions
- Determine the appropriate attendance at the follow on meeting in Delhi to enable the process to move forward

The decision making architecture and process

A follow-on meeting to Potsdam could be held in Delhi in November 2008 or January 2009, to

- a) Review the progress made by the working group in terms of the opportunities and difficulties identified
- b) Decide whether to go for or invite Governments to go for a Heads of Agreement, setting out the principles for a Treaty which the EU and India invite others to join in negotiating,
- c) Decide upon any further preparatory work deemed necessary before negotiating the Heads of Agreement

In the event of a green or amber light at that meeting, the remaining preparatory steps could be completed and negotiation of a Heads of Agreement launched as soon as possible thereafter.

The means of engaging Government

The participants at the Potsdam Seminar are from Government, Academia, business and civil society. Primarily, they are influential people within the realm of climate change and energy, people close to Government, but typically not themselves formally representing Government per se. The aim was not to launch straight into a Government negotiation, but rather, to provide a forum in which a different approach could be considered dispassionately, and away from the negotiating table. That said, if the ideas put forward in Potsdam are to result in anything substantive, it is the respective Governments and European Institutions that will need to engage and take the decisions. There is therefore the issue of how and when to involve officials and Government ministers. Within Europe, the European Commission would take a leading role. The suggestion made here is that officials be closely associated with some or all of the substantive work needed before the next meeting. Within Europe and India, the processes of Government engagement will no doubt differ. The respective timing may also differ, but it is to be hoped that both parties could proceed at a similar pace, with feedback to the other party helping to govern that pace.

The means of providing coordination during this process

To date this initiative has been co-ordinated by the Action for a Global Climate Community, with key personnel based in the UK and India but with close interaction with many parts of Europe and the world. It could be that the parties decide to take over the co-ordination role themselves following Potsdam. An alternative option would be to support AGCC in performing a similar co-ordinating role during the next phase. Such an approach could prove effective in the early stages, but clearly, the greater the progress, the greater the need for leadership of the process to be taken over by the political leadership within India and the EU – and the need for management of the process to be owned by the officials of those Governments and European Institutions.

Negotiating approach

The approach proposed for the negotiation of both the Heads of Agreement and the subsequent Treaty is that employed for both the Treaty of Rome and the establishment of the International Criminal Court, namely co-located negotiating teams who stay negotiating until the negotiation is complete. Whilst placing a significant burden upon the people and Governments involved, such an approach has a far greater potential to lead to a timely and successful result than the more conventional multilateral negotiation format of periodic meetings.

Summary and conclusions

The proposals in this paper are based upon a concern that the world is under serious threat from global warming and climate change, and a desire for the South to achieve its goal of sustainable development. There is a serious risk that humanity's response to this threat may be inadequate – and the desire not realised.

The proposals spell out a new international initiative that could have a major and lasting impact on the development of the world. A pathway to the realisation of these proposals is put forward. The proposals are for governmental action, and specifically the Indian Government and the European Union. Participants at the seminar are primarily in a senior advisory role. It is hoped that the participants will decide that there is merit in pursuing these proposals further.

Endnotes

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³ Nair, S., Tomar, S., Upadhyaya, P., (2008) *Advancing development and adaptation – the state of resources* Paper 7 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

⁴ Bhadwal, S and Vashist, S (2008), *Moving GHG targets, adjusting the scales*, Paper 1 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

⁵ Vivekanandan, J., Mahajan D., Vashist S., (2008), *Optimal scenarios for sustainable development under an equity based approach*, Paper 2 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

⁶ Johnson, V., Simms, A. (2008a), *Fairness in a post-carbon society*, Paper 3 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

⁷ Kartha, S., Kjellen, B., Baer, P., Athanasiou, T., (2008), *A fair sharing of efforts in meeting the climate challenge*, Paper 4 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

⁸ Rouhaud, E., Layton, C., Whitfield, R., (2008), *Is the EU-ETS a successful model? Can it form the basis for a wider market?* Paper 9 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

⁹ Nair, S., Tomar, S., Upadhyaya, P., (2008) *op cit*

¹⁰ Pinder, J., Layton, C., (2008), *Europe and India can lead the world to prevent disastrous climate change* Paper 11 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

¹¹ Upadhyaya, P., Goel, N., (2008) *Post-carbon development: an analysis of commercial and residential, transport, agriculture and rural sectors in India* Paper 5 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

¹² Johnson, V., Simms, A. (2008b) *Transition to a post-carbon society* Paper 6 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

¹³ Rouhaud, E., Layton, C., Whitfield, R., (2008), *Is the EU-ETS a successful model? Can it form the basis for a wider market?* Paper 9 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

¹⁴ Johnson, V., Simms, A. (2008c), *Engineering transition to benefit human development* Paper 10 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

¹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶ Kartha, S., Kjellen, B., Baer, P., Athanasiou, T., (2008), *op cit*

¹⁷ Johnson, V., Simms, A. (2008c), *op cit*

¹⁸ Pinder, J., Layton, C., (2008), *Europe and India can lead the world to prevent disastrous climate change* Paper 11 in Research papers for High-level EU-India seminar, Potsdam, Germany

¹⁹ Kartha, S., Kjellen, B., Baer, P., Athanasiou, T., (2008) *op cit*

²⁰ Pinder, J., Layton, C., (2008), *op cit*