

# THE IRONY OF SAMENESS

## EUROPEAN UNION AND INDIA'S COLD RELATIONSHIP

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### Abstract

*Trying to establish themselves as global actors, both European Union and India pursue their interest through multilateralism. Although both of them developed intense relationships with the United States, Russian Federation, China and other regional actors, EU and India do not find profoundly attracted to one another. While EU steers Central Asia or China, India in its part sees the European framework as the sum of its parts at best and prefers bilateral proximity with individual nations once at the time: UK, France Italy, Germany or Poland. The irony of this state of affairs is that both EU and India have similar traits if judged by their effort to bridge ethnic, religious and economic diversity into a single body. Apart from that both EU and Indian economies struggle to shape a compromise between social protection and the neoliberal agenda.*

*In this paper we analyze the relationship between European Union and India by focusing on their foreign policies. Our main hypothesis is that EU and India should cooperate due to their attraction to the same values and norms. As future unfolds along with common challenges such as regulating financial flows or tackling terrorism and environmental issues, European Union and India should try to reach a common language.*

*This relation can also be a test for EU's aim to become a global actor because an established cooperation with an Asian country would provide the necessary framework to work outside the European space and to demonstrated its commitment to become an important player in IR.*

**Key words:** *democracy, values, security, liberalism, EU, India, European military, industrial complex, Dassault-Rafale*

### Introduction

In this paper we focus on the EU's foreign policy towards India, mainly on the speed with which this relationship has developed in the last decade. We seek to explain why the relationship has evolved so rapidly and why it began to include areas like security, common threats, the role of international institutions. In order to support our research we use qualitative methodology, a case study about the EU-India relation. This case study is important because it shows the importance that shared norms, values and institutions have on the partnership, and we consider them methods to deepen it; and in the second place we observe a paradox, because the both actors are subscribing to the democratic process their relationship has showed some slowing.

### 1. The theoretical framework

For a long time, the relation between India and EU (European Community) was based on trade and economic cooperation and hasn't went through tense times. In the 90's their partnership began to contain more concrete objectives that were enforced by a more and more institutionalized framework: in 1994 was signed the Cooperation Agreement, in 2000 the Summits were introduced as a tool to facilitate the political dialogue, since 2005 India has been EU's "strategic partner" and the European External Action Service has worked on a Country Strategy Paper for India 2007-2013. In

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all this official documents, the role of norms and shared values is taken into account from the beginning and they are seen as important ways to keep on building and developing the relation: "Respect for human rights and democratic principles is the basis for the cooperation between the Contracting Parties and for the provisions of this Agreement, and it constitutes an essential element of the Agreement", „India and the EU representing the largest democracies in the world reiterate that their partnership is based on the sound foundation of shared values and beliefs. Our common commitment to democracy, pluralism and rule of law and to multilateralism in international relations, is a factor for global stability and peace”, „India and the EU, as the largest democracies in the world, share common values and beliefs that make them natural partners as well as factors of stability in the present world order. We share a common commitment to democracy, pluralism, human rights and the rule of law, to an independent judiciary and media”. Therefore, we consider that the theoretical framework that could help us the most to explain the EU-India partnership should be the liberal one. Liberalism allows us to introduce individuals, ideas and institutions when analyzing foreign policy and to better explain certain decisions.

Important concepts for the liberal theory are: individualism, freedom, constitutionalism and institutions – whose role is to maintain the order; and even though it appeared as a domestic theory, liberalism has managed to project its domestic quality and values to the international level. The democratic regimes are peaceful towards each other, but are aggressive towards non-democratic states. Liberals make hypothesis about each of K. Waltz's three levels when they try to explain what causes wars and M. Doyle identified three types of liberals: first image Lockean, which regards the human nature; second image commercial, also named societal and the third image Kantian or republican internationalist. The Lockean image, although anarchic is based on states that are representative and had obtained citizens' consent while looking to protect life, liberty and property and can trust in one another; the commercial liberals consider that the markets and the capitalist system together with "democratic majoritarianism" will increase the level of peace. The third type of liberals represented by Kant and the republican internationalists consider that the states must agree on three conditions in order for the world to obtain peace. These conditions are: representative, republican government; respect for nondiscriminatory rights and social and economic interdependence. All these different liberal assumptions lead to the following conclusions: that liberal democracies will reject the balance of power and will trust the community of liberal states, will have a positive duty - which implies defending the members of the liberal community- , will sustain market economy as well as human rights avoiding the use of force. In an early classification of liberal tradition towards the level of analysis, M. Doyle talks about Kant's liberal internationalism in which citizens appreciate the moral equality of them all, Machiavelli's liberal imperialism where citizens are unequal and seek to rule because they fear to be dominated and Schumpeter's liberal pacifism with rationalized, individualized and democratized.

These three distinctions of liberalism have been reclassified by A. Moravcsik, using the link between social preferences and state behaviour in ideational liberalism –that shows how state behaviour influences conflict and compatibility between collective social values, commercial liberalism – it explains the way in which state behaviour affects gains and losses on individuals and groups in society and republican liberalism – concentrates on who state behaviour is illustrated on different forms of internal representation.

The liberal theory belongs to the bottom-up approaches or actor-based perspective of the foreign policy analysis that consider individuals and societal groups as prior to politics because their interest are defined before the politics and are only using politics to obtain those goals and therefore this kind of analysis includes more than just political or governmental explanations. The three core assumptions of the liberal theory are: one- that states are the primal actors in international politics, second – states represent the domestic society and are constantly recreated by new political actors and third that „*interdependent state preferences determines state behavior*” and that the states are trying to realize their preferences – different from other states- but under the constraints imposed

by other states' preferences. The other approach to the foreign policy analysis is the structural perspective (realism, neoliberal institutionalism, organizational behaviour approaches, social constructivism) usually addressing different questions or explaining different things, such as the decision making process or the choice for some actions. In this paper we will explain the focus on some actions rather than the process making, more precisely why has the relation between the EU and India evolved so rapidly and so deepened going from economic cooperation to a political partnership and although our theoretical framework is the liberal one, based on an actor perspective, we consider that the structural dimension of the policy should be also taken into account. By the structural dimension we understand the economic, social, cultural factors that are perceived by the actors and to whom they react and that influence some types of interaction between them. For example, in this case we consider globalization as one important structural factor that influences EU's policy towards India.

One methodological problem that we want to address is the way in which we will define the EU. If we can surely say about India that is a state, there are difficulties regarding the way in which EU can be conceptualized. This subject has been discussed also in regard with the sort of authority the EU has mainly because it has not replaced the national state but is more than an organization. The way in which its institutional and judicial structure evolved made J. Ruggie name it as the "first truly postmodern international political form" challenging the relations between territorial space and state. While Duchêne called it the „civilian power Europe" that should avoid military power in order to maintain its influence.

Even if EU's development has led to a new and difficult to describe political form, its construction and durability are linked and motivated by the need to avoid another war to stimulate prosperity on the continent. W. Hallstein explains the construction of the European Community as a way to allow "Europe to play its full part in world affairs.. . . [It is] vital for the Community to be able to speak with one voice and to act as one in economic relations with the rest of the world" hence, a coherent foreign policy is vital for strengthening EU's role in the world.

## **2. EU-India cooperation**

Although the European project was also a response to the Soviet Union, its existence continued even after the end of The Cold War, contrary to realists and neorealists prediction and in the 90s took steps to develop a Common Foreign and Security Policy and a European Security and Defence Policy renamed Common Defence and Security Policy after the Treaty of Lisbon. In the security area, the European progress towards a common voice in the world evolved much slower than it did in the economic sector. The market policies are governed by the „Community method" described as a set of rules and practices that provide a major role for supranational institutions while on the foreign and security policy the supranational institutions have little or no power. What the member countries found to be a common feature that wish to support in the foreign policy is the soft power of their construction. Looking to have certain identity in the international system, Europe aimed to be, in the word of R. Prodi a global civil power: „We must aim to become a global civil power at the service of sustainable global development. After all, only by ensuring sustainable global development can Europe guarantee its own strategic security". This shows that by spreading its influence EU is looking to ensure its security and to encourage development for its partners. At the base of EU's normative power are five major norms peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights and four minor norms social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance that are spread contagion, informational diffusion, procedural diffusion, transference, overt diffusion and the cultural filter. All these norms can be found in the India-EU partnership as they both recognize the shared values that are at the base of their relation. And EU is still strengthening the normative dimension of the relation by sustaining the

implementation of these norms in the institutional framework between them. If EU appears more like a normative power looking for its own place, India is considered to be a *status-quo* power which does not wish to expand its power.

An important form of institutional cooperation has been established since the India-EU Summit that took place in 2000 in Lisbon when they reaffirmed that „based on the shared universal values of democracy and the respect for human rights, rule of law and fundamental freedoms, stress our commitment to promote socio-economic development and prosperity, as well as international peace, stability and security” and EU considers India as the „warrant of stability in the chronically unstable South Asian region”. The EU-India Joint Action Plan set in 2005 and revised in 2008 mentions the main areas of cooperation for them: promoting peace and comprehensive security, promoting sustainable development, promoting research and technology, promoting people-to-people contacts and cultural exchanges.

The shared values and norms between them and the role of stabilizer that the India has in South-East Asia represent important incentives to keep on developing the partnership. As democracies attached to the market economy, they are improving the economic trade by opening in 2007 the discussions for signing the *Free Trade Agreement*. EU is India’s biggest trading partner with a total amount of trade in goods of 86 million euros in 2010 and this sum increased in 2011 with 20%. The biggest exporters were Germany, Belgium and Great Britain with 60% of exports to India. India accounts for 2.6% of the EU’s total exports and 2.2% of the EU’s total imports and if the trade agreement is signed the trade could double to 155 billion euros by 2015. This means that economic cooperation has developed in a very complex way and that the partners are looking to increase their advantages, but there are also points on which they disagree. According to an analysis on the FTA impact on India published in March 2010, it seems that India is unwilling to include the norms mentioned in the chapter *Trade and Sustainable Development*, the whole chapter more precisely because it requires measures to protect the environment and to protect children from labour. The economic relation has a great potential and can become a motivation for continuing to deepen their partnership.

Although India has benefited from aid from the EU, this donor-beneficiary relation has begun to transform to a partnership and India’s own growing economy will put further demands on the Asian power making it more willing to become independent. Even if we consider India to be a *status-quo* power, its role is more important now than it was ten years ago. Still India needs to find answers to problems like poverty, access to education and health care. The latest Country Strategy Paper for India 2007-2013 is defined as a transition paper that will move the relation from assistance for development to actors’ economic cooperation and to reduce actions while also supporting the implementation of the *Millennium Development Goals* and the *EU-India Action Plan*. At the last EU-India Summit in February 2012, the President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy mentioned that this Summit will offer the possibility to strengthen their relation and to develop the political dimension of their collaboration and that the „increased cooperation between India and the EU can make a difference for the security and the prosperity of our continents”. EU and India cooperate on research and innovation programmes and they signed the *EU-India Joint Declaration on Research and Innovation Cooperation* based on the „*Innovation Union*” document for EU and the „*Decade of Innovation*” paper for India. These documents describe the following common threats for which solutions are needed: climate change, energy security, water, resources, demography, security, natural disaster management, sustainable transport and mobility, health and combating diseases.

Regarding cooperation on security problems it has been established that at the bilateral level will be held consultations regarding threats like terrorism, cybercrime and piracy, regional issues like the need for a stable Afghanistan, a democratic Pakistan, the importance of regional integration and closer cooperation in South Asia and global issues: the international economic situation, poverty

eradication, the need for sustainable development, climate change, the Iranian nuclear issue. They also sustain multilateral solutions for these problems and a more institutionalized framework for South Asia, although the Security Council Reform is an important topic for India.

EU and India have a common approach to the world affairs' current status and this has contributed to an increased cooperation in the security sector. As EU is constructing its global image in the international system, its values and norms are the tools to legitimate its actions.

### **What does it take so long for an EU-India free trade agreement?**

In 2010 New Delhi and Brussels agreed to sign a free trade agreement which hailed the promise to boost mutual exchange to over 100 billion dollars/year. We are three years away from 2010 and an FTA is still mirrored in the quagmire of diplomatic details. In order to answer this dilemma we must drill deeper into the democratic mechanisms and capture the tango between politics and economics.

It seems to be a self-evident truth the link between democracy and free-trade. The liberal creed envisages an international environment where both domestic and external relations are regulated by transparent and representative institutions. However reality is heterodox vis-a-vis theory. Many times people demand social safety nets. In response governments issue protectionist regulations designed to foster internal growth and halt foreign business considered toxic to national interest. As an ironic contrast history displays several examples of state-led liberalisation measures enacted by authoritarian regimes such as Pinochet's Chile or the post-Maoist China.<sup>1</sup> Those examples tend to spur the idea that sometimes democracy and free-trade collide and only strong leaders can push pro-business disregarding social costs and public protests.

According to Kevin O'Rourke one cannot infer a simple, predictable correlation between democracy and free trade inclinations. Financial power, GDP per capita, the status and solidity of working class are factors moulding the political economy adopted by governments.<sup>2</sup>

Torsten Persson follows a more institutional approach and distinguishes between majoritarian and proportional democracy vis-a-vis trade liberalisation. According to Persson in majoritarian regimes public debate colludes to adopting market friendly stances while proportional settings tend to privilege social safety nets and protectionism.<sup>3</sup>

It is probably fair to say that, regardless of domestic colors or regime, each state purses its interest in a rational manner, aiming to extract the best opportunities from the global economy and at the same time preserving sensitive industries and vulnerable social classes or underachieving branches of economy. In this respect the European Commission warned about a protectionist wave sweeping global economy in 2012. On the other side of the coin, the same European architecture strives to insulate its farmers from cheap competition with developing regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>4</sup> To turn the rhetoric the other way around, Zhang Yansheng, Secretary General of the

<sup>1</sup> Kevin O'Rourke, "Democracy and Protectionism", *Institute for International Integration Studies*, No.191 (December 2006): 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 3; 19.

<sup>3</sup> Torsten Persson "Forms of Democracy, Policy and Economic Development," CEPR Discussion Papers 4938, C.E.P.R. Discussion Papers, (2005).

<sup>4</sup> Alexander de Ville, EU trade plans will increase protectionism and hinder development, *Institute of Economic Affairs*, 23 August 2012. Accessed 5 January 2013, <http://www.iea.org.uk/blog/eu-trade-plans-will-increase-protectionism-and-hinder-development>.

EU is not alone in this stance. Across the ocean, United States joins in the belief that economic firewalls are needed to protect national production against foreign competitors. One of the favorite topics in the last campaign for presidency was China's rogue behavior in property rights. Pundits and politicians alike accuse Beijing for playing an alleged double crossing game: it wants to be a part of WTO but at the same time practices industrial theft.

Apart from governments, several executives have expressed their friendly attitude towards protectionist measures in certain sectors. Rachel King, "GE Survey: Protectionism at Odds with Innovation".

Academic Committee of the National Development and Reform Commission advised UE leaders not to compete against China in labor intensive domains like textiles and instead concentrate on improving the high-technology skills indispensable to an information society.<sup>5</sup>

At the other side of Eurasia, India experiment with independence made protectionism a cornerstone of democracy itself. The spinning wheel on the Indian flag did not represent a symbol of industrial modernity as the Soviet sickle&hammer. It was instead a Gandhian icon of an agricultural Weltanshaung which annexed economic needs to spiritual redemption and not material welfare. For decades Indian political economy stubbornly suppressed private initiative. The collapse of Soviet bloc delegitimised socialism in India as well.<sup>6</sup> Facing an overall collapse early 1990s, New Delhi accepted to make a volte face and open its gate to liberalization. Nonetheless, given India's million living under the poverty line marketisation remains a taboo or even a bete noire in certain areas.

Below we have a chart representing the overall globalization index, also known as KOF Globalization Index. It was created in and the research is organised in three different strands: politics; economics; society. Among indices and variables : flows trade (percent of GDP); foreign direct investment, stocks (percent of GDP); portfolio investment (percent of GDP); personal contact telephone traffic; transfers (percent of GDP); international tourism; foreign population (percent of total population); information flows Internet users (per 1000 people) etc.<sup>7</sup>

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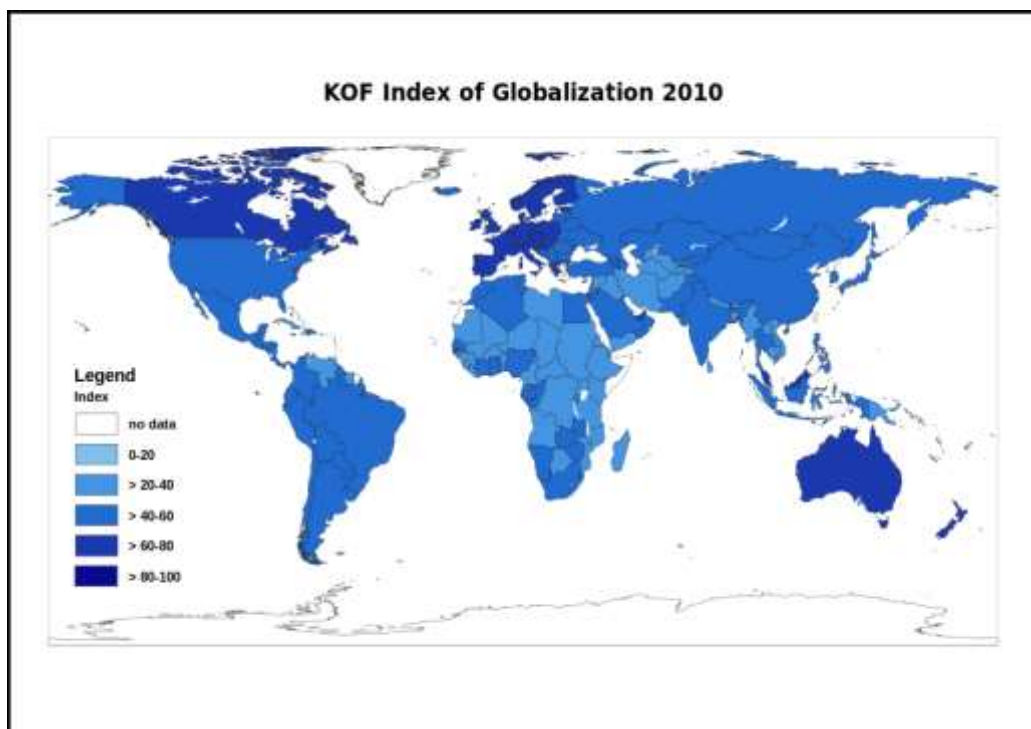
*The Wall Street Journal*, 2013. Accessed 28 February 2013, <http://blogs.wsj.com/cio/2013/01/17/ge-survey-protectionism-at-odds-with-innovation/>.

Siobhan Gorman, "China Tech Giant Under Fire. Congressional Probe Says Huawei Poses National-Security Threat to the U.S.", *The Wall Street Journal*, October 8, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Uking Sun, "China worried about EU trade protectionism", *China Daily*, June 1, 2012. Accessed 5 January 2012, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012cneuforum/2012-06/01/content\\_15452942.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012cneuforum/2012-06/01/content_15452942.htm).

<sup>6</sup> Nandan Nikelani, *Imagining India. Ideas for the New Century*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Axel Dreher, "Does Globalization Affect Growth? Empirical Evidence from a new Index", *Applied Economics* 38, 10 (2006): 1091-1110.



**Source:** KOF Index of Globalization: <http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/map/#>  
[Accessed 23 February 2013]

If we count the rankings for 2012 we see that top ten is mostly populated with European countries (and Asian tigers) while India is somewhere below the 100th place.<sup>8</sup>

If we take into account another index, namely Open Market Index we notice a more nuanced picture: members of European Union are scattered across the whole list.

(Hong Kong #1; Singapore #2; Luxembourg #3; United Arab Emirates #4; Belgium #5;

The Netherlands #6; Ireland #7; Switzerland #8; Estonia #9; Denmark #10; Sweden #11 Slovak Republic #12;..France #28; Poland #33; Romania #34).

It is true that India's place (ranked #66) reflects the persistence of red tape, but at the same time EU as a whole remains a hotchpotch of richer and poorer regions with different economic needs.<sup>9</sup>

Summing all the things said above, we may conclude that a free trade agreement between EU and India could be judged on a two level basis. In both entities we have a globalized urban class with higher education, connected to the latest technology sitting above marginal communities for whom globalization remains a possibility more than a reality.

### **Westphalian paradigms and collective security in Indo-European security designs**

As India judges its security interests still within a Westphalian paradigm Brussels does seem to play a role much beyond diplomatic symbolism.<sup>10</sup> Although the European capital is bypassed by

<sup>8</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>9</sup> K. Michael Finger, ICC Open Markets Index 2011, p.17.

Accessed 22 February 2013, [http://www.iccrf.org/sites/default/files/docs/2011/12/OpenMarketsIndex\\_FINAL102711.pdf](http://www.iccrf.org/sites/default/files/docs/2011/12/OpenMarketsIndex_FINAL102711.pdf).

New Delhi one gets a very different picture studying bilateral security cooperation between India and different European countries.

During the Cold War India's defence cooperation towards different nations reflected its position on the Eurasian chessboard as well as its commitment towards Non-Alignment, according to Kanwal Sibal, former Foreign Secretary of India.<sup>11</sup>

Initially crafted for the military needs of the British Empire, the armed forces of an independent India would need foreign equipment. Jawaharlal Nehru's grand vision for his country was a blend of Gandhian anti-modernist pacifism and the craving for modernity, heavily influenced by the Soviet model. Thus, India's foreign policy, both in Nehru's years and afterwards tried to blend the effort towards strengthening the values of UN Charter, achieving disarmament, especially at the nuclear level with a more realist back-up plan to have a respected hard power as a bargaining chip. Three were and remain the components of the Indian defence cooperation pattern:

- 1) indigenization: meaning the aim of Indian industry to achieve technological autarchy;
- 2) relying on traditional trustworthy partners such as Russia, United Kingdom and France;
- 3) diversifying the supply horizon with new players according to New Delhi's economic or strategical interests: United States, Israel, Germany, Sweden, Spain, the Czech Republic, Poland.<sup>12</sup>

One supplementary remark has to be noted down: India's cooperation with Western countries has to take into account the deepening and gradual maturing of the European Union. Thus one has to talk about a pure bilateral phase prior to 1990 and a composite bilateral phase hailing the birth of a European military industrial complex.

#### A. Devolution of the British influence and the searching for new partners

Although India gained its independence in 1947 it did not sever the relationship with the British completely. Actually until April 1958 the Indian navy was headed by a British. Overall the Indian armed forces were of British craft: Centurion tanks, Vampires, Canberra, Hunter and Gnat aircraft, and Leander class frigates. However, the enmity with Pakistan as well as Cold War politics widened some distance in the Anglo-Indian relationship.<sup>13</sup>

India's first defence contractors took place in the 1950s but the real military build-up coincided with the end of the non-Alignment honeymoon. Nehruvian diplomacy was based on two premises: the regional Sino-Indian affinity and, on the broader stage on the syndicalization of Third World's independent states against the superpowers of the North: United States and the Soviet Russia. When China defeated India in 1962 and India won the upper hand against Pakistan in 1965, the political elites from New Delhi realised that multilateralism alone would not suffice.

Apart from Soviet technology, Indians pursued the French connection as Gaullist France was using military diplomacy as a means to make friends in a postcolonial environment. Thus India acquired its French Ouragan, Mystere and Alize<sup>14</sup> fighter jets during the '50 and '60s along with licenses for the Alouette and Lama helicopters during the 1970s.

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<sup>10</sup> In the words of Rajendra Jain, professor at J.Nehru University: "the post-modern Europe is of marginal importance to us in security issues." Madhavi Basin, *The EU-India Partnership: Strategic Alliance or Political Convenience?* in Anjali Ghosh, Tridib Chakraborti, Anyndio Jyoti Majumda, Shibashis Chattarjee, *India's Foreign Policy*, (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2009), 226-225, esp.218.

<sup>11</sup> Kanwal Sibal, "India's defence ties with Europe", *Indian Defence Review*, 09 Aug , 2012. Accessed 20 February 2013, <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/indias-defence-ties-with-europe/>.

<sup>12</sup> See also Ambassador Ronen Sen's speech at a gathering of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses in April 2011. *India's Defence Cooperation with its major traditional & New Strategic Partners*, April 1, 2011. Accessed 21 February 2013, <http://www.idsa.in/keyspeeches/AmbassadorRonenSen>.

<sup>13</sup> "Of defence and defensiveness", *The Indian Express*, Apr 04 2011. Accessed February 21, 2013, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/of-defence-and-defensiveness/771118/0>.

<sup>14</sup> Kanwal Sibal, "India's defence ties with Europe".

<sup>15</sup> On 25 June 1953, India ordered 71 Ouragans. They started arriving that year with deliveries being completed in 1954. Another 33 Ouragans have been ordered in 1957. They were used against anti-government riots in



In 1979, when India ordering around 130 aircraft Anglo-French Jaguar aircraft, with licence production and transfer of technology as part of the package, the British made a sizable come-back into the Indian market.<sup>15</sup>

With the West Germans India managed to complete the acquisition of Dornier submarines, especially after the 1971 conflict with Pakistan.<sup>16</sup>

The end of the Cold War, late '80s was not quite the finest hour of Indian defence and military history. The overall collapse of the economy, following the overall crisis of the dirigist model,<sup>17</sup> the engagement in Sri Lanka, the death of Indira Gandhi and of her son, Rajiv in 1991 were completed by the Bofors scandal (1987). Early 1980s Indian Army decided to renew its stock of artillery so it launched a bid to which several high profile companies from West along with USSR responded. In 1986 the Swedish Bofors was shortlisted and won the auction along with eight a contract 1,25 bld\$ worth. A year later, on April 16, 1987 a Swedish radio talked about alleged bribery to Indian officials in order to scheme auction. One name was Wineshvar Nath Chadda, an international peddler for international pharmaceutical firms turned to defence business. It was discovered that Chadda had connections with an Italian firm and an Austrian bank and that his money were filtered through a Ponzi scheme involving Swiss accounts. In India the case was taken up by Chitra Subramaniam, a journalist working for The Hindu.<sup>18</sup> The result was an immense scandal tarnishing the name of Rajiv Gandhi. Although all the suspects were acquitted the event took a heavy toll on Congress' chances in the 1989 national elections.<sup>19</sup>

#### B. The allurement of the European defence industrial complex

Charles Tilly's dictum that war makes the state and the state makes war is also valid for the post1945 European community. During the Cold War Europe's weary nations relied on American defence while the spectre of mutually assured destruction remained a constant reminder for the heavy price industrial modernity must be willing to pay. As industrial potential reinvigorated itself, European governments rebuilt their security capabilities but with little to moderate success in joint ventures. Whereas the Maastricht and the Amsterdam treaties have set forth a transnational security concern, what really facilitated the birth of a common European military industrial complex was another war, one in their backyard: the Kosovo crisis. It was to be NATO's moral redemption for the failures of the international community as the later had proved idle or ineffective in curbing several genocides during the 1990s.

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Assam and Nagaland and in the Sino-India conflict. They were retired in 1965 and replaced by Mystere. Paul Jackson. "Ouragon: Ancestor of Rafale." *Air Enthusiast*, Bromley, Kent, UK: Pilot Press, No. 37, September–December 1988, 15–24, 75–78.

Military Dassault aircraft, MD 450 Ouragan. Accessed 20 February 2013, <http://www.dassault-aviation.com/en/passion/aircraft/military-dassault-aircraft/md-450-ouragan.html?L=1>.

<sup>15</sup> Kanwal Sibal, "India's defence ties with Europe".

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> Silviu Petre, "India si noua politica economică- o privire la 20 de ani distanță", *Center for East European and Asian Studies* (CSEEA), April 2011. Accessed 25 february 2013, <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/india-si-noua-politica-economica-o-privire-la-20-de-ani-distanta>.

<sup>18</sup> Subramaniam's resigning from the Hindu under political pressure was a proof in itself that the whole affair has substance and was more than an artificial media creation. On the other hand, Rajiv Gandhi's statement that Bofors had not paid any commissions had been proved false. **Vir Sanghvi**, "Bofors' ghosts", *Rediff*, September 23, 1999. Accessed 9 December 2012, <http://www.rediff.com/news/1999/sep/23vir.htm>.

<sup>19</sup> M. L. Ahuja, *Electoral Politics and General Elections in India, 1952-1998*, (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1998), 221.

R. T. Naylor, *Patriots and Profiteers: Economic Warfare, Embargo Busting, and State-Sponsored Crime*. (Canada, Toronto: McGill-Queen's Press – MQUP, 2008), 260-262.

Stephen P. Cohen, Sunil Dasgupta, *Arming without Aiming: India's Military Modernization*, ( Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2010), 37.

The birth of a European CMI should be seen in double perspective: both as a top-down measure and as an upstream pressure coming from the defence lobby.

A short political history for such process can be abbreviated as follows:

**1992-** The Petersberg Tasks decides that Western European Union should channel its resources

towards peacekeeping and managing crisis stemming from failing states

**1997** (June) Amsterdam Treaty signed, EU military capability to be introduced in European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)

**1998-** The Declaration from Saint Malo authored by British Prime Minister and French President Jacques Chirac shows the need for an autonomous European defence architecture within NATO

**1999** (June) Amsterdam Treaty enters into force

**1999** (October) Javier Solana is appointed as the EU's High Representative for common foreign and security policy (CSFP) and head of the Council of the European Union

**1999** (Dec.) EU agrees on creation of 50-60,000 Rapid Reaction Force

**2001** (Feb.) Nice Treaty signed, EU "crisis management" capability to be introduced under EDSP

**2001** (June) EU Military Staff is declared operational

**2001** (July) European Advisory Group on aerospace is created

**2002** (July) EU "Strategic Aerospace Review for the 21st century" (the "STAR 21" report) published

**2003** (Jan.) First EU crisis management mission, to Bosnia-Herzegovina

**2003** (Feb.) Nice Treaty enters into force

**2003** (March) First EU military deployment, to Macedonia

**2003** (Oct.) EU convenes Group of Personalities (GoP)

**2003** (Dec.) EU Security Strategy adopted

**2004** (March) GoP report: "Research for a secure Europe" published

**2004** (June) EU constitution signed, commits member states to progressive improvements in military capability

**2004** (July) EU Defence Agency agreed with Javier Solana as its first director<sup>20</sup>

**2006** (January) The EU Gendarmerie Force (EGF) is launched.<sup>21</sup>

For the worldwide postCold War military industrial complex the peace dividend meant a base figure in business as arms sales begun to fall from 1987 only to start rising again in 1998. In 2004 it was estimated that world military spending accounted for 2,6% of world gross domestic product or 162\$ per capita. Late 2000s world wide military spending approached Cold War numbers.<sup>22</sup>

Another factor affecting the dynamics of defence industry is the growing costs of production for military equipment as a function of increasing technological complexity. It is quite known Norman Augustine's saying that in 2054 United States armed force will be able to maintain only one jet and afterwards, as costs follow their exponential trend the effort to assemble one single plane should consume the entire American budget. Whether Augustine's predictions are exaggerate or no, the growing price of defence paraphernalia as become an established fact.<sup>23</sup> In order to cope with

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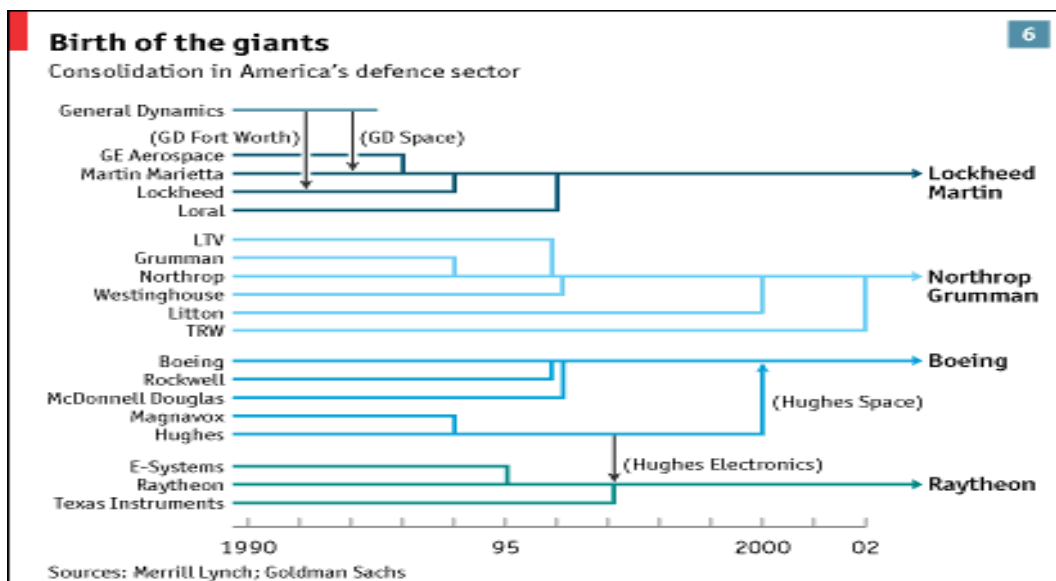
<sup>20</sup> Ben Hayes, Max Rowlands, "Arming Big Brother. The EU's Security Research Programme", Transnational Institute, TNI Briefing Series, No. 2006/1, 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p.9.

<sup>22</sup> Ben Hayes, Max Rowlands, "Arming Big Brother", 3.

<sup>23</sup> U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, Holding the Edge: Maintaining the Defense Technology Base, OTA-ISC-420 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 1989), 131.

such dynamics American defence market has witnessed wave of successive mergers and acquisitions during the 1990s.<sup>24</sup>



To cope up with the competition the European defence industrial base plunged into realignments similar to Medieval dynastic marriages.

Late '90s, when Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac agreed to the Declaration of Saint Malo, Daimler Chrysler Aerospace (Dasa), British Aerospace (BAE) and Aerospaziale-Matra (Italy) were planned to unite in what should have become European Aerospace and Defence Company (EADC). The blueprint was abandoned and British Aerospace merged with GEC Marconi giving into BAE Systems- today world's second weapons producer. The remaining actors, namely DASA, Aérospaziale-Matra and Construcciones Aeronáuticas SA (CASA) melted into EADS: European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company.<sup>25</sup>

Similar arrangements, but on a smaller scale happened also at the national level. For example in Germany, out of seven important defence players in 1997, only two remained during middle 2000s.

#### Bridging the gap with private sector

The American security build-up in the aftermath of 9/11 rolled the dice for the European defence complex as well. In July 2002 Javier Solana teamed-up with a series of European Commisars, European MPs and high-profile personalities from industry to write a report called Strategic Aerospace Review for the 21st century, or STAR 21. Seen as controversial by outsiders, the report stressed the importance of purring massive investments in aerospace and security research.

*"Defence spending in a time of austerity. The chronic problem of exorbitantly expensive weapons is becoming acute", The Economist, Aug 26th 2010. Accessed 21 February 2013, <http://www.economist.com/node/16886851>.*

<sup>24</sup> *"An industry reinvents itself: America's defence companies are turning dual-purpose", The Economist, July 18th 2002. Accessed 21 February 2013, <http://www.economist.com/node/1223580>.*

<sup>25</sup> Jürgen Wagner, "The EU As a Driving Force of Armament Pressure In Terms of Arms Build-Up, War Chests, and a Military-Industrial Complex for the World Power Europe", Informationsstelle Militarisation (IMI), *Politics and Society*, (Nov.2012) 40-45.

Amongst those who served as fulcrum between politics and economics were representatives of the most important European defence companies: Jean-Paul Béchat, Chairman & CEO SNECMA; Manfred Bischoff, Co-chairman EADS; Sir Richard Evans, Chairman BAE Systems; Jean-Luc Lagardère, Co-chairman EADS; Alberto Lina, President & CEO Finmeccanica; Denis Ranque, Chairman & CEO THALES; Sir Ralph Robins, Chairman Rolls-Royce.<sup>26</sup>

Another 2002 document: the Strategic Research Agenda for aeronautics released by the Advisory Council for Aeronautics in Europe (ACARE) warned about the perils of remaining behind US technological advance.<sup>27</sup> In March 2003 a communique issued by the European Commission: 'Towards an EU Defence Equipment Policy'<sup>28</sup> predated the European Security Strategy as manifest papers in this regard.

A symbiosis between Brussels and defence industry cannot be possible on long term without the lobby agencies.<sup>29</sup> The most important of them is considered to be ASD – the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe created after the merger of the European Defence Industries Group, the European Association of Aerospace Industries and Eurospace, the Association of European Space Industry. ASD's first three chairmen were Mike Turner, a CEO at BAE Systems, Pier Francesco Guarguaglini, Chairman and CEO of Finmeccanica and the current ASD chair, Thomas Enders, CEO of EADS<sup>30</sup>

#### **Raffale multirol-jet as a litmus test for an (Indo)-European single defence market**

In January 2012 it was announced that Raffale-Dasault from France has been shortlisted as the winner of India's bid for a new multirol jet.<sup>31</sup> The process begun in 2007 when India decided to renew its aging fleet of military jets and started an international auction. After several preliminaries the menu was reduced to only a few major players: two American options: -> Boeing F/A-18 Super Hornet and Lockheed Martin's F-18; Dassault Rafale from France; Eurofighter; Swedish Saab and Russian MIG-35 Mikoyan. Rafale's victory was seen with mixed colors. For some American voices such as Admiral Mike Mullen, India's choice was foolish vis-a-vis the Washington-New Delhi strategic partnership. Over the Atlantic, in a crisis ridden European Union Rafale's triumph over Eurofighter Typhoon signaled the preeminence of national solutions over communitarian ones.<sup>32</sup> In France itself, the public opinion backfired against President's Sarkozy scheme to sell a very expensive plane at a dumping price in order to secure the bid and possibly gain for himself another five-year term.

However if one chooses to look beneath the skin of media clichés and judge things in long durée will see a slightly different picture. First of all EADS holds 46% of Dassault action, even

<sup>26</sup> Ben Hayes, Max Rowlands, "Arming Big Brother", p.9.

<sup>27</sup> Dr. Jocelyn Mawdsley, towards a merger of the european defence and security markets? In Alyson JK Bailes & Sara Depauw (editors), *The EU defence market: balancing effectiveness with responsibility*, (Brussels: Flemish Peace Institute, 2011), 12.

<sup>28</sup> Idem.

<sup>29</sup> Neculai-Cristian Surubar, "Machiavelli atotputernic: lobby-ul la Bruxelles și implicațiile recentului scandal de corupție asupra instituțiilor europene", *Contributors*, mai 13, 2011, Accesed January 15 2013, <http://www.contributors.ro/advocacy-public-affairs/machiavelli-atotputernic-lobby-ul-la-bruxelles-si-implicatiile-recentului-scandal-de-corupție-asupra-instituțiilor-europene/>.

<sup>30</sup> Ben Hayes, Max Rowlands, "Arming Big Brother", p.9.

<sup>31</sup> Hasnain Kazim, "EADS Loses Massive Contract: India Opts For French Fighter Jets", *Spiegel online*, February 01, 2012. Accesed 21 February 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/eads-loses-massive-contract-india-opts-for-french-fighter-jets-a-812714.html>.

"Dassault tops EADS for Indian jet deal", *UPI.com*, Feb. 3, 2012. Accesed 21 February 2013, [http://www.upi.com/Business\\_News/Security-Industry/2012/02/03/Dassault-tops-EADS-for-Indian-jet-deal/UPI-75091328268600/](http://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2012/02/03/Dassault-tops-EADS-for-Indian-jet-deal/UPI-75091328268600/).

<sup>32</sup> Hasnain Kazim, "EADS Loses Massive Contract: India Opts For French Fighter Jets".

though it doesn't have the right to vote in the board of directors. Second, the unexpected victory of Dassault against a more predictable Typhoon one generated a snowballing on the European defence market. Late 2012 EADS and British BAE Systems announced their decision to merge in order to better their chances in competing with the American rival Boeing. If the merger would really take place Dassault should find itself marginalised on the European stage.<sup>33</sup> Third- by choosing Rafale over other existing alternatives India does not give up the other European players. As a testimony of its huge appetite for top-notch military technology New Delhi signed a 700 bld\$ contract with BAE Systems in July 2010. India will receive 57 Hawk Advanced Jet Trainers to be built under the license of HAL, a subsidiary of a larger state-owned company. The engines for the Hawks will be constructed in Bangalore.<sup>34</sup>

### Sealing bonds: Indo-European naval cooperation

Defence cooperation between countries wouldn't be complete if confined only to equipment transfers. Joint exercises facilitate know how and socialize values and mentalities. Using a biological metaphor one can say that while technological transfers are the anatomy of military diplomacy and security cooperation, joint exercises are the physiology of the same phenomenon.

In this respect one event is heavily significant. Middle July 2012 eight of India's most important ships have set sailes circumscribing New Delhi tous les azimuts naval ambition. Four of them headed towards Shanghai covering the Eastern part of the Indian Ocean. The other four, namely INS Mumbai, INS Aditya, INS Trishul și INS Gomti turned the other way around to cover Africa's eastern troubled water only to pass through the choke point of Aden and meet the warm breeze of the Mediterranean Sea. This western fleet commanded by rear-admiral A.R.Karve arrived in the port of Haifa to celebrate 20 years of naval cooperation between India and Israel. Haifa was to be only the middle of the trip as India's four frigates headed towards Marseille, passed by Gibraltar and circumvented the British Isles.

As the global shift of power goes to Pacific, Mediterranean Sea is reinvested with a new strategic meaning. It ceases to be the trampoline for European nation to project their goals into Eurasia and becomes the meeting point for Asian prowess expanding over West's traditional backyard. In India's case, experiencing Mediterranean hails the maturing of its blue water Navy and, subsequently, the vector of global prestige.

During the first postIndependence decades, India's defence preparations have been crafted to meet threats flooding from the northern and northeastern borders, namely from Pakistan and China.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Michaels and David Gauthier-Villars, "Defense Merger to Push Rival Deals?", *Wall Street Journal*, September 14, 2012. Accessed 22 February 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444433504577651722973564622.html>.

James Boxell, Giulia Segreti, "EADS and Elisée politics threaten Dassault, Aerospace & Defence", *Financial Times*, September 16, 2012. Accessed 22 February 2013, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/76e53564-000d-11e2-a30e-00144feabdc0.html#axzz2M2giD4ug>.

Andrea Rothman & Robert Wall, "Dassault's Victory in India Cornering EADS-BAE Becomes Boomerang", *Bloomberg*, Sep 26, 2012, Accessed 22 february 2013, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-09-25/dassault-s-victory-in-india-cornering-eads-bae-becomes-boomerang.html>.

Yves-Marc Le Reour, "La fusion avortée entre EADS et BAE suscitera de nouvelles alliances", *Le Point*, 12/10/2012. Accessed 22 February 2013, [http://www.lepoint.fr/economie/la-fusion-avortee-entre-eads-et-bae-suscitera-de-nouvelles-alliances-12-10-2012-1516161\\_28.php](http://www.lepoint.fr/economie/la-fusion-avortee-entre-eads-et-bae-suscitera-de-nouvelles-alliances-12-10-2012-1516161_28.php).

Vincent Lamigeon, "La fusion EADS-BAE aurait tué Dassault", *Challenges*, 17-10-2012. **Acced 24 February 2013**, <http://www.challenges.fr/entreprise/20121017.CHA2026/la-fusion-eads-bae-aurait-tue-dassault.html>.

Cyril Altmeyer avec Elizabeth Pineau et Tim Hepher, édité par Jean-Michel Bélot, „DASSAULT AVIATION: EADS remanie son capital et simplifie sa gouvernance”, *Tradingsat*, 5 décembre 2012, <http://www.tradingsat.com/dassault-aviation-FR0000121725/actualites/dassault-aviation-eads-remanie-son-capital-et-simplifie-sa-gouvernance-421137.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Dassault tops EADS for Indian jet deal, UPI.com, Feb. 3, 2012.

Therefore ground troops and aviation received the most attention with Navy being kept at a Cinderella status. A certain wave of build-up followed India's 1971 conflict with Pakistan which had acquired a naval dimension beyond the terrestrial pitched battles. Lesson learned- Indian navy fortified its arsenal with several state of the art pieces: anti-submarines Soviet planes (Tu-142 and Il-38), German Dorniers, British Sea King anti-submarine helicopters along with new German made submarine.<sup>35</sup> Supplementing the policy of acquisition Indian engineers pursued a dual track: 1) fungibility- the adaptation of equipment to accommodate several suppliers such as France, Russia and Israel; 2) indigenization- the ability of fulfilling national needs without any (substantial) external help. As for the latter it was more than technological necessity, but apart of the philosophy of swaraj, self rule. Otherwise put India could not consider itself independent as long as it was at the mercy or the whims of other international actors, in any given field of activity. The Leander frigate programme was the first step of indigenisation, Nilgiri being the first ship of its kind to be launched at sea (October 23 1966) and Vindhyagiri the last (1981). Today it is considered that India's naval indigenization reached 73% of paraphernalia.<sup>36</sup> At the end of 1990s *Bhāratīya Nau Senā* was the seventh in the world possessing around 100 battle ships out of which 15 submarines, 2 aircraft carriers and 23 frigates& destroyers. Displaying the confidence given by financial boom, Indian navy embarked on an ambitious plan of modernization. The aim is to align three aircraft carriers, 10 destroyers and 24 frigates along with 6 Scorpene submarines by 2020.<sup>37</sup>

The economic liberalisation of 1991 marked the replacement of Nehruvian non-alignment with multilateralism or even omni-alignment.<sup>38</sup> Pragmatism was to be the hype of a globalised India and consequences followed at the tactical and strategical levels.

New Delhi's defence policy embraced partnership with numerous states, big or small. Concerning the military shopping spree India's behavior envisaged multi-level contacts with its closest costumers:

- With the French Navy *Bhāratīya Nau Senā* shares common events since 1993. In 2001 they pioneered the Varuna naval exercise which celebrated its 12 birthday in 2012. 2009 witnessed perhaps the vastest training of its kind. In 2010 Varuna took place in the port of Mumbai and brought together FNS Dupleix, the frigate INS Brahmaputra and the submarine INS Shankush. In 2011 India was represented by INS Virat, indigenous made frigates Godavari and INSA Ganga along with a class Shishumar submarine- INSA Shalki. In 2012 it was France's turn to host Varuna with the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle, the destroyers FNS Forbin and FNS Tourville, tanker FNS Meuse and last but not least FNS Amethyste nuclear submarine. India's voice was articulated by Mumbai destroyer, frigates Trishul and Gomati plus the tanker Aditya. Late October French submarine Dupleix returned the visit and anchored in the port of Mumbai. The last event of the year was given in December by the visit of admiral Bernard Rogel in India.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Vice Admiral Gulab Hiranandani, Indian Navy (Retired) *The Indian End of the Telescope India and Its Navy, Naval War College Review*, LV, No. 2 (2002): 61-72, esp.67-68.

<sup>36</sup> G. M. Hiranandani, *Transition to Guardianship: Indian Navy 1991-2000*, (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2009/ 2012), xxiv and 20.

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/india/in-navy-development.htm> [Accessed 24 February 2012].

<sup>38</sup> Usman Karim uses the word poly-alignment. Usman Karim, "India from nonalignment to polyalignment", *Open Democracy*, 11 November 2009. Accessed 24 February 2013, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/forum/thread/india-from-nonalignment-to-poly-alignment>.

<sup>39</sup> Angana Guha Roy, "Indian Navy's Anti Piracy Operations", *Voice of India*, 2012. Accessed 2 February 2013, <http://voiceofindia.com/in-focus/indian-navys-anti-piracy-operations/538>.

G. M. Hiranandani, *Transition to Guardianship: Indian Navy 1991-2000*, . 7

Dr. Vijay Sakhuja, "India, France Strategic Partnership: Nuclear and Maritime Cooperation", *Society for Study of Peace and Conflict*, May 28, 2009. Accessed 15 December 2012, [http://www.sspconline.org/opinion/IndiaFranceStrategicPartnership\\_VijaySakhuja\\_280509](http://www.sspconline.org/opinion/IndiaFranceStrategicPartnership_VijaySakhuja_280509).

"Indian Navy exercises with French and Royal Navies", *Brahmand.com*, Aug 04, 2009, Accessed 15 December 2012, <http://brahmand.com/news/Indian-Navy-exercises-with-French-and-Royal-Navies/1833/1/11.html>.

- The reality of Indo-Spanish defence cooperation was a late comer. New Delhi opened diplomatic relations with Madrid in 1956 and since then their bilateralism was strengthened by several agreements, especially in the fields of taxation, culture, education and environment. Although Spanish-Indian naval joint history does not count memorable events, Spain's and Indian ships have the same goal of liquidating piracy in the Gulf of Aden. Moreso, as a fulcrum between American, French and German military equipment Madrid has become interesting for South Asia's defence market. In October 2012 the visit of King Juan Carlos in Delhi proved to be an optimum occasion for signing a defence deal involving submarines. The Iberic company Navantia is among Europe's top brass security providers and has agreed to sell India the S-80 submarine, which is similar to French Scorpene. As Navantia maintains good links with Lockheed Martin the parameters for a longer rendez-vous are set.<sup>40</sup>

- With Germany India found in high-level technology a common idiom. From Berlin's point of view having a performant arms industry and a powerful navy can expand German influence all over the globe. The atavistic Teutonic martial ardour is now hidden under the banner of defence cooperation and diplomacy. Today the German Navy operates two flotillas. The surface fleet commands 15 frigates of three types and more than 200 submarines topping as one of NATO's finest. The German vessels have joined multinational effort of fighting piracy apart from many other kinds of missions.<sup>41</sup>

The first Indo-German defence agreement was signed in 2006. After two years followed the first bilateral naval exercise. In April 2008 Germany a 700 personnel Task Force for a two days training visit at Kochi. The was represented by the Federal German Ship (FGS) Hamburg, an air-defence ship; frigate FGS Koeln; and replenishment tanker FGS Berlin. India placed in line one helicopter and two training ships— INS Tir and INS Krishna.<sup>42</sup>

IDR News Network, "Indo-French bilateral Naval Exercise 'VARUNA 10' gets underway with two aircraft carriers and two submarines", *Indian Defence Review*,

06 Jan , 2011, <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/indo-french-bilateral-naval-exercise-varuna-10-gets-underway-with-two-aircraft-carriers-and-two-submarines/>

**"An Indian Summer on the French Riviera. The "Varuna" naval exercise in Toulon and the Year of India in Saint Tropez", French Embassy in New Delhi**, 22.08.2012. Accessed 13 December 2012, <http://ambafrance-in.org/New-article.10450>

"Indian Navy exercises with French and Royal Navies", *Brahmand.com*, Aug 04, 2009, Accessed 13 December 2012, <http://brahmand.com/news/Indian-Navy-exercises-with-French-and-Royal-Navies/1833/1/11.html>

IDR News Network, "Indo-French bilateral Naval Exercise 'VARUNA 10' gets underway with two aircraft carriers and two submarines", *Indian Defence Review*,

06 Jan , 2011. Accessed 19 December 2012, <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/indo-french-bilateral-naval-exercise-varuna-10-gets-underway-with-two-aircraft-carriers-and-two-submarines/>

**An Indian Summer on the French Riviera. The "Varuna" naval exercise in Toulon and the Year of India in Saint Tropez, French Embassy in New Delhi**, 22.08.2012, <http://ambafrance-in.org/New-article.10450>

<sup>40</sup> "Somali pirates free Spanish ship", *Al Jazeera*, 17 Nov 2009, <http://www.dailynews.lk/2012/04/21/news22.asp>

"Spanish navy routs pirate attack in Indian ocean: ministry", *EU Business*,

12 January 2012. Accessed 26 July 2012, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/spain-africa-piracy.eij/>

<sup>41</sup> Peter L. Hartley, *The German Navy – The Way Forward?*, *Defence Update*, November 29, 2011, [http://defense-update.com/20111129\\_the-german-navy-the-way-forward.html](http://defense-update.com/20111129_the-german-navy-the-way-forward.html).

<sup>42</sup> "Indo-German naval exercises to begin today", *The Hindu*, Apr 08, 2008. Accessed 21 January 2013, <http://www.hindu.com/2008/04/08/stories/2008040854521300.htm>.

"India, Germany discuss piracy in Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden", *The Economic Times*, 21 February, 2012. Accessed 25 February 2013. [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-02-21/news/31082849\\_1\\_joint-exercises-navies-piracy](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-02-21/news/31082849_1_joint-exercises-navies-piracy).

Mid February 2012 German Naval Chief Vice Admiral Axel Schimpf paid a visit to India where he encountered Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Defence Minister, K.Anthony. Both sides tackled a various range of issues amongst which the common threat of piracy.<sup>43</sup>

**Indo-Polish booming defence encounters<sup>f</sup>**

Facilitated by the existence of a Warsaw Pact, New Delhi developed diplomatic and economic relations with East European states. After USSR, India received significant amount of aid from Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Bellow is a table describing India’s aid agreement with USSR and Eastern Europe during Nehru’s years and shortly afterwards:

Creditor country	Amount given (millions of rupees)	Amount utilised up to 31 March 1966 (millions of rupees) <sup>44</sup>
URSS	4869,3	2820,8
Poland	413,0	113,4
Yugoslavia	214,3	97
Cechoslovakia	631	126,1
Total	6154,6	3157,4

Defence cooperation between Warsaw and New Delhi dates since 1980s and continued more or less as East European small arms (mostly illegal) production has flooded Asia’s hotspots. Polish firms maintained their presence in South Asia selling finished products, spare parts and repair services. The bigger contracts were however those with Southeast Asia, Malaysia and Indonesia. (Malaysian government announced it would buy Polish PT91 main battle tanks).<sup>45</sup> After 9/11, within the context of Bush’s war on terrorism, Poland- then an aspiring NATO member- signed a defence memorandum with India during a visit by Polish defence minister Leszek Miller, February 2003. The subsequent contract, 600 mil.\$ worth envisaged the modernization of T-72 tanks. One year later, in 2004, as a sign of Polish loyalty towards the Indian partner, Warsaw refused a Pakistani request for armament. Polish deputy-defence minster, Janusz Zemke told his Indian peers that: ” *We cannot supply you tanks and then sell anti-tank missiles to Pakistan*” in the context of Pakistani foreign minister, Khurshid Mohammad Kasuri, visiting his country.<sup>46</sup> In 2004 both countries established Joint Group on Defence Cooperation, also. In march 2008 Polish state-owned firm, Bumar (established in 2002) was poised to honour a contract of 809 million euros (1,2 bld\$). It is said that the ontract- still on the roll- consisted of 200 WZT-3 armoured cars, 100 PZA Loara mobile anti-aircraft units, 110 self propelled cannons among other things.<sup>47</sup> More recently, in 2010, Polish prime-minister, Donald Tusk was accompanied by a delegation of ministers and businessmen in three day

<sup>43</sup> ”India, Germany discuss piracy in Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden”, *The Economic Times*, Feb 21, 2012, [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-02-21/news/31082849\\_1\\_joint-exercises-navies-piracy](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-02-21/news/31082849_1_joint-exercises-navies-piracy)

<sup>f</sup> This part has been published as Silviu Petre, ”**Eurasian promontories: India and Poland rediscover each other**”, *Center for East Europea and Asian Studies*, February 22, 2013, <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/eurasian-promontories-india-and-poland-rediscover-each-other-1>.

<sup>44</sup> Asha L. Datar , *op.cit.*, p.33.

<sup>45</sup> Arms production, exports and decision making in Central and Eastern Europe, Saferworld's research project on arms and security in EU Associate Countries, Year?, 8. Accesed 25 February 2013, <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/Beast%20Poland.pdf>.

<sup>46</sup> C. Raja Mohan, India, ”Poland deepen defence ties”, *The Hindu*, Saturday, Mar 20, 2004, <http://www.hindu.com/2004/03/20/stories/2004032004031400.htm>.

<sup>47</sup> Defense Industry Daily staff, ”Poland’s Bumar: A Major Sale to India?”, *Defence Industry Daily*, 11 March 2008, <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/Polands-Bumar-A-Major-Sale-to-India-04789/>.



trip to India. Tusk, the first non-communist Polish premier to visit India went to New Delhi and Bangalore and had discussions with Manmohan Singh. The dialogue bore fruits as India agreed to buy Polish made armoured vehicles. At that time was even the rumor for the establishment of some joint firms but the name of the companies were not released.<sup>48</sup> Further on, Zemke proposed to the Indian delegation upgrading their stock of Pechora missiles. Built in Soviet times they were modernized by Polish engineers in order to fit NATO standards. Their fuelling systems has been upgraded from 25 km range to 100 km range.<sup>49</sup> Also the missiles were calibrated to new radar guidance. In the early 2000s Poland possessed 800 Pechora type rockets envisaged to protect its major cities.<sup>50</sup>

Other common topic is educational and scientific cooperation, with its sub-specie: security research. In January 2011 IDSA and the University of Warsaw prepared a meeting to bridge defence matters and academia in one place. IDSA was represented by Shri N.S. Sisodia, Director General, Smita Purushottam, Wing Cdr. V. Krishnappa, Joyce Sabina Lobo, Rajorshi Roy, and Pallav Pal. From the Polish side the delegates were: Professor Edward Halizak, Director of the Institute of International Relations, Dr. Boguslaw Zaleski, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Institute of International Relations, and Dr. Jakub Zajarczkowsky, Chairperson of the Centre for Contemporary India Research and Studies, Institute of International Relations, University of Warsaw. The event did not finish without a trace as an Indian Studies Masters programme was started at the University of Warsaw.<sup>51</sup>

### Conclusion: non-zero sum game within democratic peace theory

It is widely believed that internal constitutions of regimes shapes diplomatic behavior and facilitates the socialization of interests. A world of democracies should approximate if not fulfil the Kantian dream of an everlasting peace. As representative institution reflect the inner pacifism of human nature, competition between countries shouldn't go beyond economic competition and

<sup>48</sup> "India, Poland to Strengthen Strategic, Defence Cooperation", *India Defence*, 6 September 2010, <http://www.india-defence.com/reports-4492>.

<sup>49</sup> "Polish PM arrives, to hold talks with Singh tomorrow", *The Times of India*, Sep 6, 2010, [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-09-06/india/28222664\\_1\\_india-and-poland-cooperation-trade-and-investment](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-09-06/india/28222664_1_india-and-poland-cooperation-trade-and-investment)

Sebastian Zukowski, 'Incredible India! Impossible Poland?', *Institute for Foreign Policy Studies*, 1st October 2010. Accessed 28 January 2013, <http://www.caluniv.ac.in/ifps/Sebastian%20Zukowski.pdf>.

<sup>49</sup> The Soviet made Pechora Missiles (surface-to-air) have been none of Kremlin's finest export brands. From Cuba to Egypt, Myanmar and India a great number of countries were equipped with these rockets, mainly Pechora S-125 model. As nowadays Russia embarks on a program of ballistic expansion, Russian firm Oboronitelye Sistemy found a new existential reason in upgrading old Pechoras with a younger version: Pechora 2M. However, in 2006 it was announced that India staled the modernisation of its Pechora arsenal and refused both Russian and Polish offers. It is very possible that Delhi's refusal was caused by the decision to buy Israeli Spyder SAMs instead of opting for modernizing old gear.

"Modernization will increase service life of "Pechora" air defence system by 10 years, Oboronprom", *ARMS-Tass*, 26 Apr 2006, Accessed 29 January 2013, <http://www.oboronprom.ru/en/news/modernization-will-increase-service-life-%E2%80%9Cpechora%E2%80%9D-air-defense-system-10-years>

Viktor Litovkin, "Unique Surface-To-Air Missile Baffles Foreign Military Diplomats In Egypt", *RIA Novosti*, Oct 25, 2006. Accessed 25 January 2013, [http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Unique\\_Surface\\_To\\_Air\\_Missile\\_Baffles\\_Foreign\\_Military\\_Diplomats\\_In\\_Egypt\\_999.html](http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Unique_Surface_To_Air_Missile_Baffles_Foreign_Military_Diplomats_In_Egypt_999.html)

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Dr. Sanjay Badri Maharaj, "Ballistic Missile Defence for India", *Bharat Rakshak*,

02 July 2009, <http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/IAF/Today/Contemporary/328-BMD.html>

<sup>50</sup> A K Dhar, "Poland offers to upgrade India's mainstay Pechora missiles", *Outlook India*, APR 11, 2004, <http://news.outlookindia.com/items.aspx?artid=214062>.

<sup>51</sup> Roundtable with Polish delegation, *IDSA*, January 13, 2011, Round table, <http://www.idsa.in/event/RoundtablewithPolishdelegation>.

institutionalized disputes. Where realism sees a zero-sum game international system, a liberal creed pictures an interdependent society redistributing benefits and expanding the circle of priviledges.

If one looks at the EU-India relations one would see that common values and shared challenges could not forge a warmer relationship, at least until now. One explanation is India's late economic miracle which was surpassed by China. The second explanation dwells in the realm of narratives. India sees the European Community as the some of its parts, at best. Although Brussels has been added on the agenda of Indian diplomacy it doesn't have much weight, or at least a weight of its own. Beyond diplomatic chit chat and exchange of beautiful polished words a common institutional framework still awaits.

At the Westphalic-national level, a developing India finds many opportunities in Western countries. Especially in defence cooperation- which was one of the main topics of our study- a hungry India completed many contracts with the emerging EU's military industrial complex.

Issues to join efforts exist all over the rainbow of international agenda but the future of Indo-European relationship depends more on the way Europe will acquire one single voice and gain a strong foothold in Asia.

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