

Evolution of the European Union Development Policy towards India

Simant Shankar Bharti

Department of Political Science
School of Social Sciences
University of Economics and Human Sciences in Warsaw
Okopowa 59
Warsaw 01-043, Poland
b.simant@vizja.pl

Abstract: India was the first country in South Asia to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community (EEC). Once, the country was one of the top beneficiaries of the EEC development assistance. However, this article traces the evolution of development policy with India and how the relationship has evolved between the two partners over time. Particularly, the discussion focuses on the development cooperation between the European Union (EU) and India from 1957 to 2020. A major shift took place in 2004 when the EU and India became strategic partners, and India is the only country from South Asia that has established a strategic partnership with the EU. The study also explores the founding principles of the relationship between both partners. The qualitative research method is applied here in the empirical setting to explain the crux of diplomatic relations and development cooperation. Likewise, we found here, through the latest results, that EU–India relations were established and strengthened in the past decade. The EU also concluded some trade negotiations, but the complete free-trade agreements (FTAs) are still in the dialogue phase.

Keywords: *aid, development policy, EU–India, European Union, South Asia*

1. Introduction

In Europe, India had a close relationship only with Britain, due to a long colonial legacy. The establishment of the EEC forever changed the geopolitics of Europe. The unification of Europe after the postwar period also increased the importance of the politics and economy of the world. The Treaty of Rome¹ inspired the EEC to have diplomatic relations also with third countries. Initially, the relationship between India and the EEC was very slow and mainly limited to some economic activities, which were first officially established in 1962 (Goddeeris, 2011). However, some individual member states, such as France, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Britain, had relations much older than the colonial ties in the late 15th century (Cameron *et al.*, 2005). After establishing diplomatic ties, the EU and India started initialising a comprehensive dialogue in various areas such as politics, economy, social, and cultural levels. The European Union also wants to spread their policy, strategy, norms, and values in India through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Kaltenborn (2019) argued that the relations of the EU and India as development partners have genuinely evolved and have grown through the efforts of the Member States, in which the EU development programme and bilateral cooperation are the key pillars. By 2022, the development partnership had already achieved 60 years of multifaceted experience. The traditional rural development and technical assistance programmes of the EEC have grown on a large scale, primarily in economy, health, and education (Kaltenborn, 2019). Similarly, Malhotra (2015) has also claimed that the EU–India relationship has a unique feature for both partners, that is, a ‘soft power’² approach. The features of the EU’s soft power are civilian and normative values, based on the rule of law, democracy, human rights, whereas India’s soft power has characteristics of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the promotion of international peace, solidarity with countries of the third world, self-determination, Gandhian non-violent legacy, and others (Malhotra, 2015; Klossek, 2020). However, these are the founding principles of the relationship between the two partners. A unique feature of the partners is normative values and a respect for each other to strengthen the relationship for deeper cooperation.

¹ The Treaty of Rome was signed on 25 March 1957 for the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC).

² The term ‘soft power’ was originally derived by Joseph Jr. Nye in the late 1980s (see Nye, 2005).

Building on the above discussion, this article explores the evolution of the EU development policy and areas of cooperation with India. Following this, the study only covers the framework from 1960 to 2021. The prerequisites of the covered time period are (1) the development cooperation between the EU and India since establishing diplomatic relations in 1962, and (2) the EU's latest budget covering the period 2014–2020. The study does not focus mainly on the COVID-19 pandemic that emerged in 2020 but also the changing geopolitical landscape after Russia attacked Ukraine in late February 2022. In this regard, the subject of the study traced the evolvement of the development cooperation between the EU and India. First, the discussion covers the initial establishment of the EU–India development cooperation from 1960 to 2000. The second part of the discussion emphasises how the development cooperation between the EU and India strengthened between 2000 and 2021. The world changed forever following the rise of the non-state actors as a form of terrorism and extremism after the 9/11 attack on the US in 2001. This key moment for the EU, when it decided to establish closer relations with South Asian countries due to 9/11, was related to the region where India is one of the key players (Bharti, 2020; 2021).

In addition, a major diplomatic twist took place after 2001 and the EU started focusing on South Asian countries, as Europe realised that the world security is linked to the region. It happened only after the US had increased its keen engagement, especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Bharti, 2022). The EU also wished to increase its geostrategic presence in South Asia for several reasons, highlighting the following: (1) the rise of economic growth in the region following the frequent economic status shown by the World Bank; (2) South Asia is the largest populous region in the world that shows purchasing power; (3) there are two nuclear power countries such as India and Pakistan, so security is a main concern; and (4) India is one of the fastest economies and shares almost 80 per cent of landmass, territories, and economy in the region. In 2004, there was a major turning point in EU–India relations that transformed into a strategic partnership and adoption of the EU–India Joint Action Plan. The research objectives for the development cooperation are the following: (1) to trace the origin of development policy; (2) to evaluate the features of the EU development policy for India and the areas of cooperation; and (3) to find a contemporary development engagement. The final part of the discussion focused on aspects in which the EU and India can cooperate after India aid stops being eligible for international development assistance in 2014. Analysing the EU–India cooperation is significant in this discussion because (1) India has the 5th top GDP ranking in the world

with a high population, which also provides a large consumer market to the world market; (2) the EU–India FTA negotiations are being reinitiated; and (3) India is already cooperating with the US in the Indo-Pacific, and the EU also wants connectivity with this.

2. Methods and materials

The qualitative content analysis was applied to trace the evolution of relations between the EU and India. Content-analytical tools also help us to understand the contextual meaning of the EU development policy, based on political, economic, and other conditions. The qualitative content analysis supports the concept of knowing the meaning of reports, press releases, and other primary and secondary data sources. This helps us draw realistic and actual results from the study (Bengtsson, 2016). Besides, the application of the empirical method helps to investigate in-depth, complex, multicausal issues, and intellectual evolution in the area of EU–India relations. It also helps to fill the gap of neglected areas of discussion in international relations. One can comprehensively define the evolution of the EU–India development through historical fact-checking and enquiry of archival data. This means that historical enquiry explores the rationalist approaches and historical footing of knowledge (Quirk, 2008).

A lot has been written about EU–India relations and development cooperation, but a contextual understanding of its evolution is still lacking in the literature. This study chronologically follows the development policy of the EU from two different dimensions: (1) the evolution phase and a more hide-and-seek era before 2000; and (2) the emergence of an active role and interest after 2000. Following these gaps in literature, the quest for the EU development policy for India mostly relied on European Union online archival material, for example, EUR-Lex, Archives Portal Europe, and other European Commission websites. It needs to be understood how the EU–India development partnership has changed before and after 2000. The second question tries to find an answer to that. What is the current form of relationship between the EU and India? Since the start of the EU–India strategic partnership, scholars have focused on economic and commercial relations. However, this study uses the content analysis method to fill those gaps in development cooperation through systematic study, using (1) contextual understanding and long-term analysis of EU–India

relations (Sofka, 2013), and (2) the empirical method to provide the scope of analysis, in case scientific literature is lacking for certain periods or decades. A survey of literature for this study also found scientific literature on the topic lacking. In this context, the research is mainly based on data from the official websites of the EU, and empirical analysis provides an opportunity to engage in a phenomenological exploration and generate results.

Regarding this method, the primary data include press releases from the EU and India, the archives and websites of the EU and its institutions, official reports, and the speeches of the officials and other government officials. To validate the arguments, the study includes secondary data, such as newspaper articles and editorials, articles, books, book chapters, magazines, reports, and papers by think tanks and academic websites.

3. The evolution of EU development ties with India: Hide-and-seek from 1960 to 2000

In the context of tracing the legal basis of the EU–India development cooperation, there were three different generations of emerging relations between 1960 and 2000. The diplomatic relationship between the European Union and India was established in 1962. Since establishing relations with the EEC, India was the first country in South Asia to benefit from development cooperation with the Community and its Member States (Embassy of India, 2020; The Ministry of External Affairs, 2020; Wülbbers, 2011). India received the largest bilateral contribution to the development programme in the region, which brought significant success in establishing the development policy of the EC. After one decade, the first cooperation agreement, Commercial Cooperation Agreement, was concluded in 1973³ between the EEC and India. In June 1978, the Commission and former Prime Minister of India, Mr Moraji Desai reached the conclusion to have talks to forge deeper trade. However, the negotiations were superseded in 1981 with a more extensive agreement. The 1981 Commercial and Economic Cooperation Agreement covered not only the uncovered trade but also economic and development cooperation.⁴ The period from 1970 to late

³ EEC signed the Commercial Cooperation Agreement with India in 1973 (Commercial Cooperation Agreement, 1974; see *OJL* 82/74).

⁴ The EEC and India signed a five-year Commercial and Economic Cooperation Agreement on 23 June 1981, which came into force on 1 December 1981 (Council Regulation (EEC) no. 3246/81).

1980 saw the second-generation agreement between the EEC and India. After that, the relations between these two reached the third-generation agreement, which was established in 1994 for greater cooperation (see Table 1). The 1994 Cooperation Agreement is the main legal framework of the development cooperation policy (this is its official name) between the EU and India. However, India is the second most populous country in the world and has strong purchasing power and dominant political and military power. In addition, it is not only the most dynamic and fastest growing economy, but also a leading country in the information technology sector. Therefore, India has become very important for the EU (Bava, 2010; European Parliament, 2018). In 1994, the EU adopted a regional strategy paper for Asia, where South Asia was termed a sub-region. It was a time when the EU started to grow its engagement in the region with a wider aspect of democracy promotion, human rights, and alleviation of poverty as the central objectives.

Table 1. Evolution phase in the EU–India relations (1960–2000)

Years	Diplomatic progress (Agreements)
1962	Establishment of diplomatic relations between the EEC and India
1973	EEC–India Commercial Cooperation Agreement
1978	The first agreement between the European Space Agency (ESA) and the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO)
1981	Commercial and Economic Cooperation Agreement
1981	The European Ariane 3 rocket launched India’s first geostationary satellite APPLE
1993	Joint Political Statement signed between the EU and India
1994	Cooperation Agreement on Partnership and Development
1994	Toward a New Asia Strategy (South Asia as a sub-region)
2000	The Joint Declaration of the First EU–India Summit

During the evaluation of aid credit lines and projects, the EU contributed a significant amount in the areas of interest where its policy could be noticed. In 1976, the EEC contributed ECU 6 million for a specific issue, such as the drought-prone areas of India, Uttar Pradesh, and Gujarat. It was a starting programme of the EU’s regular development cooperation with India. The initial development cooperation with the EU helped in three core areas, for example, flood operation, education, and health. It had become a milestone for the success stories of the EU’s development cooperation programme with India in those years. For more than 30 years, between 1970

and 1996, the EU's first flagship of development cooperation projects was implemented. The support of EU to India's development programme became the backbone of the EU–India relationship (European Commission, 2006). The EEC supported several development programmes to enhance the close development partnership with India. Kamath (2022) referred to the support of the EEC-funded projects that contributed to “slowly transforming into a modern society.”

Firstly, the EU development assistance focused on the forms of financial and technical aid, development aid, food aid, emergency aid, and training programmes. In 1984, the EEC allocated aid was ECU 92 million and the amount allocated by Member States was a total of ECU 483 million for the development of India. Through Operation Flood (Phase I: 1970–1978 and Phase II: 1978–1985), ECU 628 million was made available to India under the World Food Programme (WFP). This operation helped farmers to increase income, improve the living conditions in villages, and secure supplies and rural products sold in cities (quantitative progress). Around ECU 60 million was provided to India as financial and technical aid, which was mainly aimed at rural development and included also the project of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in 1985. Community aid to the Indian government entailed two rural development projects: (1) growing mustard seeds, and (2) agricultural irrigation. For food aid, 20,000 tons of powdered milk and 1,000 tons of butter oil were made available in the value of ECU 59 million in 1985. The project also emphasised on increasing production and improving the milk market. A World Bank Report from 1997 mentioned that “Operation Flood can be viewed as a twenty-year experiment confirming the rural development vision” (The World Bank, 1997c; European Commission, 1986; NDDDB, 2023).

By highlighting the major role of the EU in India, Operation Flood was one of the most successful programmes that involved the Indian government with the support of the European Commission and the World Bank. The world's largest food and development programme helped India become the world's leading milk-producing country. Since 1976, the European Commission has contributed ECU 2 billion to India through development assistance, and it was transforming the phase of the EU's role into the wider framework. The EC has allocated nearly 600 million euros, channelled to a large bilateral programme in the areas of health and education (European Commission, 2006; Tripathi, 2011; Kamath, 2022). Meanwhile, the EEC has also supported many projects carried out by NGOs, and India is one of the leading recipients of the EU's development assistance that supports the implementation of projects by NGOs in Asia. Amin (2011) argued that

the inclusion of Britain in the EEC (1973) was the main factor that brought the Member States of the Community closer to countries of South Asia, especially India.

Until the late 1980s, India followed the closed market, and the approach was based on a mixed economy. India was going through a rough patch and adopted a market liberalisation policy. It was the time for the EU to increase close cooperation with India for investment opportunities while providing development assistance (Bharti, 2020). Likewise, the EU and its Member States have collectively become the largest bilateral donor to India's development programme over the decades. In 1989, the EU started an education tie-up with India, and it began with faculty exchange in financial management. The European Commission supported the Indian government with a grant of 150 million euros from 1994 to the end of 2002 for the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), which was more focused on education for girls. The DPEP had become a successful programme with an increase of 2 million enrolments during 1995–2000 in the eight states of India. Another EU–India education collaboration continued with the support of other Indian government schemes such as the *Serva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) programme, and the Commission made a 200-million-euro (with a further 40-million-euro) contribution in November 2001 for the period of seven years. Despite the above efforts of the Commission, they have also supported NGOs in the implementation of education projects (European Commission, 2006; Tripathi, 2011).

During 1990–2000, the EU contributed via several development projects. For example, the EU supported the health and welfare of family in India. Starting in 1987, the Commission supported the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS in developing countries. India once again benefitted from the aid of the EU, the Commission's funding projects under the HIV/AIDS campaign supported prevention, care, and support. The Commission also provided for the work on the prevention and reduction of drug abuse in order to provide training and help with the rehabilitation of addicted people. The EU supported India's investment programme (SIP) in the health and family welfare sector with the aid of 240 million euros from 1998 to 2004, which was implemented in 24 states and cities. The EU–India cooperation also focused on rural development and natural resource management projects throughout the 1990s. Furthermore, a successful project had a visible impact over the next ten years. Meanwhile, the EU has funded twelve projects in the value of 240 million euros, which include "land reclamation, community forest actions, irrigation, and integrated watershed projects, agriculture production

and marketing and horticultural development.” Reducing poverty was the central objective of all the twelve projects (European Commission, 2006).

Here the discussion also emphasises the humanitarian support of the EU to India and the emergency support provided during a human-made disaster. For example, in January 2001, Gujrat was severely affected by an earthquake, and the EU funded 15 million euros for reconstruction and rehabilitation. Initial support from the EU focused on “India’s own efforts to improve the quality of life of the poorest and most disadvantaged member of society” (European Commission, 2006). Paulo (2019) found that the EU–India development partnership took the relations to the next level in terms of “broadening and deepening” them. As a result, the EU–India relations went through a substantial expansion beyond the realm of economic cooperation. The impact of development was essentially applied via civil society and non-governmental organisations, and the EU preferred a bottom-up approach (Kugiel, 2020).

4. The EU–India development cooperation: Active phase 2000–2021

India is an emerging power not only in South Asia but also in the world. Next to its economic capacity, it is also the second most populous country in the world and a dominant political and military power in the region. The EU’s increasing interest in India is important and has some additional features. India is the fastest growing economy and an emerging giant in information technology, as well as in space science technology. Therefore, it is a very significant and old partner of the EU in the region (Jain, 2005). At the same time, India is still facing several development challenges, such as poverty, violence, human trafficking, and natural disasters. Although focusing on economic growth, it has not addressed this issue alone after independence, given that China and India started economic growth at the same time. However, China continues to grow as one of the world’s economic powers, while also increasing its influence in India’s neighbourhood (Okano-Heijmans & Panda, 2018). The EU knows that India has the potential, but it needs global support for the development of social and infrastructure development.

Table 2. The active phase in the EU–India relations (2000–2021)

Years	Diplomatic progress (Agreements)
2000	The First EU–India Summit
2001	The EC–India Science and Technology Cooperation Agreement
2001	Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships (South Asia as a Sub-region)
2004	The EU–India Strategic Partnership signed at the Fifth EU–India Summit
2004	Customs Cooperation Agreement
2005	A Joint Action Plan on Maritime Cooperation
2005	The EU and India jointly set up an energy panel
2006	Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Employment and Social Affairs
2007	Commencement of negotiations on a Broad-Based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)
2007	Establishment of the EU–India Macro-Economic Dialogue
2008	Expansion of the EU–India cooperation in the fields of nuclear energy and environmental protection
2008	Horizontal Civil Aviation Agreement
2008	Joint Declaration in the Field of Education and Training
2009	Joint Declaration on Multilingualism
2012	Joint Declaration on Enhanced Cooperation in Energy
2012	Enrica Lexie incident
2012	Joint Declaration on Research and Innovation Cooperation
2013	Inauguration of Europalia India Festival
2015	India rejects a non-binding resolution passed by the European Parliament on Enrica Lexie case
2017	The European Investment Bank (EIB) opened its first office for the South Asian Region in New Delhi
2020	EU–India Strategic Partnership: Roadmap to 2025
2020	Establishment of a High-Level Dialogue on Trade and Investment (HLDTI)
2021	Resumption of Free Trade Negotiations
2021	Inaugural India–EU Maritime Security Dialogue

Source: Author's compilation; Ministry of External Affairs, 2013; Kamath, 2022.

The First EU–India Summit was held in Lisbon on 28 June 2000, and a joint declaration on cooperation was signed. The government-level talks between the EU and India started in 2000; since then, there has been a total of 16 summits taking place up to 2021 (see Table 2). The EU–India joint commission focused on dispute resolution and anti-dumping measures, as well as cooperation covering the industrial and services sector, communications, energy, and private investment. Both partners also signed a science and technology agreement in November 2001. The EU committed 225 million euros to economic and development cooperation between 2002 and 2006. The role of the European Parliament is very important in bilateral relations, and it believes that India has considerable potential (European Commission, 2006; European Parliament, 2018), as India also believes in democracy, cultural pluralism, free elections, an independent judiciary, a free regional and regional press, as well as active NGOs and a transparent civil society. This power of the community urged India to continue the dialogue with Pakistan to strengthen regional cooperation. It also emphasises cooperation between the SAARC⁵ member states and promotes SAFTA. The regional integration of South Asia is a top priority for the EU, and it also has observer status at the SAARC.

The year 2004 was a key moment for EU–India relations and it has transformed into a new milestone. The same year, the EU and India signed a Strategic Partnership agreement. The new partnership is based on “the shared values and principles of democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the promotion of peace and stability” (Benaglia, 2019; Embassy of India, 2022). The purpose of this partnership is to promote trade and economic cooperation. To strengthen the partnership, the EU–India Agenda for Action 2020 was adopted at the 2016 Summit (European Parliament, 2016). India is one of the leading trading partners with the EU, and together the partners are tackling many problems, such as environmental and climate change, terrorism, security problems, broader armed clashes, and other problems in South Asia. However, India itself faces several social and development challenges (Petrović & Stevanović, 2021).

As discussed above, poverty is one of the major challenges that India is facing, with more than 21 per cent or 250 million people surviving on less than two dollars per day (The World Bank, 2020). A CNN report from India claims that, according to often cited statistics, almost 60 per cent of the population lives on less than 3.10 dollars per day.

⁵ SAARC, or South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, is a regional organisation of South Asia with eight member states.

Today, the wealthiest 10 per cent in India controls 80 per cent of the nation's wealth, according to a 2017 report published by Oxfam, an international confederation of agencies that combat poverty. Besides, the top 1 per cent owns 58 per cent of India's wealth. (Through comparison, the wealthiest 1 per cent in the United States holds 37 per cent of the wealth.) Another way to look at it: In India, the wealth of 16 people is equal to the wealth of 600 million people. (Basu, 2017)

Therefore, India needs support to combat these challenges.

During the past several decades, the EU–India partnership has evolved in different fields, such as economics, trade, politics, and development. Both parties signed the EU–India Civil Aviation Cooperation Agreement. In addition, the European Commission committed to 200 million euros of support to the elementary education programme in India. The second summit focused more on science and technology. The third summit focused on development and economic cooperation at that time, and the EC presented a new 5-Year Strategy Paper for 2002–2006. On 29 November 2003, the Fourth EU–India Summit took place in New Delhi, and it agreed on an agenda for action, which launched a 14.1-million-euro trade and investment development programme. The sixth summit focused on the State Partnership Programme under the EC–India National Indicative Programme (NIP) for 2004–2006, and the EC committed 160 million euros for education and health in Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh. It has included other projects, such as the EU–India Scholarship Programme of 33 million euros (European Commission 2006; Ministry of External Affairs, 2013; Kaltenborn, 2019). Each EU–India summit increased the volume and emphasis on the bilateral development cooperation.

In terms of higher education, the cooperation between the EU and India in education and training has reached the next level. The Jawaharlal Nehru University European Studies Programme (JNU–EUSP) was launched in March 2002. The EC demonstrated the promotion of European studies in India and the EU supported this programme with 590,000 euros to “better understanding of the EU, its institutions, objectives, policies, achievements, and its external economic and political relations in India.” For a strong partnership, the EC launched the EU–India and Civil Society Programme for the implementation of development projects, because the EU is highly dependent on Indian civil society. The EU–India cooperation projects have involved NGOs in more than 150 projects, and the EC has committed 125 million euros (European Commission, 2006) to increase its close cooperation

with Indian universities, civil societies, and NGOs to promote European values and normative approaches in India.

Since 1990, the EU development strategy has also focused on primary education and healthcare in India; the cooperation strongly emphasised “helping the poorest and most disadvantaged in society.” Even in the MDGs of the United Nations, the EU continued to support these two key social sectors, health and education, to facilitate India’s sector reform policies. The EU–India relations focus on the poorest and enhance economic cooperation in the area of mutual interest to generate wealth and employment in India. On 1 May 2002, the EC’s country strategy document for 2002–2006 agreed with the Indian government to dedicate 225 million euros to the field of development and economic cooperation. For more than 60 years, the EU has supported India’s development programme, which has been a “central pillar of the EU–India relationship.” EU’s humanitarian assistance alone provided a fund for India which was valued at a total of 39 million euros between 2000 and 2005, and is channelled through the European Commission’s Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO). These emergency interventions were covered across India to assist victims of floods and drought. The ECHO provided a 10-million-euro tsunami package to India in 2005, which directly helped more than 130,000 beneficiaries and allocated another fund of 1.18 million euros for the October 2005 earthquake victims as emergency assistance (European Commission, 2006; Kaltenborn, 2019). The EU strategy for India (2007–2013) has been continued in these sectors for a more comprehensive economic and development cooperation.

4.1. EU–India cooperation after graduation from IDA in 2014

After India emerged as a major aid donor in South–South cooperation, the EU development aid to India terminated in 2014 due to graduation from the International Development Association (IDA). The EU has been a long-term support system in the form of development assistance to India with the relationship between the EU and India transforming to the next level. However, the EU is more interested in the promotion of human rights and democracy in India. Winand has regarded the EU–India development cooperation as “from donor-recipient to partners in development” (Kugiel, 2015; Winand, 2021). The 13th EU–India Summit took place on 30 March 2016 in Brussels and endorsed the EU–India Agenda for Action 2020, which is set to cover the practical roadmap for the next five years. This has included a wide range of cooperation in “political, security, human rights,

global issues,” with climate change concerns and priorities as a plan of action set under the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. It has also included cooperation in sector policy, for example, concerning energy, environment, ICT, research and innovation, and people-to-people contacts. Development policy not only discusses aid but also comprises financial investments. After 2015, the EU replaced aid with trade and financial investment, and the EU is the second largest investor in India in the total value of 51.2 billion euros in 2015 (Mazur, 2016; EEAS, 2022).

After 2014, the EU–India development cooperation evolved to a more comprehensive level. Comprehensive sectoral cooperation and contacts between people focus on mutual interests between the EU and India, which included various policy areas such as “energy and climate change; environment; research and innovation; pharmaceuticals; biotechnologies; agriculture, digital economy, and society; competition policy; macroeconomic issues, sustainable urban development; migration and mobility; and higher education.” The European Investment Bank (EIB) opened a regional office in New Delhi on 31 March 2017. The purpose of the EU’s EIB is to support sectoral cooperation with India on the number of loans. The EIB has supported urban development projects such as Lucknow Metro, Kanpur Metro, Pune Metro, Bhopal Metro, and Bengaluru Metro infrastructure projects, as well as clean energy projects, such as renewable energy solar power plants. It shows that the EU–India relationship is deepening and strengthening ever at the level of infrastructure development in rural and urban India. Cooperation of this scale has never been seen, and it has been witnessed in several places “including decentralised cooperation between the EU and Indian cities” (EEAS, 2022).

The EIB has been supported with 450 million euros as a loan to India to finance the construction of Lucknow Metro for the first 23 km long metro rail line and the purchase of new trains in April 2016 (EIB, 2019). Recently, the Lucknow Metro started to operate before the term of one year, and the EU Ambassador to India Tomasz Kozłowski congratulated the citizens of Lucknow and the contributors to the construction of the Lucknow Metro Project. He stated that “the European Investment Bank has also contributed to this success. The growing engagement of the EIB in India is another confirmation of the determination to implement the EU–India Partnership for sustainable development and modernisation successfully” (EEAS, 2019). The EIB provided 500 million euros to support the construction of the Bengaluru Metro with a new 18-station Rapid Transit line and the purchase of 96 train cars for this line, and these investments will be expanded for the

second longest metro system in India.⁶ This is the largest ever EIB loan in India, as well as the largest ever support for sustainable transport outside Europe (EEAS, 2021).

Likewise, this project is expected to employ almost a thousand workers and its improved transport will reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It has been fully operationalised in 2021 with additional 22 km and six new metro lines. The EIB report mentioned that “the European Union demonstrates Europe’s commitment to supporting world-class climate-related investment across Asia and the increased momentum of EIB financing for urban transport across India” (EIB, 2017). After the end of traditional development assistance in 2014, the EU and India adopted a Joint Action Plan in several areas of cooperation on the grounds of sectoral cooperation. Therefore, the European Union’s development policy towards India has reached the next level of cooperation in recent years, and the EIB has invested more than 2.5 billion euros in sectoral cooperation, including in infrastructure, renewable energy, and climate projects (EEAS, 2018). However, this development cooperation distinguished relations with India in comparison to other countries in the region.

As the EU always wanted to support regional integration, India also received support under regional programming aid. In 2014, the EU adopted a thematic and regional programme. South Asia’s regional organisation SAARC was not empowered to sign the Multi-annual Indicative Programme (MIP) of the EU, so it was bilaterally implemented. However, India remains eligible for the 2014–2020 MIP under the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI).⁷ India received a benefit from the South Asia Regional Training and Technical Assistance Centre (SARTTAC), which supported public financial management in India and other SAARC members. The 2014–2020 MIP also supported the capacity building and cooperation of global public goods that was implemented with civil society organisations (CSOs) and local authorities. The EU capacity building programme supported local authorities in India for water, sanitation, and solid management to facilitate municipal services (Paulo, 2019).

The EU’s education programme can be considered part of the development policy because education is a key indicator of development indexes. Under the “contacts between people” programme of the EU–India relations, 5,300

⁶ Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is EIB’s co-financer with 300 million euros. So, the total will be 800 million euros with EIB’s 500 million and AIIB’s 300 million euros.

⁷ The DCI is the main financial instrument for funding aid in developing countries in the EU budget, see European Parliament Think Tank (2017).

Indian students have received the Erasmus scholarship and 1,800 Indian researchers have received the Marie Skłodowska-Curie scholarship. The initiative is implemented within the Horizon 2020 framework, where an individual researcher is eligible for a grant from the European Council (ERC) or a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship (MSCA). Every year, almost 50,000 Indian students receive education in over 4,000 universities throughout Europe. The 2008 EU–India Summit launched the Joint Declaration on Education for Senior Officials in order to cover dialogue related to skills, quality assurance, and the recognition of qualifications. Since the launch of EU’s Erasmus programmes in higher education for developing countries, India has been the largest beneficiary, with more than 5,300 students having received the scholarship. In recent years, the EU launched Erasmus Mundus, which has transformed into the Erasmus+ programme, with 1,300 Indian students having received a full scholarship, and 120 Indian universities participating in active exchange programmes. For capacity-building purposes, almost 100 universities received benefits for joint master programmes or capacity-building projects. Under the Jean Monnet Programme, eight eminent Indian professors are part of EU studies, and they are active participants in teaching (van Haaften, 2021; EEAS, 2022).

The India–EU Joint Steering Committee was formed (in June 2017) in Brussels to further strengthen cooperation in the field of research and innovation. The initiative has been taken in the area of 30 million euros for the development of a concrete solution to deal with societal challenges, focusing on “health, ICT, climate change, and energy, the latter in the framework of the Mission Innovation initiative.” The EU has also been providing support to Indian cities for sustainable development plans concerning transport, industry, water, and waste management, and more. Recently, the EU has established a twinning or “city-to-city” cooperation between European and Indian cities. In the previous phase, Mumbai, Pune, and Chandigarh were included, while twelve cities have been included in the current phase. The EU established another support to help Indian cities join the Global Covenant of Mayors on climate and clean energy. This cooperation works under the India–EU Partnership for Smart and Sustainable Urbanisation that supports the India Smart Cities initiative and AMRUT (EEAS, 2022; European Commission, 2017). These initiatives have involved EU Member States for policy cooperation and business solutions, as well as joint research and innovation.

5. Assessment of the EU–India development cooperation: The way forward

India graduated from the Official Development Assistance (ODA) programme in 2014. However, before this, the EU's development cooperation with India had achieved several milestones over the past almost 60 years and had been quite successful. The main areas of cooperation were education, water, health, and sanitation. Now is the time to move beyond the traditional aid and make progress. It is also the time to take a more comprehensive and partnership-based approach towards other developing countries in the region. When India emerged as the largest donor in South–South relations, the EU proposed a joint initiative and the combination of grants and loans from international financial institutions. Additional funding is targeted at specific development needs. However, the EU will support a greater focus on institutional capacity building with the key strategic areas of intervention being trade, renewable energy, and the environment (Jain & Pandey 2018; Meulemeester, 2022).

The 2016 EU–India Summit emphasised strengthening cooperation in the implementation of Agenda 2030 (Agenda for Sustainable Development). Currently, there are 80 contracts ongoing in India, worth more than 240 million euros in India under the EU–India Agenda for Action 2020. Despite trade and development cooperation, the EU–India relationship also deals with facing global challenges based on regular security dialogue on counter-privacy, counterterrorism, cybersecurity, and non-proliferation/disarmament (Joshi, 2017). After 2014, India opened the door to a global partnership, where both partners work on issues such as sustainable development, etc. The EU–India development partnership has progressed towards global participation. The 14th EU–India summit adopted the EU–India Development Dialogue to develop a synergy of coordination for the engagement of the two countries in October 2017. Both partners committed to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Kaltenborn, 2019; Paulo, 2019). For example, under Horizon 2020, the total of 42 collaborative projects were implemented, amounting to 157 million euros (113 million euros from H2020 and 44 million euros from the Indian government) and 1,729 doctoral/postdoc students received benefits in all non-European countries under Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions (MSCA) (European Commission, 2021).

The EU and India have been close partners and the Union has supported full-time development aid to the country for almost 60 years. Even after

the graduation from the IDA, the EU development policy is in progress in a broader sphere and new kinds of development activities with India. Today, the EU supports human rights and good governance through its Democracy Promotion Programme in India. The EU–India strategic partnership increased the “importance of growing economic and geopolitical significance” (Kavalski, 2015). So, research and innovation, and science and technology have core areas under the EU development policy for India. Under Horizon 2020 cooperation, the EU focused on connectivity through people-to-people exchanges. Apart from being development partners, the EU and India have greater responsibilities in the changing world order. Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet *et al.* (2021) argue that the EU and India have always been “defending rules-based multilateralism and demonstrating the benefits of cooperation.” The ongoing war in Ukraine and the COVID-19 pandemic are shaping a new world order, in which energy security has become a key concern along with national security. The EU has been disappointed in India’s strategic autonomy, as the country believes in dialogue and diplomacy as the only way forward, mentioned Sunil Prasad, secretary general of Europe–India Chamber of Commerce (Prasad, 2022).

As India can be a recipient of aid from the EU’s development programme, both can start promoting development cooperation in South Asia, after ongoing negotiations on development partnership. Recently, Afghanistan lost track of democracy after the Taliban’s complete takeover on 31 August 2021, and the EU has been collaborating with India to implement a development programme in Afghanistan. The role of the EU, the United States and its partners in Afghanistan is widely criticised by people, media, and the academia (Aryal & Bharti 2021; Bharti & Aryal, 2022). However, China recently rose to prominence as the leading investor and aid provider in South Asia, and its development policy is need-based (Bharti, 2020). The EU’s credibility and development partnership is under question and it is doubtful whether both partners can regain ground should Afghanistan fall.

The EU and India also need to re-think, re-consider, re-evaluate and re-strategise their further partnership and engagement. Khandekar (2011) stated similar concerns that “the EU–India Strategic Partnership is one of the most static and disappointing of such accords. Well matched but with no spark of chemistry, the EU and India appear tied together in a loveless arranged marriage.” During the deadly coronavirus wave, India appreciated the gesture of the EU and its Member States. The post-pandemic rebound of the partnership and engagement in the third country would be important for the EU–India partnership. We expect that there will be a new equation in

world politics after the coronavirus epidemic, in which the EU and India can play a major role in making international policies to promote the welfare of human beings (Šime, 2021). Recently, the US policy has not been clear, and they have been able to make bold and right decisions. In this situation, the weak and unclear US policy is not favourable either to India or the EU, with China emerging as a world power. We are currently living in such a volatile atmosphere, in which the world politics is moving in another direction. Now it may be time for India and the EU to work together and make a strong strategy for mutual benefits (Lowinger, 2021; Barrech & Mukhtar, 2022).

6. Conclusion

Considering all of the above discussion and context, a conclusion can be drawn here that India has been one of the top aid recipients and beneficiary countries in the world. Before the 2000s, the EU–India relations were in an evolving phase, and those decades also saw the EU itself in a phase of evolution as was the EEC. Over the decade, the EU also enlarged in size and its initial focus was limited to Africa, the Caribbean, and Pacific countries. The EU policy for South Asia was in the hide-and-seek mode, except for the Food Aid Programme, in which Bangladesh and India were the main beneficiaries of the region. Since the 2000s, the EU–India relations transformed into a strategic partnership to which the European Commission’s development policy contributed significantly. In the strategic era, the focus was mainly on science and technology, trade, and economic cooperation.

Despite India graduating from the EU’s aid programme, there are several sectors in which the Commission continues to support the country’s development. The main purpose of this study, among other things, was to explore the EU’s sectoral cooperation in India, and those areas are poverty alleviation, the promotion of democracy, and human rights. Development policy is not only about socioeconomic development, but it is also about trade-related concessions and discounts. Currently, India is getting benefits from unilateral preferential tariffs through the EU Generalised Scheme of Preferences (GSP), by which the country respects human and labour rights. The EU supports rural-based products and capacity building so that rural products can compete in the global market. The EU works primarily with NGOs and CSOs to engage in capacity building and human rights

promotion in India, and is committed to enhancing its relationship with India under the Horizon Europe 2021–2027, which will continue to support science, technology, and innovation. Therefore, the university exchange and training programmes will also continue under future Horizon programmes. The development policy is also not limited to development assistance, so the EIB supports India's infrastructure development through loans in the area of metro rail in the big cities and solar power plants in rural areas.

The relations of the EU and India as development partners are now shaping towards Euro-Asian Connectivity Strategy and achieving the clean energy transition. Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which created major challenges of the energy crisis, the media and public opinion questioned India's neutrality and silence over the war in Ukraine. Then India's Foreign Minister addressed the country's strategic autonomy in Bratislava and dialogue. The EU–India relations could affect (1) geopolitical realignment, (2) energy security implications, and (3) security concerns. These potential repercussions encouraged the EU and India to take the developing situation in Ukraine into account when determining their mutual future relations.

India also has the largest population to take care of. In relation to these issues, this study recommends policy improvements in the following areas of cooperation:

- 1) From aid to global partnership, it would be the main priority to achieve energy security on a multilateral forum.
- 2) The EU has always been in favour of peace-building and conflict mitigation. India would assume responsibility for the mitigation of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia.
- 3) The EU has always faced labour shortages and India suffers from a lack of jobs for the young people. This is why the EU and India can support each other in tackling this problem by supporting liberalised visas and job creation.
- 4) This is the time when both partners should move on with a signed FTA, and companies on both sides can benefit from evolvement of India's IT sectors.

The response to the EU–India development up to the year 2000 and beyond is what India can expect from the EU: (1) the FTA negotiations must be resolved on data sharing issues; (2) technology transfer, which is most needed for India's industrial development; (3) support and cooperation on climate change issues; (4) cooperation on counterterrorism and stability in the South Asian region; and (5) strengthening people-to-people ties through cultural and educational exchanges.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to the anonymous referees for their comprehensive review of the manuscript and very useful suggestions. It would not have been possible without my parents' support, and I am especially grateful to Dr Hab. Katarzyna Kołodziejczyk for providing research assistance.

Simant Shankar Bharti, PhD is a visiting lecturer at the University of Economics and Human Sciences in Warsaw and holds the esteemed position of Honorary Fellow at the Forum for Global Studies in New Delhi. He earned his doctorate in international relations with a specialisation in development diplomacy and soft power from the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw in Poland. Dr. Bharti's impressive academic journey is marked by a prolific publication record, boasting over 25 articles spanning peer-reviewed journals, book chapters, commentaries, and media reviews. His research portfolio encompasses a wide range of interests, including European Union policies, public policy, the Global South, South Asia, foreign policy, regional geopolitics, and the evolving role of developing countries in global politics.

References

- Amin, J.** (2011), 'European Union-South Asia Development Co-operation with Special Reference to India,' *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2. <https://doi.org/10.30722/anzjes.vol3.iss2.15102>
- Aryal, S. K. & Bharti, S. S.** (2021), 'Post-Taliban Takeover: What is at Stake for India in Afghanistan?' *South Asia Democratic Forum (SADF)*, <https://doi.org/10.48251/SADF.ISSN.2406.5633.F74>.
- Barrech, D. M. & Mukhtar, M.** (2022), 'EU and India: Emerging Partners in the Indo-Pacific,' *Journal of Global Peace and Security Studies (JGPSS)*, vol. 2, no. 2. Retrieved from <https://journals.pakistanreview.com/index.php/JGPSS/article/view/105> [accessed 4 Jan 2022]
- Basu, M.** (2017), 'Seeing the New India through the Eyes of an Invisible Woman,' *CNN*, October. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2017/10/world/i-on-india-income-gap/> [accessed 5 Jan 2022]

- Bava, U. S.** (2010), 'India and the European Union: From Engagement to Strategic Partnership,' *International Studies*, vol. 47, nos. 2–4, pp. 373–386.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/002088171104700419>
- Benaglia, S.** (2019), 'EU-India: A Renewed Strategic Partnership or Business as Usual?' *CEPS*, 12 September. Retrieved from <https://www.ceps.eu/eu-india-a-renewed-strategic-partnership-or-business-as-usual/> [accessed 4 Jan 2022]
- Bengtsson, M.** (2016) 'How to Plan and Perform a Qualitative Study Using Content Analysis,' *NursingPlus Open*, vol. 2, pp. 8–14. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001>
- Bharti, M. S.** (2022), 'Indo–French Defence Cooperation in the Light of Regional Security Balance in South Asia,' *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 7–18. <https://doi.org/10.15804/ppsy202217>
- Bharti, S. S.** (2020), 'Strengthening the Development Partnership between the EU and South Asia: A Contemporary Analysis,' *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 278–298. <https://doi.org/10.34135/sjps.200205>
- Bharti, S. S.** (2021), 'The European Union's Security Concerns and EU-South Asia cooperation,' *Scientific Journal of the Radom Academy of Economics*, no. 6, pp. 11–27.
- Bharti, S. S. & Aryal, S. K.** (2022), 'How Indian Media Reported on “the Taliban's Takeover in Afghanistan”,' *Asian Politics & Policy*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 277–282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12638>
- Cameron, F.; Berkofsky, A.; Bhandari, M. & Halley, D.** (2005), *EU-India Relations, EU-India Relations*, EPC Issue Paper, no. 35, 9 June. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/10874/doc_10905_290_en.pdf [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- Commercial Cooperation Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Republic of India, *OJ L* 82, 27.3.74.
- Council Regulation (EEC) no. 3246/81 of 26 October 1981 on the conclusion of the Agreement for commercial and economic cooperation between the European Economic Community and India, Agreement for commercial and economic cooperation between the European Economic Community and India, *OJ L* 328, 16.11.1981, pp. 5–12.
- EEAS (2018), *EU-India Factsheet: A New EU Strategy on India*, European External Action Service. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/regions/africa/4010/eu-india-relations-fact-sheet_en [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- EEAS (2019), “European Investment Bank Welcomes Opening of Lucknow Metro—One Year Ahead of Schedule,” European External Action Service, 11 March. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/india_vi/59378/European%20Investment%20Bank%20welcomes%20opening%20of%20Lucknow%20metro%20%E2%80%93%20one%20year%20ahead%20of%20schedule [accessed 5 Jan 2022]

- EEAS (2021), *The European Union and India—Development Cooperation*, Relations with the EU, European External Action Service, 4 August. Retrieved from https://www.eeas.europa.eu/india/european-union-and-india-development-cooperation_en?s=167 [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- EEAS (2022), *EU-India Fact Sheet: EU-India Relations*, European External Action Service. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eu-india_fact_sheet.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- EIB (2017), 'India: Record EIB Loan—EUR 500m for Bangalore Metro,' European Investment Bank. Retrieved from <https://www.eib.org/en/press/all/2017-265-record-eib-loan-in-india-eur-500m-for-bangalore-metro#> [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- EIB (2019), 'India: EIB Welcomes Opening of Lucknow Metro—One Year Ahead of Schedule,' European Investment Bank. Retrieved from <https://www.eib.org/en/press/all/2019-074-eib-welcomes-opening-of-lucknow-metro-one-year-ahead-of-schedule#> [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Embassy of India (2020), *India-EU Brief on Bilateral Relations*, Brussels. Retrieved from https://indianembassybrussels.gov.in/pdf/India_EU_Relations_unclassified.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Embassy of India (2022), *India-European Union Bilateral Relations*, Brussels, 2 December. Retrieved from https://indianembassybrussels.gov.in/pdf/India-EU_Dec_2022-nsdn.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- European Commission (1986), *The European Community and India*, Europe Information, External Relations, Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, Directorate-General for Information. Retrieved from http://aei.pitt.edu/7820/1/31735055281301_1.pdf [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- European Commission (2006), *The European Union and India: A Strategic Partnership for the 21st Century*, Directorate-General for External Relations, Brussels. Retrieved from <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/e5f985a9-bbaa-465e-888a-92a311e9bdc8> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- European Commission (2017), Joint Statement 14th India-EU Summit, New Delhi, 6.10.2017. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_17_3743 [accessed 6 Jan 2022]
- European Commission (2021), The 13th EU-India Joint Science and Technology Steering Committee, 12.2.2021. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/info/news/13th-eu-india-joint-science-and-technology-steering-committee-2021-feb-12_en [accessed 6 Jan 2022]
- European Parliament (2016), *EU-India Summit, Brussels, 30 March 2016: EU-India Agenda for Action-2020*, Brussels. Retrieved from <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/122862/20160330-agenda-action-eu-india.pdf> [accessed 4 Jan 2022]
- European Parliament (2018), *The Countries of South Asia-SAARC*. Retrieved from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/facts_2004/6_3_11_en.htm?textMode=on [accessed 3 Jan 2022]

- European Parliament Think Tank (2017), 'Development Cooperation Instrument.' Retrieved from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS_BRI\(2017\)608764](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS_BRI(2017)608764) [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Goddeeris, I.** (2011), 'EU-India Relations,' *Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies Policy Brief*, no. 16, pp. 1–11. Retrieved from http://www.globalgovernancestudies.eu%24%24hfree_for_read/ [accessed 2 Jan 2022]
- Jain, R. K.** (2005), 'India, the European Union and Asian Regionalism,' *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies*, vol. 3, nos. 1–2, pp. 29–44.
- Jain, R. K. & Pandey, S.** (2019), 'The EU Global Strategy and EU–India Relations: A Perceptions Study,' in N. Chaban & M. Holland (eds.) *Shaping the EU Global Strategy, The European Union in International Affairs*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 101–126. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92840-1_5
- Joshi, S.** (2017), 'The Prospects for EU-India Security Cooperation,' *European View*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 271–279. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-017-0453-7>
- Kaltenborn, M.** (2019), 'The EU-India Development Partnership: Legal Framework and Political Perspectives,' in M. P. Singh, W. Cremer & N. Kumar (eds.) *Open Markets, Free Trade and Sustainable Development: Perspectives from EU and India*, Singapore: Springer, pp. 157–170. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-7426-5_10
- Kamath, B. R.** (2022), *India and the European Union: A Relationship Yet to Achieve Its True Potential*, Observer Research Foundation, 8 February. Retrieved from <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/india-and-the-european-union/> [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Kavalski, E.** (2016), 'The EU–India Strategic Partnership: Neither Very Strategic, Nor Much of a Partnership,' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 192–208. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2015.1007031>
- Khandekar, G.** (2011), *The EU and India: A Loveless Arranged Marriage*, FRIDE Policy Brief, no. 90. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/132670/PB_90_EU_and_India.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Klossek, L.** (2020), "'Training for Peace"—A Universal Practise? How Micro Processes Are Impacting the Likelihood of an EU–India Cooperation in Peacekeeping,' *European Security*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 506–523. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1767601>
- Kugiel, P.** (2015), 'EU-India Strategic Partnership Needs a Reality Check,' *PISM Policy Paper*, vol. 36, no. 137. Retrieved from [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/194598/PISM%20Policy%20Paper%20no%2035%20\(137\).pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/194598/PISM%20Policy%20Paper%20no%2035%20(137).pdf) [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Kugiel, P.** (2020), 'India, the European Union and the Postwar Liberal Order,' in R. K. Jain (ed.) *India and the European Union in a Turbulent World*, pp. 27–58. Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3917-6_2

- Lowinger, T.** (2021), “‘The EU Should...!’; ‘India Needs...!’: Parapublic Underpinnings to Realise Global IR in Policy Analysis of EU–India Relations,’ In P. Gieg, T. Lowinger, M. Pietzko, A. Zürn, U.S. Bava & G. Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet (eds.) *EU-India Relations. Contributions to International Relations*, Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65044-5_17
- Malhotra, S.** (2015), ‘EU-India Relations: A Soft Power Approach,’ *European Institute for Asian Studies*, pp. 1–8. Retrieved from <https://www.eias.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/EU-Asia-at-a-glance-Malhotra-EU-India-Relations-A-Soft-Power-Approach-2015.pdf> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- Mazur, G.** (2016), ‘EU-India Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement—Stumbling Blocks on the Way to Consensus,’ *Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu*, no. 447, pp. 55–66.
- Meulemeester, Y.** (2022), ‘EU-India Relations,’ Doctoral dissertation, Ghent University, Belgium. Retrieved from https://libstore.ugent.be/fulltxt/RUG01/003/096/663/RUG01-003096663_2022_0001_AC.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Ministry of External Affairs (2013), *India-EU Relations*, New Delhi. Retrieved from https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-EU_Relations.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Ministry of External Affairs (2020), *India-EU Relations, Ministry of External Affairs EW Division*, New Delhi. Retrieved from https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India_EU_Relation2020.pdf [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet, G.; Gieg, P.; Lowinger, T.; Pietzko, M. & Zürn, A.** (2021), ‘India and the European Union: A Growing Responsibility to Cooperate in a Changing World,’ In *EU-India Relations: The Strategic Partnership in the Light of the European Union Global Strategy*, Cham: Springer, pp. 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65044-5_1
- NDDB (2023), ‘Operation Flood: One of the World’s Largest Rural Development Programmes,’ National Dairy Development Board, India, 6 March. Retrieved from <https://www.nddb.coop/about/genesis/flood> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- Nye, J. S.** (2005), *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs US.
- Okano-Heijmans, M. & Panda, J. P.** (2018), ‘EU-India Cooperation and China’s Belt and Road Initiative,’ *Taking forward the EU–India Strategic Partnership: Joint Research Papers Produced by the EU India Think Tanks Twinning Initiative*, Paper III, pp. 37–64. Retrieved from <https://euindiathinktanks.in/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/EU-India-Think-Tanks-Twinning-Initiative-collective-papers.pdf#page=41> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]

- Paulo, S.** (2019), *India-EU Cooperation in the SDG Era: Unlocking the Potential of a Development Partnership in Transition*, New Delhi: Observer Research Foundation.
- Petrović, A. & Stevanović, A.** (2021), 'The EU and India in the Polarized World,' *Przegląd Geopolityczny*, vol. 36, pp. 9–31. Retrieved from <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=999535> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- Prasad, S.** (2022), 'EU-India Relations in a Changing Strategic Environment,' *EURACTIV*, 2 August. Retrieved from <https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-india/opinion/eu-india-relations-in-a-changing-strategic-environment/> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- Quirk, J.** (2008), 'Historical Methods,' in C. Reus-Smit & D. Snidal (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 518–536. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199219322.003.0030>.
- Šime, Z.** (2021), 'EU-India Relations in the Multi-Vector Matrix of Science Diplomacy and Asia-Europe Meeting,' *Research in Globalization*, vol. 3, art. 100057. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resglo.2021.100057>
- Sofka, J. R.** (2013), 'Historical Approaches to International Relations,' American Public University / EDGE, 31 January. Retrieved from <https://apuedge.com/historical-approaches-to-international-relations/> [accessed 3 Jan 2022]
- The World Bank (2020), *Data Poverty & Equity Data: India*. Retrieved from <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/IND> [accessed 5 Jan 2022]
- Tripathi, D.** (2011), *Development Role of EU in South Asia*, New Delhi: Vij Books India.
- van Haaften, L.** (2021), 'EU-India Relations and the Geopolitics of Higher Education,' South Asia Democratic Forum Research Reports, no. 6. <https://doi.org/10.48251/SADF.ISSN.2406-5641.RR6>
- Winand, P.** (2021), 'The European Union and India: From Donor-Recipient Relations to Partners in Development,' *Global Affairs*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 579–595. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2021.1961597>
- Wülbers, S. A.** (2011), *The Paradox of EU-India Relations: Missed Opportunities in Politics, Economics, Development Cooperation and Culture*, Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books.