CONCLUSION

This is a modest attempt to survey the cooperative relationship between India and the two German states i.e. Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This relationship has acquired special meaning and significance after 1958.

By the time India became independent in 1947, Germany was already divided and there was also a Berlin question in which India had hardly any interest. Whatever interest this question evoked in India it was purely academic.

When the two German states attained sovereign states in 1955, West Germany under Western patronage and East Germany under Russian influence—that India started having relations with the two countries, and gradually developed considerable economic, political and cultural ties with them.

Industrial and agricultural progress in first decade of the development tended to strengthen the economic foundation, of India, despite droughts and other constraints. Production increased, living standards improved and exports expanded. Further progress was expected to be rapid provided political
and economic policies could be tailored to efficient
mobilisation of internal resources, human and material, and
a strengthening of collaborations with the advanced nations.
The relationship between the developing and the developed
nations has been continuously emphasised, stressed and debated
at various bilateral, multilateral and international gatherings.
In the last decade North-South dialogue has been underlined
in UNCTAD by the Club of Rome and the group of Seventy Seven.

Foreign aid has been obtained in many ways: Through
gifts, grants, short term and long term loans, technical
assistance and foreign exchange credits to meet trade deficits.
The developing countries were helped through the transfer
of public resources by the advanced countries. Such a process
of collaboration not only improved the economic growth of
the developing countries but also influenced the pattern of
change in their social and political structure in the form
of maximization of economic and social welfare through the
attainment of optimum production and equitable distribution
of resources among the different strata of their respective
societies. India was one of the principal developing countries
which acquired and used many tonnes of fertilizers, foodgrains
equipment, plants, assistance in setting up schools, colleges, universities, hospital beds, irrigation projects, roads and the like.

India, in her initial efforts to acquire aid for her development programmes, had to heavily rely on the United States and the Soviet Union. But the aid from the two superpowers was invariably accompanied by political strings, which India tried to avoid. For this she was in search of alternatives for the diversification of her aid-trade relations. European Community and in it, West Germany provided the direction for such diversification where the contagion of political strings was at its lowest. Moreover, in India - FRG relations the emphasis was simply on economic and technological relations coupled with the benign cultural connection.

Cooperation between India and West Germany has witnessed the trust and optimism in the realm of international economic relations. Contacts at different levels: individual, governmental and corporational determine the form and success, and create permanent links. Further, the bilateral partnership of India and West Germany is sponsored by large multilateral organisations,
i.e. World Bank and IDA, which are jointly responsible for helping finance India's Five Year Plans. Federal Republic of Germany makes sizable contributions to mentioned agencies as well as other subsidiary organisations of the United Nations and supranational establishments in providing international economic aid.

Thus both the countries soon discovered areas of mutual collaboration. West-Germany was contracted to establish various important industries in India. The setting up of a steel Plant at Rourkela in 1957, was the beginning of the multifarious and important relationship with West Germany which made her to be ranked as Third largest foreign investor in the country after U.K. and U.S.A.\footnote{Supra, p.93.}

The technical assistance and credit facilities as also the large export of capital equipment enhanced the importance of West Germany to the Indian economy, industry and agriculture. India succeeded in increasing the steel production at home, with negotiations with the German companies. As early as 1953, the Government of India entered into an agreement with West German combine of Krupp and Demag, and a company under the style of
Hindustan Steel Ltd. was promoted on December 21, 1953. The revised target of this company was one million ton capacity, and the plant was then expected to cost Rs. 1,700 million.  

Whenever, India desired the need of technical assistance for building up new industries and also to improve the existing ones, the Government of FRG enthusiastically putforth the insurance of placing the experience of German companies. In this regard the two Governments tended to held each other in promoting contacts in variety of spheres. Hence any accord between two parties could be directly concluded, keeping in view the existing foreign currency regulations. These agreements were finalized in New Delhi at the end of 1952 and the establishment of an Indo-German Council.

The German imports from India were rather marginal till 1952 which the German exports to India showed an upward trend. It was mainly due to India's policy of buying in Germany locomotives, rolling stocks, capital equipment and machinery. The milestone, in this context was the Indo-German council to deal with question of increasing and financing Indian exports. The opening of the first branch of State Bank of India on the continent on July 6, 1965 at Frankfurt, was another significant step in the direction.

During the Second Five Year Plan, the average annual imports reached 200 percent while exports to West Germany increased by 36 percent as compared with the period of the First Plan. During the course of the Third Plan, exports were largely stagnant and imports rising. Due to stagnancy of falling trends in exports and increase in imports, India has been having unfavourable balance of trade with the FRG in varying degrees throughout the entire period. Despite the serious efforts on both the sides, for a balance of trade between the two countries, the gulf has been widening. 3

Such discouraging trend has been causing anxiety to both sides. Not only the expansion in India's exports to West Germany is a matter of great concern to India, but also the decline of West German exports to India is a source of worry to the West German Industry. It is now realised that the maintenance and the development of West German exports to India, depend upon the ability of West German market to buy and absorb more goods from India. The industry feels that in terms of its global business, India is still a small market, accounting for 1.4% of West Germany's total exports, although

a nation of 700 million people anxious for rapid industrialization represents a much greater market than such a small proportion so far achieved.

The Indo-German cultural relations have a long history, it started some times in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The evolution of Indo-German cultural relations has often been portrayed by scholars and historians.

A German scholar Max Muller alone could have the glowing tribute to India—the Mother of civilisation, since Germans are the greatest lovers of India. They cannot forget the glorious past of the Indo-German (Aryan) race. No wonder the German scholars have written six to seven hundred volumes on the Indian culture, philosophy, religion and mythology.

It may be mentioned that on March 20, 1969 at New Delhi, India and West Germany signed an Indo-German cultural agreement which is a further manifestation of the centuries-old relations in this sphere of life between the two countries and a formal basis for continued contacts. It is expected to intensify the relations still further. The agreement provides for cooperation between them in the field of education, art,

culture, mass media, sports, medicine and libraries, exchanges of personnel and materials in these fields would be regulated under the provisions of the agreement.

Since the establishing of diplomatic relations with West Germany (after the World War II) in 1951, a decisive change has occurred in the form of more direct relationship between the peoples of India and West Germany.

Both the countries have had their own constitution in 1949. And they developed a political system. They had to stabilize national and political conditions. Moreover, they had already gained significant experience in democratic process.

The constitutions of India and the Federal Republic of Germany are democratic. The two countries advocate the maintenance and safeguarding of peace, the renunciation of force, and equal rights for all nations. Both acknowledge human rights as the basis for any human society, for peace and justice throughout the world, and seek to achieve a society in which there is no hatred or discrimination on account of colour, race and creed. 5

In this regard, however, it is not so easy to form an opinion about the Indo-West German cooperation during the two decades. Though there are no ideological pinpricks in the Indo-West German relations, yet, the traditional prejudices in India are enough to obstruct the further expansion of cooperation. It is deemed necessary to have in mind that in democratic type of set up, there is a scope for pragmatism and adaptation, which is not possible under totalitarian set up. Hence, one should hopefully look beyond the present horizon to quote a Chinese saying, "Hope is like a road in the country side; there never was a road, but when many people walk on it, the road comes into existence."6

India highly appreciated German culture, especially the tremendous work for the purposes of exploring and cultivating the classical Indian language and literature; consequently, there was also a genuine desire to develop cultural relations with the GDR. There exists a general interest in the activities of German culture in the past; additionally, India considers culture in the GDR to be the new German anti-fascist and democratic culture. For India the cultural development of the first

socialist German state, the GDR, reflects experiences made in the course of a country's social transformation which in a number of different fields, were quite interesting for India, for instance the construction of a socialist educational system in the GDR, changes in agriculture or the development of a public health system. The growing interest in the development of the GDR, among the Indian people, brought about the foundation of many India-GDR friendship societies in almost all parts of the country. It became such a strong movement that in 1966, all these societies were united in the All India Indo-GDR Friendship Association. This association, under the leadership of its president, Mrs. Ushadra Joshi, decisively contributed to make known the cultural and social development of the GDR in India. The friendship societies disseminated information about the GDR, organized exhibitions, seminars, film shows and celebration on special occasions. Today, these friendship societies have a growing mass membership and are an important basis of the vital and manifold publicity of the GDR's cultural activities in India.

The Indian cultural heritage has been promoted comprehensively and continuously by the foremost GDR publishing houses.
Publishing houses working in different fields published works of Indian literature and studies on all aspects of the Indian cultural heritage. More and more scientists, journalists and persons engaged on the cultural sector publish books about their impressions of India.

In the past three decades, the mutual cultural exchange between India and the GDR has been developed continuously and rapidly including increased mutual productive stimulation. The effect of many bilateral cultural activities on the broad public has been increased and a new quality of cooperation has emerged based on long-term planning and cooperation. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, it has been possible to plan cultural exchange on the basis of mutually elaborated public arrangements.

India also developed economic, political and trade relations with German Democratic Republic.

The most important event in the political history of Europe after World War II was the division of Germany into two states. The question of German reunification proved to be one of the more baffling problems. India's perception of
German problems, like unity of the two Germanys and the Berlin question, were influenced by the cold war politics and instead of close relations with the super powers, i.e. the Soviet Union and the USA, India did not take sides on the question. Pandit Nehru made a statement during the Berlin crisis in 1958, that access to Berlin, which was inside East Germany depended on the willingness of East German government. Actually this access was part of the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 which granted air and road routes from the West to the city of West Berlin.

With the rise of Willy Brandt, a former Mayor of West Berlin in West German politics and his Ostpolitik, the relations with East and West Germany were normalised and also relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union were regularised. India welcomed these changes and its relations with the two German states became even better because since then India has nothing to worry about the conflict between the East and West Germany.

German Democratic Republic was left in ruins by the World War II. Under the guidance of the Socialist Unity Party, the diligent people of the GDR have made it one of
most advanced countries in the world. While its economic, social and scientific progress is the envy of many, India has benefited from development of the GDR. Since 1958, the GDR has been one of the closest partners in India's development. From the modest beginnings, the trade between two countries has passed the level of a thousand million rupees annually.

In the field of science and technology, the two countries had an agreement on interchange of technology and exchange of scientific and technical information and documentation between scientific institutes in the two countries.

India is the tenth largest industrial country in the world, and has drawn level with the world's leaders in science and technology. She had good relations in many fields with the two German states for her development.

Good relations with two Germanys suits India, its policy of non alignment, its desire of independent development, its need of diversification of relations away from the two super powers. The relations are shorn of cold war pinpricks.

India has not taken sides on the German issues. She has gained as a result, the good will of the two states. India's relations with the German states, though do not get headlines in the press, they are constructive and beneficial to the parties, as they are likely to contribute towards a world system based on cooperative relationship, rather than conflictual situations which tend to destroy not only the world balance and international system, but might destroy, the world as such.