CHAPTER – 1

INTRODUCTION
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Introduction

The present year 2015 is ‘special’ for the European Union (EU) and especially, for its development Cooperation policy and programme. It is the first ever European Year to deal with the Union's external action, particularly in regard to development and its role in the global politics. For development organisations all over Europe it is an unparalleled opportunity to showcase Europe's commitment to eradicating poverty worldwide and to inspire more Europeans to get engaged and involved in development.¹ This is the first time that a European year will be looking at what the Union does outside its borders, raising awareness and engaging with citizens and the broader public on the role of the EU as a global player, around the motto ‘Our world, our dignity, our future’.² Again, 2015 is also the watershed year for development and the deadline which the international comity of nations set for themselves to reach the Millennium Development Goals that they have formulated and pledged for in 2000. It is at the September 2015 UN General Assembly important new decisions on development, environment and climate policies are expected to be taken, and the world leaders are sought to agree on a future framework for eradicating poverty and achieving sustainable development.

EU, a Civilian, Soft and Normative Power

Since its inception, the EU is conceptualised as and quite proud of itself being a distinctly ‘different’ type of international actor.³ Over the decades, it has been described as a ‘civilian’, a ‘soft’, and a ‘normative’ power in international politics. The EU’s official texts invariably make similar claims about the Union’s role in global politics.

From the beginning the Europeans consciously and deliberately projected the EU in its external relations as a ‘civilian’ power. François Duchene, a strong exponent of the ‘civilian power’ school defines this concept thus: “The European

Community’s interest as a civilian group of countries long on economic power and relatively short on armed force is as far as possible to domesticate relations between states, including those of its own members and those with states outside its frontiers. This means trying to bring to international problems the sense of responsibility and structures of contractual politics which have in the past been associated almost exclusively with ‘home’ and not foreign, that is alien affairs. As such, the Europeans intend at the domestication of their foreign policy and deliberately assumed a non-military norm/approach in their external relations. Laidi, however, gives a classical definition of civilian power: a political entity with “a preference for peaceful conflict settlement and the use of a binding multilateral framework to organize the international system.”

As Romano Prodi pronounced at the start of his presidency, the status of the EU as a global civilian power is one which is still central to a discussion of its role in international relations: ‘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’. The EU is also projected as a civilian power, with no intention to use force to coerce to secure the national interest of the member states but persuasion to achieve ‘milieu goals’.

In the 1990s, Hill referred to Europe as a ‘soft’ power. This is in continuation with the earlier concept of ‘civilian’ power, which is determined to use its economic strength, cultural vivacity and sterling example to influence third countries rather than to the traditional use of military power to force others to fall in line with their stand. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., in his book "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" defines soft power as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s..."
culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced.\textsuperscript{8}

The EU has always wielded significant soft power due to its ability to inspire the dreams and desires of others. The countries that are more likely to be attractive and gain soft power in the present age of information/communication revolution are those with multiple channels of communications that help to frame issues; whose dominant culture and ideas are closer to prevailing global norms - which now emphasize liberalism, pluralism, and autonomy - and whose credibility is enhanced by their domestic and international values and policies. The EU very well fits into this bill.

**Development Cooperation as a ‘Soft’ Foreign Policy Tool**

The EU has a vast array of “soft power” instruments such as trade concessions, development assistance and European Investment Bank preferential lending at its disposal, which it may use in its attempt to alter the behavior of nonmember states and shape the international system to its liking. The Europeans emphasize more on economics and how to use it as an instrument of integration of human beings and states at the regional as well as international levels. As an actor which has indomitable faith in its ‘soft’ power potentials, the EU tend to use foreign aid and development cooperation assistance to influence and to bring expected changes in the policies and attitudes of third countries, besides achieving socio-economic development.

As such, the development cooperation of the EU had developed into a notable ‘soft’ power instrument of the EU and a powerful tool in its foreign policy arsenal. The Union links its development assistance with the democratic credentials and human rights record of the recipient countries, thereby rewarding or punishing them according to their acts of omission and commission in this regard. In post-cold war period, promoting democracy, strengthening good governance and enhancing the rule of law in the developing countries have progressively become both objectives and conditions for the European Commission’s development assistance. As the purveyor of more than half of the global development assistance, the EU is the world’s biggest

\textsuperscript{8}http://www.futurecasts.com/book%20review%206-4.htm
aid donor, thereby creating a lot of good will for the Union, which it tries to convert into positive clout and influence over the ‘third’ countries.

The development policy enumerates the programmes that become eligible for cooperation such as poverty eradication and achievement of Millennium Development Goals such as primary education and health; social cohesion and employment; governance, democracy, human rights and institutional reforms; trade and regional cooperation; sustainable development through environmental protection; integrated water resources managements and fostering greater use of sustainable energy technologies, developing infrastructure and elaborate and effective use of information and communication technology; sustainable rural development and ensuring food security; and, assistance in post-crisis situations and fragile states.  

Development cooperation is an expression of solidarity and is also in the interest of developed countries. The effects of unequal and unbalanced development threaten peace, stability and security in the world, turning out a threat for developed countries as well. So to avoid this delicate and turbulent situation the DCP tries to manage these threats and to achieve peace and stability. The DCP gives “bottom up” approach by focusing on civil society and grass-root movement. Its framework is taking several forms of actions like aids in the form of technical assistances, training programmes and dialogue with civil society.

The European Union (EU) has consistently underlined its commitment to the right to development as set out in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of 1993. This commitment is getting articulated through the development cooperation agreements/partnerships that have been signed/established with countries throughout the world since the inception of the European Community (EC). The 1995 Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action set forth the goal of eradicating poverty in the world, through decisive national actions and international co-operation “as an ethical, social, political and economic imperative of humankind”. At the eighth session of the UN Working Group on the Right to Development, the EU underscored the primary responsibility of states to create national conditions conducive to the

fulfillment of this right and strongly supported the partnership between developed and developing countries.

Development cooperation is a means to provide financial and technical assistance by the developed countries to poor and less developed or developing countries, thereby promoting their long-term social and economic development. Development cooperation deals with multi-level cooperation - socio-economic, political and technical - and involves not only governmental institutions and their representatives but also representatives of the private sector, non-governmental organizations and the society as a whole, by making their contribution to reduce poverty in the world and to promote prosperity and plenty. Development cooperation policy and programme of the EU is today one of the three principal components of the EU’s external action, alongside trade policy and the political dimension. EU development aid goes to more than 150 countries in the world.¹²

The year 2015 is equally important for Indian economic scenario, as it is the twenty fifth anniversary of the Indian Government’s initiation of its economic liberalization, privatization and globalization programme with right earnestness, though the process started in 80s itself. The reforms resulted in the linking of the Indian economy with global economy. Throughout the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty first century, India has consistently grown economically and has partially achieved its MDGs goals, in the target year 2015. Meanwhile, it has developed its own development cooperation programme in the neighbourhood and in Africa. Again, it has formulated its policy over accepting foreign aid – saying no to aid coming from small countries, due to inconvenience attached.

**Statement of the Problem**

Development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom. It is a process of “systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements” of the country in socio-economic sphere. Development is a change from one stage to another in the constructive way. Generally

¹²https://europa.eu/eyd2015/en/content/eu-development-aid
development means progress or growth. The term ‘development’ is being qualified nowadays with adjectives like ‘sustainable’ and ‘holistic’. Sustainable development is a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment so that these needs can be met not only for the present, but also for the future generations. The Brundtland Commission defined ‘sustainable development’ as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. Holistic development refers to the overall development of all sectors of the economy, all sections of the society and all regions of the country and all countries of the globe, without exception.

The developed world had reached its present status by using the resources of the developing world and causing severe damage to the global environment in the process, but, reacted with alarm and at most caution, when the leaders and people of the developing countries insisted on their right to development. After so much dilly-dallying developed countries acceded to their demand and the UN General Assembly proclaimed development as a human right in its 1986 through its Declaration on the Right to Development. Article 4.1 of the Declaration, talks about the duty of the States “to take steps, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realization of the right to development”.

Development assistance from the developed to developing countries became and continues to be quite imperative. Naturally, the ‘donor’ claims his pound of flesh from the recipient and the development cooperation policy and practice is coloured by the former’s strategic and foreign policy priorities rather than the ‘human need’. This factor makes a thorough study on the politics of the international development aid in general and the European development cooperation policy and practicein particular, at once interesting and rewarding.

The EU is a formidable economic power with a combined Gross Domestic Product of $16.63 trillion (19 per cent of the global GDP) with the population of 509.37 million (7 per cent of the world). The Union’s average GDP per capita remains at $31,020.51, two times more than global average of $12,820.29. It covers the land area of 4.24 million Sq.km. (3 per cent of the world). The EU has

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13 UN General Assembly, Declaration on the Right to Development, 97th plenary meeting, A/RES/41/128, 4 December 1986.
14 www.nationmaster.com/country-info/groups/European Union
developed into a global actor and is projected as a civilian, soft and normative power, which intends to achieve its common interests through non-military means. Promotion of democracy, human rights, rule of law and good governance in the ‘third’ countries are presented as a prominent goal of its foreign policy and external relations and ‘development cooperation’ is projected as one of the most efficient tools to achieve this goal. Through Yaoundé, Lomé and Cotonou Conventions with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) and through Cooperation Agreements with Asian and Latin American (ALA) countries, the Union channelizes its development assistance to the developing world. The European Commission has developed two large aid instruments: the European Development Fund for ACP countries and the Development Cooperation Instrument for ALA countries to fund the development assistance.

The term ‘EU aid’ means both aid administered by the EC and aid given directly by member-state governments. The EU spent €53 billion on aid in 2011, over twice as much as the second largest donor, the US. This figure covers both development aid and humanitarian aid. While the Commission administered €9.6 billion, the rest was given directly by the member-states. Though the Union has repeatedly reaffirmed its intention to enhance its development assistance to reach the target of 0.7 per cent of the national income set by the UN, it has reached only 0.42 per cent of the GDP in 2011.

It is argued in certain quarters that the trade policy is more relevant to economic growth than development aid ever will be. Instead of development assistance the EU could better offer fair trade opportunities to the developing countries, by eschewing its protectionist measures including trade-distorting tariff, non-tariff, and technical barriers. It is identified that some EU policies, particularly those on trade, agriculture and fisheries continue to harm poor countries. Need is also felt for EU to engage effectively in Aid for Trade programme which involves donors providing financial and technical assistance to developing countries, to build up their supply-side capacity and strengthen their trade-related infrastructure like roads.

India remains one of the significant beneficiaries of the EU’s development assistance and the Union has provided considerable funds for India’s efforts to achieve Millennium Development Goals in a time bound manner. India needs to achieve a lot in poverty alleviation, public health, education, technical training and other sectors related to human security. For this, India needs a partner in development
and the EU has proved such a reliable partner. The EU has expertise in agriculture and vocational training and its cooperation and transfer of technology, especially green technology, will be of great help to India. The Union which is, as mentioned earlier, already contributing its might towards this end could be of great help to India in meeting its future challenges.

It is found that the outlook and approach of the EU development cooperation policies and programmes are moving in the negative direction and the Union is now guided more by its foreign and strategic policy priorities than offering assistance to those who are more in need of it. Instead of routing the assistance through the EC, which is perceived by others as a neutral development player, national governments guided by their narrow interests manage 80 per cent of European aid. The proportion of aid administered by the Commission could be doubled to achieve better results.

Again, certain problems have cropped up in the India-EU Development Cooperation partnership and the EU’s stand on environmental issues like global warming and climate change is seen by India as hindrances in its developmental path. Again, the EU is perceived as a spoil-sport in the Indian developmental scenario by Indian and European civil society organisations in regard to the proposed India-EU Free Trade Agreement. Moreover, the adoption of a revised Generalised System of Preferences by the EC under which countries which have achieved high or upper middle income, per capita, will no longer be beneficiaries. It was expected to come into operation in 2014 and accordingly, India will not get the quantum of benefit as it used to get earlier.

The present research work intends to make a thorough study on all these developments systematically and to evaluate the success of the EU development cooperation policy and programme in general and the India-EU development cooperation partnership in particular. It also tries to offer certain suggestions to enhance the chances of success of the EU development cooperation policy and action.

Review of Literature

Paul Hoebink of the Third World Centre of the Catholic University in Nijmegen, in his commissioned study titled *The Coherence of EU Policies: Perspectives from the North and the South* (Ref: Ro2cs007, European Union’s Poverty Reduction Effectiveness Programme, Brussels, March 2005) as well as his edited volume titled *European Development Cooperation. In Between the Local and*
the Global, (Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2010) are masterpieces on the European development cooperation policy and programme and especially on the coherence policy. Hoebink is quite critical of the Union’s coherence policy and maintains that unless coherence in different policy areas is not conducive the development, the EU’s objective of poverty eradication will never succeed. Again, he traces the course of development cooperation programme from the initial days when it covered the ACP countries only to the present day in which it has reached almost global level. Hoebink’s article “Assessing Europe’s aid effort”, (Europes World, October 1 2005, Autumn 2005, http://europesworld.org/2005/10/01/assessing-europes-aid-effort/) displays his commitment to his subject of study and critically analyses the EU’s aid policy and programme. In sum, Hoebink remains a veracious researcher and author on the present subject of study.

The development cooperation policy and the strategy of the EU in this regard are studied in detail by a number of scholars. Andrew Mold (ed.) in his edited volume titled, EU Development Policy in a Changing World: Challenges for 21st Century (Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2007) deals fundamentally with the evolution of EU development policy, both in the context of the changes in the global political environment and within the EU itself. As the subtitle of the book suggests, the broad focus is on long-term strategic questions such as: How has the EU's expansion to the east been affecting political and economic relations with the developing world? In the post-9/11 world, security concerns have come to play an increasingly dominant role? How will the EU make its security policy compatible with its development policy? Can the EU design a coherent approach to developing countries or will its other interests, such as protectionism in agriculture or its neighborhood policy, constrain its development policy? and What would a 'development-friendly' trade policy look like?

This edited book by Mold provides a critical overview of the increasingly complex interactions between the EU and developing countries. Its diverse chapters focus in the main on the impacts of the enlargement of the EU on development policy. The book then goes on to analyse specific developments related to the various regions that the EU engages with. Read as a whole, this broadly critical book highlights how both internal and external pressures make it difficult for the EU to achieve the kind of effective and coherent approach outlined in the European Consensus of 2005. Mold’s
concluding essay remains a masterpiece on the European development policy and practice for its penchant criticism and forthright conclusions.

Karin Arts and Anna K. Dickson’s work on *EU development cooperation: from model to symbol?* (Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 2004) and particularly, contends that, taken as a whole, changes over the period represent a substantive change in the nature of EU development cooperation. That change is characterised as a move from a policy which was, certainly in 1975, unique and held up as a model for the future of North–South relations, to a policy which is neither unique nor successful. More specifically, the contention here is that development cooperation policy in relation to the ACP has become a symbolic gesture from the EU, primarily useful to demonstrate its breadth of commitment to, and relationship with, the South. In so doing it seeks to enhance its perceived role as an important international actor. The central question addressed in this book is: why does the EU still maintain its development policy? This work also deals with various external and internal factors which have significantly influenced EU development policy, and have directed changes in scope and coverage of that policy.

Enzo Grilli, a World Bank economist, published a much cited volume titled *The European Community and the Developing Countries* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), which examines Europe’s relationship with the developing world from a historical, comparative and thematic perspective. Grilli was critical of the ad hoc approach to development which led the EU to have close ties with Africa but not India or China, or even Eastern Europe. For Grilli, development policy seemed to be more the result of chance than of design: ‘apart from the top preference reserved for Africa, who got what, when and why among the other developing countries never had a clear and consistent rationale’ (1993: 337).

The studies that are brought together in Wil Hout’s edited volume titled *EU Development Policy and Poverty Reduction: Enhancing Effectiveness* (Ashgate, Hampshire, 2007) relate to the emphasis in contemporary development cooperation policies on poverty reduction. More specifically, the studies focus on various aspects that are central to the development cooperation policy of the European Community. The studies reported in this book were all supported under a research programme funded by the U.K.’s Department for International Development (DFID). The research programme was initiated in the light of DFID’s development objectives with regard to the European Community, which were ‘to maximise the contribution of
the European Community’s development programmes to the international poverty eradication strategy, and in particular to the target of reducing by half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. The study introduces some of the main themes in contemporary development cooperation.

Marjorie Lister, who has been writing on the EU’s relations with the developing countries and the European development cooperation policy for many years, published two volumes entitled *The European Community and the Developing World* (Brookfield USA: Avebury, 1988) and *The European Union and the South* (Routledge, London, 1997). While the first work was a critical appraisal of the Community’s development activities in the developing world, in the second book Lister argues that Europe could play an important role as champion of the South. From her perspective the long institutional relationship between Europe and most of the developing world, and Africa in particular, makes the Community an ideal partner for, and defender of, the South. Furthermore, this role would provide an appropriate complement to the integration process, she surmises.

In his book entitled *The European Union and the Third World* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), Martin Holland seeks to answer the question of whether the EU plays a distinct role in development policy. He does this through an examination of Europe’s relationship with different regions and by interrogating the explanatory potential of different integration theories. As a sequel to this work, Holland in the company of Matthew Doidge brought out another volume titled *Development Policy of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), which begins with a theoretical discourse and surveys recent academic debates on development issues before moving on to address the legacy issues and core policy areas. There are few chapters looking at area specific interests, particularly Latin America and Asia. Africa is dealt with in the last chapter within the context of the MDGs and recent prioritisation agenda. This book is a comprehensive engagement with regions that are most affected by the EU’s global agency.

Doidge and Holland’s book is important in that it gives a comprehensive overview of reasons for the limitation of the policy over the past twelve years and more. Building on earlier work they break down the framework of the Union’s external relations and update the policy changes that have come into effect for developing country relations in recent years. While taking an analytical view of the Cotonou process, the book takes on the vexed questions of the implications of the
global recession, the ‘Everything but Arms’ initiative, the EuropeAid network, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the implications of institutional changes within the EU itself under the auspices of the Lisbon Treaty.

In their working paper on “Do the Poor Matter? A Comparative Study of European Aid for Poverty Reduction in India”, (Overseas Development Institute, Working Paper 124, London, March 2000), Aidan Cox and others pose a serious question, whether or not the poor matter in European aid to India and maintain that it would appear that they do and that the donors’ strategies are having an increasing impact on poverty reduction. However, the more detailed discussion of EU donors’ aid in the study does reveal that the overall positive picture is potentially misleading in a number of aspects. Today, there remain many problems and the changes and improvements achieved up to date are far from being secure for the future. The case remains that while the poor do matter, they do not matter enough. The scholars argue that to secure better poverty reduction the EU donors must continue with the changes introduced in the 1990s and pursue further improvements in management and organisation, further innovation in approaches and methodologies, and make far greater attempts at inter-donor and bilateral cooperation and coordination.

The assertion of Aidan Cox and others that poverty rarely goes away and even if one achieve changes for the better in both absolute and relative terms, the processes that give rise to poverty have the habit of surviving with the poor being reconstituted in new forms and with new problems, poses a real challenge to those who claim to achieve poverty reduction and its eventual eradication in foreseeable time.

Martin Rudner’s article titled European Community Development Assistance to Asia: Policies, Programs and Performance, (Modern Asian Studies, vol. 26, no. 1, 1992, pp. 1-29) traces the history of the European development cooperation policy and its practice with the ACP and ALA countries. After a careful and thorough analysis of the development cooperation policies and programmes of the European Community, Rudner evaluates the performance and outcome.

William Easterly, who have spent many years as a Planner while working as an economist for the World Bank, in his book titled The White Man’s Burden: Why the West’s Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good, (New York:The Penguin Press, 2006), answers to the question that he raises in the subtitle to the effect that the Western interventions in poor countries on the name
of development projects have been driven by Planners, who pursue utopian goals, design global blueprints, and implement them with little local knowledge or feedback from the intended beneficiaries. Easterly is categorical in pointing out that since the Planners dominate and drive the western development policy and programme, accountability for achieving real benefits is lacking, thereby resulting in too little good while causing so much ill. Easterly finds fault with the institutional features and structures of the aid establishment which leaves the purse strings in the hands of the politicians and their constituencies of the rich countries, who have little knowledge of the poor, rather than in that of the poor, whose interests these agencies are expected to serve. In their ignorance of real world situations and/or due to their blind, single-minded pursuit of self-interest, the former treat numbers of reports written, summits organized, and dollars/Euros spent as if they were indicators of ultimate success. At worst, they fail to hold the international aid establishment accountable for real impact and visible result, Easterly points out.

Easterly scoffs at high-profile efforts to set development goals, such as the United Nation’s declaration of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as ‘utopian blueprints’ and Jeffrey Sachs’ related call to bring about *The End of Poverty* (2005), and even makes the more general claim that goals are “counterproductive for implementation”. He goes to the extent of exhorting the activists to “change your issue from raising more aid money to making sure that the aid money reaches the poor”. According to him, problems faced by the developing world and the inadequate response of the developed world to them, are deeply rooted in the West’s misconceptualisation of the rest.

Dambisa Moyo’s work, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*, (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2009), is a scathing frontal attack on the aid programme of the developed world which she terms as ‘Dead Aid’. She raises the most inconvenient question to the proponents of aid to answer: Why do the majority of sub-Saharan countries ‘flounder in a seemingly never-ending cycle of corruption, disease, poverty, and aid-dependency’, despite the fact that their countries have received more than US$300 billion in development assistance since 1970? She is categorical in maintaining out that African countries are poor precisely *because* of all that aid. Reality is that aid has helped make the poor poorer, and growth slower, she argues. In Moyo's startling words: 'Aid has been, and continues to be, an unmitigated political, economic, and humanitarian disaster for
most parts of the developing world.' As pointed out by Todd Moss, ("Dambisa Moyo's (Serious) Challenge to the Development Business", (Center for Global Development, April 2009), Moyo’s most useful contribution is to highlight the fact that “the aid system imposes real costs on recipient countries”. Many economists now acknowledge the negative macroeconomic effects of aid, such as, appreciation in the exchange rate, which undermines exports and makes it harder for countries to grow out of poverty.

**Aiding and Abetting: Foreign aid failures and the 0.7% deception**, authored by Jonathan Foreman, (London: Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2012) is a critical appraisal of the European development cooperation programme in general and the British international aid programme in particular. Foreman is forthright in his attack on the foreign aid which, according to him, abet the crimes and misrule perpetrated by the Third World military dictators and authoritarian governments, who rob their own subjects as well as the funding agencies. He was unequivocal when he mentions that the real beneficiaries of overseas aid have not been the world’s poorest people but the third world tyrants and ruling élites, Swiss bankers, European and American agribusiness, Paris couturiers, and the aid industry itself. According to him, the target that was set to the developed world that it should offer at least 0.7 per cent of its Grass National Income as aid to the developing countries is meaningless, symbolic and just a deception. He argues that countries like India should not be provided with development assistance since they are proved to be spendthrifts and wasting their money on space missions and nuclear programmes, while millions of their citizens are starving and directionless.

APRODEV, an association of European non-governmental organisations which are against oppressive trade regimes perpetuated by the developed countries, and several such NGOs like Christian Aid, Oxfam, WIDE, *Alliance Sud*, have occasionally organized protest against them and periodically brings out reports highlighting the economic offences committed by the developed countries on the developing and least-developed countries. One such report authored by John Madeley and Clive Robinson, *Brussels’ blind spot - the lack of coherence between poverty eradication and the European Union's other policies*, (APRODEV, October 1999) clearly brings out the evil impact of the European policy incoherence on the development in the African countries. Another report titled, *European Union Development Co-Operation Policies. Between Intentions and Reality: the Issue of*
Coherence, (APRODEV, 2001), analyses the issue of coherence which evades the European development cooperation policies in reality in spite of the best intends and intentions of the European institutions due to dominance of neo-realist and neo-liberalist policies in the European nationalist policies.

Significance of the Study

As mentioned earlier, the year 2015 is declared as the ‘Year of Development’ by the European Union and as such, 2015 is not only the time to celebrate but also to take stock of the situation in regard to the European development cooperation policy and programme, its successes and failures and to explore the ways and means through which it can be improved so as to achieve better results. The present work exactly attempts to do that.

Martin Holland opines that the European development policy is an undervalued and under-researched aspect of EU activity and in the academic literature it gains “only spasmodic attention,… in contrast to the analysis of most other EU policy sectors”. ¹⁵ However, of late series of serious research work is being done by European and non-European scholars in the field and the publications listed in the bibliography vouchsafe to this fact. Again, many Indian and the European scholars have explored different aspects of the India-EU relations in general. Still, no specific work is attempted on the India-EU development cooperation so far. Thus, the present study makes an effort to fulfill this gap and to explore and evaluate the relations between the India and EU in theis sphere. It is also making an earnest effort to throw light on the European development policy and programme, which needs some fine-tuning to achieve the desired goals.

Objectives:

Main objectives of the present study are:

- To trace the evolution and operationalization of European development cooperation policy.
- To evaluate the quality and effectiveness of the DCP and to ascertain how far the policy correlates with practice and rhetoric with reality.
- To explore the extent of achievement of policy coherence.

• To analyse the impact of DCP as a foreign and security policy tool on achieving development policy goals.
• To examine and evaluate the present trend in development cooperation between India and EU.

Hypotheses:
• European DCP which was influenced earlier by historical and regional factors is now governed by foreign political, security and trade interests.
• EU’s Development Cooperation assistance managed by the Commission is preferable since the latter is correctly regarded as a neutral development player.
• Impacts of the EU Development Cooperation policy and programme on the developing countries are mixed.
• Higher the achievement of policy coherence, more efficient and effective is the development cooperation.
• Higher the possibility of achieving the development objectives lesser the DCP is used as foreign and security policy tool.

Methodology:

The study is qualitative as well as quantitative and explorative in nature. It attempts to study and analyse the development cooperation policy perception and practice of the EU taking India-EU development cooperation as a case. The primary data includes EU Development Cooperation Policy statements and declarations; European Commission Records; European Parliament Resolutions; Communications between and among different European Institutions, Press releases, and Official Journal of the European Union. The European Commission started publishing the Country Strategy Papers on partner countries and two such papers covering 2002-2006 and 2007-2013, remain the basis of India-EU development cooperation. Periodically the Commission brought out Evaluation Report of EC Support to India, which studied the development aid and its outcome, suggesting ways and means to make aid effective and productive. Publications of the Delegation of the European Commission to India, New Delhi remain an indispensable source for studying India-EU Relations on all aspects, including development cooperation.
Records of the Ministries of External Affairs and Commerce, Government of India, and Parliamentary debates throw much light on different aspects of India-EU Relations. National Indicative Programme 2007-2013, which the Government of India brought out in response to the Country Strategy Paper (2007-2013) published by the Commission, presents the Indian point of view. Periodical Joint Statements, especially following the India-EU summit meetings of the leaders of both sides and following their visits to each other’s country clearly brings out the trend in India-EU or India-Member States relations.

Reports of the UN and its specialized agencies like Food and Agricultural Organisation, United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, United Nations Committee on Trade and Development throw light on the Indian economic scenario from a neutral point of view. Reports periodically brought out by Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Development Assistance Committee (DAC), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and Asian Development Bank become indispensable sources on EU development cooperation policy and programme as well as India economic development. Reports, Working Papers and Policy Brief published by the European Non-Governmental Organisations working on development issues like Christian Aid, Oxfam, WIDE and their associations like APRODEV offer a critical perspective of the European development cooperation assistance and its impact.

The secondary data comprises published books, journal articles, reports, monographs and policy papers published by globally-renowned Think-tanks in Europe and India related to India-EU Development Cooperation partnership. Publications, which are critical of the development cooperation and foreign aid policies and programmes of the west with the developing world in general and with India in particular, are of great interest for the present subject of study. The data thus collected has been analyzed and the resultant observations, facts and findings are interpreted to arrive at a logical conclusion suggesting the trends of the evolving scenario.

**Limitation of the Study:**

The present study concentrates on the development cooperation between India and the EU and as such other aspects of relations between the two powers are not
covered. Moreover, the development cooperation between India and the member states of the Union is also kept out the purview of the study.

Chapterisation:

Chapter I – Introduction

The introductory chapter deals with various dimensions, types and theories of development. The circumstances that led to the declaration of the ‘Right to Development’ in the year 1986, through which development has been accepted as human rights of the people and countries of ‘developing world’ and consequently the responsibility of the ‘developed World’ to assist and cooperate with the former in achieving development and the reaction of latter to this predicament are thoroughly analysed. It also introduces the subject of study and reviews the work done so far in this area. The statement of the problem, objectives, hypotheses, methodology adopted, limitation of the present research work and chapterisation scheme too form part of this chapter.

Chapter II – European Development Cooperation Policy in Perception

The second chapter deals with the perception of the EU’s development cooperation policy. It includes the historical evolution, objectives and mechanism of the development cooperation policy and programme and how the Union is using development cooperation as an instrument for promoting and maintaining democracy, human rights and rule of law in ‘third’ countries. Finally, the strengths and weaknesses of the EU’s policy of development cooperation is evaluated.

Chapter III - European Development Cooperation Policy in Action

EU is a global actor and normative power and the Union and the Member states provide 55 per cent of the total Official Development Assistance. EU is the largest multilateral donor/purveyor of development cooperation aid and accounts for well over half of international aid transferred from the developed to the developing world. European Community Humanitarian Office provides more than 25 percent of all humanitarian assistance. EU member states’ combined efforts contribute a further 25 percent. EU as a whole provides more than half the world’s emergency aid. It intends to be an agent of change and involves in programmes like Aid for Trade
aimed at assisting the developing countries to enhance their inherent capacities to achieve the desired goals. However, the Union is not ready to offer free and fair trade conditions to ACP and ALA countries. The present chapter thus deals with the gap between the perception and practice of the EU development cooperation policy and programme.

Chapter IV – Major Issues of European Development Cooperation

The issue of coherence and incoherence in the development cooperation policy and practice has become a serious one since it has led to lesser success of the EU in its development strategy. It was found that there was incoherence, inconsistency and less coordination between the European DCP and its other policies, and between the European Commission and the member states in their policies and programmes.

Yet another issue which has attracted the attention of the practitioners as well as the scholars of the European DCP is the attempt to Europeanise the development cooperation policy and programme and the counter efforts of the member states to denounce, ridicule and resist such efforts. These important aspects are the subject of study and analysis of the present chapter.

Chapter V - India – EU Development Cooperation Partnership

The EU’s development cooperation with India has a track record, spanning several decades. India is one among the top ten recipient countries of the EU development assistance. The Cooperation Agreement of 1994 opened the door for broad political dialogue between India and the EU. The India-EU Strategic Partnership of 2004 enabled the partners to address the international issues in the context of globalization. To strengthen the Strategic Partnership, a Joint Action Plan, with common objectives and wide range of supporting activities in the areas of political, economic, and development cooperation, was chalked out. The main objective of the India-EU Cooperation Programme is to contribute towards India’s achievement of the Millennium Development Goals within a stipulated time frame. The present chapter covers the entire spectrum of India-EU development cooperation partnership, its successes and shortcomings and what needs to be done to better its prospects.
Chapter VI – Conclusion:

The concluding chapter summarises the findings of the study and attempts to offer some suggestions and policy inputs so as to make the EU development cooperation policy and programme to achieve its avowed goals. It also offers some suggestions for the Indian development administration to take full benefit of the development assistance from the EU.