

**RESEARCH PAPER****A Discussion on Some Special Issues of Defence Cooperation of India with Germany and Italy****Rakesh Kumar**

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Email: aryaraaz.defence1981@gmail.comReceived: 20th July 2017, Revised: 30th August 2017, Accepted: 8th September 2017**ABSTRACT**

As we have noted earlier, India made sustained effort in the nineties to reach out to Europe, and more particularly to UK, Germany and France. Germany was important to India as a trading partner, as a supplier of technology, as a central state within the fast-emerging European Economic Community and now developing into the European Union. Germany and India shared fundamental political beliefs of democracy and rule of law, even though there were differences of perception about nuclear non-proliferation and human rights and slightly contentious issues of intellectual property rights and complaints about bureaucratic delays, despite the economic reform policy being pursued by the Indian government. Nevertheless, India's economic reforms had elicited a great deal of interest both in the German official and business world.

Key words: *Deference Cooperation, European Economic Community, Germany, Italy*

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Among the first countries that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao headed for in Europe was Germany. Germany was the second largest official donor of concessional assistance to India. Trade with Germany had been rising and stood at a healthy DM5 billion by the turn of the eighties as against DM2 billion at its beginning. It stood fourth in the destination for Indian exports, and first among the ECC countries. Even the heavy deficit in India's trade with Bonn had come down by 32 percent by 1990. But there were certain disquieting aspects too. Indian goods were still not competitive enough, troubled by low technology, low value-added and high cost of industrial raw materials.

Rao received a very cooperative welcome from the German government, with a DM400 million pledge of concessional aid for the current year 1991-92 (almost the same for the previous year) and a categorical statement from Chancellor Helmut Kohl that his country would "remain fully committed to our development cooperation with India" despite its heavy commitments elsewhere (in what was East Germany earlier in particular). Most of the assistance was for the fast disbursement track. Kohl praised India's efforts at the modernization of its economy and Rao took the opportunity to explain to the government leaders as well as to German businessmen India's policies of reform and deregulation. One concrete result was the establishment of an Indo-German Consultative Group. While on his way back, Rao told newsmen that he expected Germany to be more forthcoming in economic cooperation with India as a result of his visit.

Soon afterwards the Indo-German joint commission, attended by the German Minister for Economic Affairs, Jurgen Moelleman, met in New Delhi and the joint statement spoke of the German appreciation of the need to accelerate the flow of capital and investment from the developed countries to India. The German delegation reiterated its country's commitment to support India bilaterally as well as in the international fora in India's efforts to revitalize its economy. Of course between good intentions and their implementation there was still considerable distance. Germany was feeling the pinch of its own constraints, the slowdown in the economy and the outflow of funds for the rehabilitation of the eastern half.

Nevertheless Germany continued to be a major economic partner of India. German bilateral aid to India had substantially increased in 1991, "reaching an all-time record of Rs. 734 crore". Bonn's bilateral aid in 1992 was now stated to be of the order of Rs. 743 crore in addition to Rs. 575 crore

being committed through multilateral institutions like the World Bank, IDA, Asian Development Bank, UN bodies and the European Community.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl was the recipient of the 1990 Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding which he came to receive in February 1993, the visit scheduled for 1992 having had to be postponed because of the pressing domestic problems. Kohl donated the award money to a non-official project of Indo-German cooperation- the Health Care Centre in Howrah. The visit provided a significant opportunity for deepening the economic cooperation between the two countries. As such there were hardly any troublesome political problems between Indian and Germany. There were necessarily some differences of perception on some global issues, but not of a kind to have any direct bearing on their ties. Chief of these perceptual differences related to the issue of the NPT. Bonn supported it Kohl again urged India to sign it which would, he said, help future Indo-German cooperation. However, as he himself made it clear at a press conference subsequently, India's opposition to the NPT would have no impact on Indo-German relations. The issue, in his view, could have different dimensions in one region than in another and he had every reason to respect India's views. Nevertheless efforts needed to be made to eliminate New Delhi's reservations.

Germany was also not prepossessed with the India-Pakistan syndrome and showed no intention of equating the two. Kohl made it apparent that the German standpoint would be to whole-heartedly support the efforts to peace fully overcome the "antagonism" in Indo-Pak relations. The thrust of the German approach to India was centred on economic cooperation as was evident from the large business delegation that he brought with him. The German industrialists, Kohl suggested to his Indian hosts, would on their return prepared a summary of what they considered to be specific priorities which needed to be acted upon in a ten-month period. The achievements under the list of priorities needed to be monitored to ensure implementation.

Addressing a joint meeting of the Indian and German businessmen the German Chancellor held out the promise of deepening Indo-German economic ties. He had drawn up an agenda with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, he said, for dealing with problem areas between the two countries during the next twelve months and a review would be made at the end of which the Indian Prime Minister would be visiting Germany. He mentioned red-tapism (bureaucratic hurdles in other words) as an obstacle to be removed.

As Kohl had mentioned during his visit Narasimha Rao did go to Germany a year later in this ongoing process of strengthening Indo-German cooperation. The visit, his second in three years, took place in the context of a new Asia policy adopted by the German government. The seventeen-page document, "Concept on Asia" pointed to the Asia-Pacific region for excellent prospects in the twenty-first century and affirmed that an active policy towards Asia and the Pacific would be in the political and economic interests of Germany. It mentioned China, Japan and India as major political powers of the region, foreseeing a similar status for Indonesia and Korea in the near future, and pinpointing Asian as the best functioning regional organization. India was also mentioned among the countries which could be among Germany's "foremost partners" in the future.

Narasimha Rao extended India's full support to the new Asia Policy of the German government and Kohl responded by affirming that India with its political stability would be a "focus" for Germany. The two leaders agreed to have a continuous political dialogue and sort out all legal and procedural difficulties coming in the way of a closer bilateral economic relationship. They acknowledged that a double taxation avoidance agreement and an extradition treaty would be major steps towards realization of the Asia policy concept. They also agreed on the establishment of a high-level Indo-German commission for science and technology. With all the bonhomie, there were a number of issues that had to be addressed in Germany the concern with issues like human rights environmental degradation and child labour had risen enormously. They became public issues as elections were due both for parliament and provincial assemblies. The ruling party necessarily had to be more responsible in its responses.

At a breakfast meeting with the Indian Prime Minister, the Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, Dr. R. Venkaiah Reddy, raised the issue of human rights in an accusing finger against India. Rao gave him a briefing on the Kashmir situation, pointing to the strident statements of Benazir Bhutto, and the terrorism exported from the neighboring country, and expressed his willingness to put aside the

contentious issues for the time being and move forward towards cooperation in other areas as India had done with China. India needed Germany's help in then Human Rights Commission where Pakistan was poised for a major attack on India. It was significant that Bonn did not raise the issue of the NPT during the Indian Prime Minister's visit, but there were a number of other issues that needed attention. Kinkel requested Rao for further expansion of Lufthansa airline services to India and permission for a direct Lufthansa flight to Madras. Rao promised to look into the request. Moreover the German industry had prepared a memorandum after Kohl's visit that was sent by the German Chancellor to the Indian Prime Minister. Kohl confirmed that the Indian reply had been received and that it was being examined by the relevant association of German industry. Some of the demands made by German industry appeared to be rather unreasonable. They wanted changes in the Industrial Disputes Act and faster introduction of product patents, both of which had larger implications and could not be amended in an ad hoc manner to suit the interest of individual investors. They also invoked the environment issue in demanding certain norms for certain packaging and raw material content.

On the heels of Narasimha Rao's visit, India and Germany signed a financial cooperation protocol by which Bonn undertook to provide concessional loans and grants totaling Rs 760 crore (DM380 million) for a number of projects and programmes, including Rourkela modernization, expansion of the Neyveli lignite mining project, promotion of rural small-scale business, purchase of fertilizers from Germany, and co-financing of a financial sector-related adjustment programme. The programmes to be financed by grants included a primary health project in Maharashtra, a social marketing programme, a low-cost housing programme for lower income groups and rural water expansion programme in Rajasthan. The aid package of DM380 million comprised a concessional loan component of DM230 million and the rest was in the form of grants. The loans carried an interest rate of 0.75 per cent annum, repayable over forty years with a grace period of ten years and were earmarked for specific projects. The visiting German Economic Cooperation Minister, C.D. Spranger explained the enhanced importance of India in Germany's new Asia policy concept. He had brought with him a large number of distinguished journalists to explain to the German people the purpose of development cooperation with India. The aid was later set at Rs 920 crore (DM460 million), of which a little less than Rs. 500 crore constituted a soft loan, when Kinkel visited India in July 1994 accompanied by twenty-two top German businessmen. The German Foreign Minister spoke of the "increasing economic interlinking" between the two countries. Hereiterated that German foreign policy was giving "major attention" to India because of the significant role that could be played by the latter in the Asia-Pacific region. The (by now) sixteen-nation European Union, of which Germany was the current president, had also been asked to accord a similar treatment to India. Although Indian exports to Germany had increased by 22 per cent in 1993 there was enormous potential to augment it, he added.

Responding to questions on the Kashmir issue, Germany was strongly opposed, he said, to outside mediation for resolving the issue and supported a solution through a dialogue between India and Pakistan without internationalizing the matter. Tension between India and Pakistan was a cause of worry to the world community and Germany wished to see the resumption of the Indo-Pak dialogue and the acceleration of the conciliation process. Using the opportunity of the Kinkel visit India conveyed to the German side its concern over Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear technology and materials able to reach nuclear-weapon capability after acquiring technology and components from several countries, including Germany. The German side clarified that it was conscious of the matter and strongly disapproved of such private dealt and that the government had taken strong action against the German firms involved in such illegal transfer of materials and technology to Pakistan.

For his part Kinkel urged India to help resolve the problem of some 10,000 Indian illegal immigrants in Germany who were refusing to leave. The German side also suggested an investment promotion agreement and a revised double taxation avoidance agreement to boost investment and cooperation. It was decided to activate the Indo-German consultative group to handle the various economic issues. The group was supposed to provide a fast-track route for issues to be discussed by the heads of government of the two sides. The security relations between republic at India and the Federal Republic of Germany have been dynamic due to strong and vibrant cooperation at the

commercial, culture and at strategic fronts. India and Germany relations date back to the time of pre-independence, when Hitler openly backed radical leader Subhash Chandra Bose in forming the Indian National Army to fight the British. At present, both countries have established joint research and development in the areas of energy, environment, coal and water technologies. Germany has been very forth coming in terms of backing India in terms of education and cultural development. Institutions like say, Indian Institute of Technology, Madras have been formed in close collaboration with the German government in 1956. In fact been supporting in the growth and expansion of the institute in a major way.

In 2007-2008, the Indo-German trade stood at 12:07 billion Euros and it is projected to cross 30 billion Euros in 2010. No wonder, Germany has emerged as India's largest trading partner. German import from India primarily consist of cotton garment and fabrics, leather and leather goods, silk fabrics, chemical and pharmaceutical products and garment and carpets drugs as well as precious stone. India's chemical exports have been clocking strong growth in the past two years. German exports to India particularly comprises of machinery, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, electro technical goods, vehicles and iron and steel. New Delhi, 6th December, 2010 German Ambassador Thomas Matussek told that, among other things expanding defence trade ties would be one of the key focus areas including transfer of technology in joint production of military hardware for third-party sale in future.

German and European firms are eyeing multi-billion dollar India defence project that include a \$ 10 billion jet fighter contract, another worth \$ 600 million for 187 light combat helicopters for the Indian Army, for six mid-air re-fueller aircraft \$ 2 billion, and for six submarines worth \$11 billion. In this way German offers technology transfer on a broader scale. The EUMA allows the selling party to periodically carry out an inspection and inventory of all articles transferred to India. Germany wanted to develop military hardware, together with India also for later on sale to third countries. Germany's Euro fighter is a bladder for the 126 Medium multi-role combat Aircraft (MMRCA) together with three Euro peah partner namely Britain. The against the US FIA-18 super hornet and F-16 in super viper, sweden'sgripen, France's Rafael and Russia's MIG-35 to win the India Air force's \$10.2 billion project.

Another contract a European firms is light combat helicopters for the Indian Army. The helicopter contract for lifting supplies for troops stationed at high altitudes is worth \$600 million. The Airbus crop, the subsidiary of a pan European Aerospace Cooperation, European defence and apau accompany, is bidding for re-fulellers. Another key area of defence cooperation, are submarines. India is planning to spend Rs. 50000 crore (\$11 billion) to build six submarines. So Germany's howaldts wreke-Deutchewerftis contending for the project, both sides would also discuss enlarging the scope of the India-Germany strategic dialogue on key global issues like UN reforms, the international financial crisis, counter terrorism, non-proliferation and climate change. When the Indian PM Dr. Manmohan Singh met German chancellor Amngela Merkel after the eleventh Indo-ex summit held in Berlin said that India and Germany are exploring the possibilities of a civil nuclear commerce partnership to take forward their strategic ties. We deeply value Germany's consistent support, including in the nuclear supplier group, for the opening of international commerce for India in the field of civil nuclear energy. We have discussed the possibilities of entering into bilateral cooperation in civil nuclear energy. We also focused on promoting cooperation in the area of renewable energy and efficiency.

As of 2011, Germany and India will be continuing to deepen their partnership. Among other things, both states want to use their membership on the United Nations (UN) Security Council in 2011 and 2012 to work together more closely in the resolution of international crises and to press ahead with their call for a permanent seat on the highest UN body. 2011 will be a special year in German-Indian Cooperation. Since both countries will be celebrating the 60th anniversary of their bilateral diplomatic relations. To mark the occasion, Germany will be organizing a year of Germany in India from autumn 2011 to out UMN 2012 under the motto "Germany and India- Infinite opportunities. This will be followed by a year of India in Germany. In India, Germany will be presenting an extensive programme in the areas of politics, economics, culture, science and education. Both countries committed to need for close cooperation on questions of climate change global disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. Germany is making a concerted effort to achieve the

goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. Similarly Germany appreciated India's commitment in the field of nuclear disarmament. The Federal Foreign minister is keen to draw India, which has not acceded to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, yet closer to the international disarmament regime. He again said that India could be prepared to sign its entry into force would be a crucial first step towards Global Zero, the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons.

12 October 2010, India and Germany were elected non-permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. From 1 January 2011, the two countries will for two year take their seats around the table. Where the agenda will also include resolving regional conflicts. Aero India 2011, the 8th International Exhibition on aerospace, defence and civil aviation, will witness 2 strong presences of German aerospace companies. A total of 17 German Aerospace Industries Association (BDLI) member companies will be present at the German pavilion. India and Germany share a strategic partnership in the field of defence. In 2006, the two sides signed a memorandum of understanding that provides for the establishment of three bilateral working groups. The first group focuses on strategic and policy matter on military issues. The second group deals with military cooperation between the armed force of both countries and the third group covers defence technology and defence business cooperation, as well as the exchange of information on armament and procurement projects and on defence research and development technology.

INDIA AND ITALY RELATIONS

With India's defence relation with Russia, a one-time trusted ally running into rough weather over the Russian insistence on a higher price tag for its defence hardware as well as the tough time New Delhi has had in getting timely supply of reliable spares and components from this former communist giant, the country has been on the outlook for alternate supply sources for defence hardware and allied services. In particular, India's defence establishment is quite disturbed over the cost escalation and delay in retrofitting the aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov now known as INS Chandra Gupta.

Though the USA has been 'over eager' to enter the action-packed, lucrative Indian defence market in a big way. The Indian defence set-up has been treading cautiously in so far as clinching defence deal with American defence contractors are concerned. Given the deeply rooted penchant of the American political leadership cutting across the ideological barriers to come out with sanctions and trade embargos, plainly implying the annulment of the arrangement for the supply of 'spares and service' at the most critical juncture. In this above mentioned environment, it is best to diversify the supplier base and enter into technological collaboration with the best in different fields because we always face the risk of resumption of sanction. Against such a backdrop, India has been increasingly leaning towards Israel and Italy. It is a tribute to the smooth running of the Indo-Italian defence ties that Italy has proposed that the two countries join hand for research and development in defence production. Incidentally, in 2003, India and Italy had signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on the transfer of defence industrial cooperation.

Both the Italian defence industry and India's military established are convinced the marriage of Italian expertise in the area of high tech weapon system with India's human resources skill make for a win-win combination. Moreover, the prevailing EU defence embargo against China implies that Italy would need to turn to India to promote its defence hardware and services. For India is looking at spending around US\$ 50 billion over the next five years as part of an ambitious exercise modernize and upgrade its military machine which till recently was dependent on the Soviets and Russia weapon systems. Earlier this year, the India navy also clinched an Rs 13,000 million deal with Italy for new fleet tanks. This tanker is delivered by around 2010 would boost the country's naval fleets endurance in high seas by a substantial extent. On the other front, the Italian FREMA stealth frigate is in the race for grabbing an Rs. 30,000 order for 7 warships for the use of Indian navy. Additionally the Italian company is also in the reckoning to supply 6 advanced offshore patrol vehicles to the Indian navy and coast guard.

Italy had already supplied an advanced oceanographic survey ship to the Indian ministry of science and technology. No wonder then that Italy considers India to be a priority country. Meanwhile, Italy is also looking to bag a lucrative Indian order to supply of 12 AW-101 WIP helicopters for use by the president and prime minister. Each of these helicopters carrying a price tag of Rs. 1100

million will be adequately augmented with advanced communications systems and self protection devices. Indeed, the Indian Air Force (IAF) has been impressed by the performance of this triple engine Italian chopper, AW101 during its extensive field trials. Everything going as planned, India and Italy are likely to sign this multi-million dollar contract some time before the end of this year. According to the defence experts this could perhaps be the biggest and most prestigious Italian export to India. Clearly, the acquisition of the WIP chopper could nudge Italian defence firm to expand their presence in the fast growing defence aerospace market of India. The Italian NH-90 helicopter too is aspiring to get the order for 16 anti-submarine warfare choppers for the use of Indian Navy. Further, this Italian firm is in the race to provide 13 ATR turboprop maritime patrol aircraft to the Indian navy and the coast guard. Keen on getting a possibly bigger share of the Indian defence market, the Italian company has also offered its C-27 J Spartan medium transport aircraft to the BSF under the home ministry.

Significantly, another Italian firm part of the Euro fighter consortium, is making vigorous effort to get the mega India defence order for the supply of 126 medium multi-role fighter aircraft for the IAE. Depending upon the type of aircraft and the armament suit it carries, the value of this order is expected to touch US\$ 10 billion. It has invited India to "become a member of successful Euro fighter family" with the offer to allow it free access to all future technology enhancement featuring futuristic technological elements. In the ultimate, Italy has been slowly but surely emerging as India's trusted defence partners. According to SIPRI Arms Transfer data base 1998-2007. Italy occupies 12th place among the countries that make available defence hardware and military services to India-and the sky is the limit.

RELATIONS OF INDIA AND EUROPEAN UNION

Europe has been never so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history. The creation of the European Union has central to this development. It has transformed the relation between our states, and the lives of our citizens. European countries are committed to dealing peacefully with disputes and to co-operating through common institutions. Over this period, the progressive spread of the rule of law and democracy has seen authoritarian regimes change into secure, stable and dynamic democracies. Successive enlargements are making a reality of the vision of a united and peaceful continent.

The USA has played a critical role in the integration of European Community and also in European security, through NATO. When the Cold War has left, the United States in a dominant position as a military actor. It is also fact that, no single country is able to handle today's complex problems on its own ability. European Community still faces security threats and challenges. Arises of conflict in the Balkans sector of Europe was a reminder that war has not disappeared from European continent. In the last decade, no region of the world has been untouched by armed conflict. Most of these conflicts have been within rather than between states, and most the victims have been civilians.

THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT: GLOBAL CHALLENGES

The post cold war environment is one of increasingly open borders in which the internal and external aspects of security are indissolubly interlinked. Spontaneous Flow of trade and investment, the development of technology and the spread of democracy have brought freedom and prosperity to the people. In the other hand globalization have perceived as a cause of frustration and injustice. These developments have also increased the scope for non-state actor to Independence- and so vulnerability- on an interconnected infrastructure transport, energy, information and in the other fields. Since 1990, perhaps more than 4 million people have died in wars, 90 percent of civilians. Over 18 million people world-wide have left their homes due to the result of conflict.

In much of the developing world, poverty and disease cause untold and give rise to oppressing security concerns. Almost 3 billion people, half the world's population, live on less than 2 Euros a day. Due to hunger and malnutrition 45 million die every year. AIDS and DIABETES are now the most devastating pandemics in human history and contribute to the breakdown of societies. Sub-

sharan Africa is poorer now than it was 10 years ago. In Many cases, economic failure is linked of political problems and violent reflect. Security is a precondition of development. All form of Conflict and War not only destroys fundamental structure of society and Nations, including social infrastructure; it also encourages criminality, deters investment and create abnormal environment in economic sector. So a number of countries and regions are caught in a cycle of conflict, insecurity and poverty.

Competition to acquire natural resources– especially for water– which will be aggravated by global warming over the next decades is likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions of the world. It is true that Europe is the world's largest importer of oil and gas. Imports account for about 50 per cent of energy consumption today. It will rise to 70 per cent in 2030, Most of energy imports come from the Gulf region, Russia and North Africa.

TERRORISM:

Terrorism puts lives at risk; it imposes large costs; it seeks to undermine the openness and tolerance of our societies and it poses a growing strategic threat to the whole Europe. Increasingly terrorist movements are well-resourced, connected by electronic networks, and are willing to use unlimited violence to cause massive casualties. The most recent wave of terrorism is global in its scope and is linked to violent religious extremism. It arises out of complex causes. These include the pressures of modernization, cultural, social and political crises, and the alienation of young people living in foreign societies. This phenomenon is also a part of our own society. Europe is both a target and a base for such type of terrorism: European countries are targets and have been attacked. Logistical bases for Al Qaeda cells have been uncovered in the UK, Italy, Germany, Spain and Belgium. Concerted European action is indispensable.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction is potentially the greatest threat to our security. The international treaty regimes and export control arrangements have slowed the spread of WMD and delivery system. We are re now, however, entering a new and dangerous period that raises the possibility of a WMD arms race, especially in the Middle East. Advances in the biological sciences may increase the potency of biological weapons in the coming years; attacks with chemical and radiological materials are also a serious possibility. The spread of missile technology adds a further element of instability and could put Europe at increasing risk.

The most frightening scenario is one in which terrorist groups acquire weapons of mass destruction like.... Hydrogen and Neutron bomb. In this event, a small group would be able to inflict enormous scale of damage for State and armies.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Problems such as those in Kashmir valley, the Great Lakes Region and the Korean Peninsula impact on European interests directly and indirectly, as do conflicts nearer to home, above all in the Middle East. Despite all speculation in the late 90s, it was improbable that India and Pakistan would go to war over Kashmir, over the Muslim minority, over religious issues and other issues that divided the superpowers. If the two countries are able to climb upto the plateau of treaty bound relationship, issues like Kashmir and treatment of Muslims in India will yield to the conflict control mechanism that the treaty will provide. It is not likely that both countries will, for all practical purposes, be able to leave the Kashmir issue behind them. A treaty relationship will relieve the two countries to some extent of the strains their respective bilateral connections with the major powers place on their mutual interactions.

STATE FAILURE

Bad governance– corruption, abuse of power, weak institutions and lack of accountability– and civil conflict corrode States from within. In some cases, this has brought about the collapse of state institutions. Somalia, Liberia and Afghanistan under the Taliban are the best known recent example. Collapse of the State can be associated with obvious threat, such as organized crime or terrorism. State failure is an alarming phenomenon that undermines global governance, and adds to regional instability.

ORGANIZED CRIME

Europe is a prime target for organized crime. This internal threat to our security has important external dimension: cross-border trafficking in drugs, women, illegal migrants and weapons accounts for a large part of the activities of criminal gangs. It can have links with terrorism.

Such criminal activities are often associated with weak or failing states. Revenues from drugs have fuelled the weakening of state structures in several drug-producing countries. Revenues from trade in gemstones, timber and small arms, fuel conflict in other parts of the world. All these activities undermine both the rule of law and social order itself. In extreme cases, organized crime can come to dominate the State. 90 per cent of the heroin in Europe comes from poppies grown in Afghanistan- where the drugs trade pays for private armies. Most of it is distributed through Balkan criminal networks which are also responsible for some 200,000 of the 700,000 women victims of the sex trade worldwide. A new dimension to organized crime which will merit further attention is the growth in maritime piracy.

Taking these different elements together- terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, the weakening of the state system and the privatization of force- we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed

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