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European Union's Soft Power in India: Opportunities & Challenges
Using soft power to tackle international terrorism

Submitted by:

Aditi Tandon

Supervised by:

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Martin Tamcke, University of Göttingen

Dr. Dan Marek, Palacký University Olomouc

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Signature

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Declaration

I, Aditi Tandon, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "European Union's Soft Power in India", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

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Introduction

Soft power, a type of power termed by Harvard academic Joseph Nye, is the "ability to alter the behaviour of others to get what you want"[1]. Opposed to hard power – which is coercion using military force or economic sanctions – soft power is a country's ability to attract others through its culture, political values, foreign policies, institutions and the like. Soft power thus, is a type of power which can be used in the international political arena to affect the behaviour of others and attract them to do what you want them – or as Joseph Nye puts it, it is "the means to success in world politics".[2] Examples of soft power that help a country/region establish a certain image that attracts others are visible all through the world: the Alliance Française and British Council are institutions of national soft power by European Countries, the European values of human rights are attractive for refugees and others in the wider world and even nongovernment-initiated popular culture products like Japanese animation and Hollywood films construct a country's image in the wider world. The key in using soft power is to influence others by gaining voluntary acquiesce and not through coercion or force.[3] In today's times, it significantly features in foreign policy and international relations discussion.

The European Union as bloc is often considered to be a challenger to the U.S. in terms of global influence and often seen as the "next potential superpower"[4]. This provides an interesting case to see how EU's image is constructed in the rest of the world, what are the elements of the EU's soft power and how these elements are used to wield influence.

EU as a bloc of countries has certain values, institutions and policies that constitute it and that are used to promote its image abroad. Some of the main elements of soft power that we can see in the EU include its values like democracy, rule of law and human rights[5], policies like the Schengen agreement which allow travel across Schengen states and the EU itself as a symbol of a united Europe. Non-institutional elements of Europe like its culture and languages[6], also play a role in building Europe's soft power abroad.

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[1] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.
[2] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.
[3] Jean-François Simard, Pierre C.Pahlavi. "Measuring the effects of soft power." *Annual convention of the International Studies Association.* 2008.
[4] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.
[5] European Commission. *The Founding Principles of the Union.*
http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives_en.htm (accessed December 2010).
[6] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.

This paper specifically looks at the EU's soft power in India. Considering India is a growing power on the global stage and EU is a potential superpower, the two regions cannot ignore each other. Currently, India is more influenced by the U.S. while the EU has stronger ties with China and other South East Asian countries. However, with changing global dynamics, there is a need for EU and India to engage in stronger diplomacy. EU must use its soft power to obtain desired cooperation from India on world issues. This step is especially relevant in current times, as India plays an important role in global issues that are a priority for Europe, like climate change, terrorism, labour and trade regulations and involvement in Asia.

Chapters

The thesis consists of an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The introduction gives an outline of soft power and the relevance for EU to build its soft power in India. The first chapter provides a background into the topic, further describing the objective of studying EU's soft power efforts in India in the context of EU-India relations. The research questions that thesis aims to answer will also be stated in this chapter along with the hypothesis, methodology, rationale and limitation. This chapter will hence provide a suitable lead in to the theoretical framework within which this thesis is based. The second chapter deals with the theoretical review of the concept of soft power as defined in various existing literature. It will explore a representative set of academic works dealing with soft power and will also provide a link between soft power and peace-building, which is dealt with later in the thesis. Chapter 3 will look at the practical existence and/or implementation of EU's soft power in India over the years. It will specifically look in to the 1993-2009 period. While European countries worked in cooperation from as far back as the 1940s and 50s[7], the institution of European Union by that name was established in 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht. Post-2009 there has been a new dimension in EU's foreign relations introduced with the Treaty of Lisbon, and hence an enhanced approach towards soft power. There will be two dimensions explored in this chapter: one is the bilateral relations between India and specific EU countries like Germany, France, UK and others which have consistently worked on building soft power in India. The second dimension will be the relations with the EU as a bloc and its united soft power efforts in India. Moving on to the fourth chapter, it analyses the opportunities and

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[7] European Commission. *The history of the European Union.* http://europa.eu/abc/history/index_en.htm (accessed November 2010).

challenges for EU's soft power in India, specifically in areas that make a recurring appearance in ministerial level talks and political dialogues: security and defence issues like international terrorism, climate change, sustainable development and engagement in civil society, education and culture and **primarily focuses on opportunities and challenges in dealing with international terrorism**. The final chapter consists of the conclusion where I will provide closing comments on what has been discussed in the thesis and reiterate my findings for the research statement: Using soft power to deal with international terrorism.

What is Soft Power? – Background

1.1 Soft Power

"Today the real test of power is not capacity to make war but capacity to prevent it." Anne O'Hare McCormick

Soft power is a type of power and before going in to soft power, it is important to understand the concept of power itself. The concept of 'power' is central to international relations. There are various perspectives from which academicians have considered the theory of power, with a common general idea being that power reflects the ability of one entity influencing another entity. [8] This thesis looks at the theory of power over centuries from Thucydides following on to Machiavelli, Michel Foucault, Kautaliya and Robert Dahl whose theory of power of "'A' causing 'B' to do something that B would not have done" is among the most widely accepted theories. Considering this idea of power, there are various angles from which power can be viewed: who wields power, how does one wield power, what are the elements of power and what the purpose of power is. Furthering a multidimensional approach is David A. Baldwin who presents five dimensions of power. Consider 'A' to be one entity that exercises power over second entity 'B'. The dimensions of power then include: scope (aspect of B's behaviour affected by A), domain (number of actors subject to A's influence), weight (probability of B's behaviour being influenced by A), costs (costs on both sides) and means ("ways to influence which could include symbolic means, economic means, military means and diplomatic means").[9] In world politics, considering the entity who wields power, or 'A' in the above case, if we look at state actors, there exists the idea of "superpower". A superpower is defined by the Meriam-Webster dictionary as "an extremely powerful nation; an international governing body able to enforce its will upon the most powerful states". The term "superpower" was coined by American professor William T.R. Fox where he considered United States, Britain and the Soviet Union as the three superpowers. Following that, the term was used during the Cold War where the United States and the Soviet Union were the superpowers of that time. [10] With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the current idea of superpower states is flexible and ranges from defining United States as the sole superpower to a number of potential or emerging superpowers like the European Union, India, China and

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[8] Baldwin, David A. "Power and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, by Beth A. Simmons Walter Carlsnaes, 177-191. Sage Publications, 2002.

[9] Baldwin, David A. "Power and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, by Beth A. Simmons Walter Carlsnaes, 177-191. Sage Publications, 2002.

[10] BBC . *BBC- Student Life - Debate of the Week.*
http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/studentlife/debate/2008/35_superpowers.shtml (accessed January 2011).

Russia. [11] Power however is not just something exercised by governments of superpowers. Other than state actors there are non-state institutions, nonprofits and others that are further the cause of soft power, in their own way. Further, it is of interest to note **how** this influence is exercised. One of the most-discussed ways to wield power today's global political scenario are hard and soft power. One of the foremost proponents of the concept of soft power, Joseph S. Nye, describes soft power as a tool used by countries to "obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it."[12] In contrast, is hard power, involves using military or economic coercion to influence another. Hard power has, from decades, been used by governments for wielding authority over another to forcefully gain what they desired. Historically, revolutions, wars, conquests and other such forces have resulted in successful empires. If we go as far back as the Italian political thinker Niccolo Machiavelli in his work, *The Prince*, separates the idea of ethics and politics, asserts that a lawfully governed state is one which is well-armed and believes that a it is better for a "prince" to be feared rather than loved. The text has been infamous for its idea of manipulation and propagation of supposed 'immoral' means to wield power. In this we can see how the idea of using hard power, though the term wasn't used at that time, has been part of governance for a long while. More recently, the United States' controversial war on Iraq in 2003, has been a prime example where hard power was used to wield power. However, in the cases like the 2003 war, it has been proven that the image of the country in the wider world drops significantly and this could be a deterrent for the country's global political success in the long run. In the heat of the debate over the war, Joseph Nye wrote an article *The Decline of America's Soft Power* where he mentions that Gallup International polls suggested "pluralities in 29 countries say that Washington's policies have had a negative effect on their view of the United States". He stresses that in the fight against terrorism, while many countries may side with the United States out of self-interest, their sustain support will arise from how attractive United States and its policies are for them. [13] To wield influence, in addition to attracting the country on an official level, it is important to also appeal to civil society. Taking the Iraq war example further: Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar – a strong ally of the United States and supporter of the war – was voted out by the Spanish people who were in majority against the war and believed that his support for the United

[11] BBC . *BBC- Student Life - Debate of the Week.*
http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/studentlife/debate/2008/35_superpowers.shtml (accessed January 2011).
[12] Jr., Joseph S. Nye. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.
[13] Jr., Joseph S. Nye. "The Decline of America's Soft Power." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004.

States was one of the reasons for terrorist attacks in Madrid.[14] In this case, while United States' hard power approach managed to gain Spanish support the first time round, but its poor image among the civil society led to election of a leader in Spain who was keen on reducing support for United States. As a superpower, the United States is feared, but examples like this indicate that it is not loved.[15] Hence we can see that Machiavelli's message mentioned earlier, that the leader should be feared rather than loved, does not completely hold true in today's times. This signifies that while hard power can achieve a certain portion of the goal, a long-term, sustainable effort which gains maximum support needs soft power elements as well. Interestingly, a hint of this leaning towards soft power can be seen in the same text of Machiavelli which is known for a hard approach of governance that doesn't consider ethics to comply with politics. In *The Prince* itself, Machiavelli seems to acknowledge the need for a soft power approach when he says: "..although one may be very strong in armed forces, yet in entering a province one has always need of the goodwill of the natives." In addition, various view points of soft power are presented in this thesis. Shashi Tharoor for example, believes that ideally there should be a mix of both soft and hard power, while Christopher Layne adds that Nye's idea of soft power has "conceptual vulnerabilities" and believes that these days the term has been expanded to include "multilateral diplomacy; foreign aid; developmental assistance; the provision of international public goods; the exportation of democracy; nation building".[16] While various theorists have their own take on soft power, there are some that offer their own types of power which they believe are more comprehensive than soft power when it comes to succeeding in world politics. Barnett and Duvall talk about multiple types of power coexisting together while Niall Fergusson offers the idea of "psychological power".[17] Walter Russell Mead rearranges the elements of soft power and along with "soft power" he develops the idea of "sharp" (military) and "sticky" (economic) powers.[18] These are also further explored in the thesis. In addition, the thesis takes a look at the application of soft power in foreign relations policy by exploring the

[14] Ilgen, Thomas L. "The Atlantic Alliance and the Integration of Europe." In *Hard Power, Soft Power and the Future of Transatlantic Relations*, by Thomas L. Ilgen. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006.
[15] Ilgen, Thomas L. "The Atlantic Alliance and the Integration of Europe." In *Hard Power, Soft Power and the Future of Transatlantic Relations*, by Thomas L. Ilgen. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006.
[16] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Decline of America's Soft Power." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004.
[17] Ferguson, Niall. "What is Power?" *Hoover Digest*, 2003.
[18] Vuving, Alexander L. "How Soft Power Works." *Panel "Soft Power and Smart Power," American Political Association annual meeting.* Toronto, 2009. 6.

theory of conditions needed for governments to effectively utilise soft power[19], as is outlined in the academic paper, *Taking Soft Power Seriously*. The various discussions on soft power emphasise the need to soft power to be studied further, especially in the context of the European Union, since most of the soft power studies are in the scope of the United States. Stressing on the need for soft power, it is important to know **what** elements constitute soft power so that they can built upon. Joseph S. Nye, the foremost proponent of soft power, puts across the elements or "currencies" of soft power as values, policies, culture and institutions.[20] Of these, culture seems to be the most dominant elements and has developed into a theory by itself, which is often equated with soft power – cultural diplomacy. Think tank and research institution, Demos, published a report in which they argue that culture is an important tool in international relations and especially in today's times where relations with countries like India and China are increasingly important. It explains that "Cultural contact provides a forum for unofficial political relationship-building: it keeps open negotiating channels with countries where political connections are in jeopardy, and helps to recalibrate relationships for changing times with emerging powers such as India and China."[21] While these elements of soft power are more or less agreed upon as stated by Nye, it is noted that there often exists the danger of crossing the line between soft power and propaganda or trivialising soft power, by not providing context, to be something solely as simple as people in Japan drinking American Coca Cola, which cannot be a relevant soft power resource without the relevant context of power.[22] A reflection of this trivialisation is seen in Niall Ferguson's criticism of soft power in the paper *What is Power?* where he points out that the desire for and use of American products like Coke, Big Macs, American pop CDs, Hollywood DVDs and Nike trainers, by other apparently hostile nations, does not make them love the United States. While Ferguson tries to make the point that soft power is too weak to stand as a power by itself, his argument uses soft power elements that are restricted to products by American multinational corporations.[23] For the purpose of this thesis, the elements of soft power, specifically culture, as defined by Nye will be used as a basis and will be studied with reference to the European Union and India relations.

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[19] Mathew Kroenig, Melissa McAdam, Steven Weber. "Taking Soft Power Seriously." *Comparitive Strategy*, 2010.

[20] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.

[21] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, John Holden, Samuel Jones. *Cultural Diplomacy.* Think-tank publication, London: Demos, 2007.

[22] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Foreword." In *Soft Power Superpowers*, by David L. McConnell Yasushi Watanabe, x. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2008.

[23] Ferguson, Niall. "What is Power?" *Hoover Digest*, 2003.

The **purpose** of soft power, as its definition clearly states, is "the ability to get what you want by attracting and persuading others to adopt your goals". One of the foremost countries that exercises its soft power is the United States. But the effectiveness of the U.S.'s soft power has reduced in the recent past. The Iraq War is one of the most widely-discussed examples of United States and its declining soft power and even more recent is the financial crisis that began in 2007 in the U.S. These examples stress another point: The world's superpower, the United States, has a declining image in the global stage. This provides a window of opportunity for another country or bloc to make its mark and perhaps take the superpower position. One of the foremost potential superpowers is China. However, China's values and policies again have a strong hard power component of military and economic might which may not be sustainable in the long run. Its image in the global stage is tainted with allegations of human rights violations as well as the Communist thought that leads the country. Coming to the European Union, which is primarily the entity of discussion in this thesis, at present as a bloc it is a "small player in the global political game". The individual countries may have more power by themselves but as a union, it does not wield much influence over other countries. However, the potential in the EU is tremendous on account of its soft power and the general positive image around the world. [24] So with the other powers declining in image and the advantage of the potential soft power that the EU already has, the stage is set for EU to become the next superpower and exercise its soft power for achieving global succcess.

1.2 EU & Soft Power

Over the years, specifically after the establishment of the European Union by the 1993 Treaty of Maastricht, there have been efforts through the European Union's External Relations Policy to engage with the wider world. The efforts include building trade and economic relations, stronger regional and bilateral ties with countries in Eastern European, Mediterranean and the Middle East, Asia and Latin America and relations with potential EU candidates.[25] Soft power has always been a cornerstone of the EU's engagement with the wider world. The intention to have a common diplomatic approach towards other countries finds its beginnings in the Declaration of European Identity drawn up by at a 1973 summit in

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[24] BBC . *BBC- Student Life - Debate of the Week.*
http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/studentlife/debate/2008/35_superpowers.shtml (accessed January 2011).
[25] European Commission. *Activities of the European Union - Foreign and Security Policy.* January 2011.
http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm (accessed November 2010).

Copenhagen.[26] Nine European foreign ministers created the document with the aim of achieving "a better definition of their relations with other countries and of their responsibilities and the place which they occupy in world affairs".[27]

The elements or "currencies" of soft power include values, policies, culture and institutions.[28] Starting with values, if we look into the founding principles of the European Union as outlined the Constitution for Europe are: "Respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values, which are set out in Article I-2, are common to the Member States. Moreover, the societies of the Member States are characterised by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men."

In terms of policies, the EU has several policies covering a variety of areas. It holds regular regional and country summits regarding its policies.[29] An example of a policy that specifically pertains to its engagement with the wider world is the Common Security and Foreign Policy. This policy's foundations lie in the use of diplomacy and soft power[30]. This policy "backed where necessary by trade, aid and peacekeepers" aims "to resolve conflicts and bring about international understanding". The EU has no common army and the mention of military staff in this policy is for the purpose of peace keeping and humanitarian reasons. In sensitive cases, the decision-making onus lies on the individual countries.[31] The policy thus, while having the flexibility to use the hard power elements of trade and economic sanctions and military staff to an extent, is focussed on the soft power elements.

On the cultural front, the EU benefits from the fact that it constitutes countries, each with a strong culture and heritage, making it a diverse cultural mix which gives weight to the EU motto "unity in diversity".

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[26] Hugh Richardson, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission to Japan. "European Union - Speeches - Smartening the EU's soft power." *Delegation of the European Union to Japan.* May 2008. http://www.deljpn.ec.europa.eu/home/speech_en_Speech%2005/2008.php (accessed 2010).

[27] European Communities. "Declaration on European Identity." *Bulletin of the European Communities. December 1973, No 12* (European Community), 1973: 118-122.

[28] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.

[29] European Commission. *Activities of the European Union - External Relations.* February 03, 2011. http://europa.eu/pol/ext/index_en.htm (accessed 2011).

[30] European Commission. *Activities of the European Union - Foreign and Security Policy.* January 2011. http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm (accessed November 2010).

[31] European Commission. *Activities of the European Union - Foreign and Security Policy.* January 2011. http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm (accessed November 2010).

To promote this "common cultural heritage" in the wider world, the EU has institutions and projects both on the individual country level as well as the common EU level that work towards the goal of making their culture accessible and attractive for those outside of the EU. This engagement of culture in foreign relations is cultural diplomacy[32], which is an important diplomatic tool for the EU in its external relations with other countries. On a country-specific level there are institutions like the British Council, Alliance Francaise and Goethe Institut in several cities around the world, which are the major bodies that develop cultural relations for the purpose of building an attractive image and having an influential role. In the British Council's history for example, the role of the institution for developing soft power is visible where it is mentioned, "the British Council exists to build trust between the UK and other countries and people and thereby win lifelong friends for Britain."[33] While these institutions are focussed on building soft power for specific countries, particularly the larger Western European countries, the EU as a whole does not have a similar body on a common level to build its image in other countries. However, it employs tools of cultural diplomacy like embassy (EU delegation) organised events and "individual experiences"[34]. There are 136 EU delegations which function as the embassy of the Union.[35] The delegations represent the EU in the particular countries and are responsible of promoting the EU ideology and policies related to trade and other areas that correlate to the EU values.[36]

As detailed above, the EU has the elements of values, policies, culture and institutions which constitute soft power and which are used to attract and influence other countries round the world. However, while the opportunities to wield soft power clearly exist, there are also certain challenges. The opportunities and challenges for EU's soft power in India will be discussed in detail in later chapters of this thesis. On a general note, as discussed earlier, with the declining image of the superpower US and the hesitant rise of potential superpowers like China, there is a window of opportunity for the EU to utilise its soft power and become the next superpower. There are certain issues like climate change, terrorism, etc. where the views of the US are often dominant and other major voices like China and India are in agreement

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[32] Cultural Diplomacy News. "Cultural and Public Diplomacy in America, India, China and Britain." *Cultural Diplomacy News*, June 24, 2008.
[33] Fisher, Ali. *A story of engagement: the British Council 1934-2009.* Counterpoint, 2009.
[34] Cultural Diplomacy News. "Cultural and Public Diplomacy in America, India, China and Britain." *Cultural Diplomacy News*, June 24, 2008.
[35] European Commission. *European Union - EEAS (European External Action Service) - What we do.* http://eeas.europa.eu/what_we_do/index_en.htm (accessed January 2011).
[36] European Commission. *Taking Europe to the World - 50 years of the European Commission's External Service.* Brochure, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004.

with the US for smooth diplomatic relations and often for the lack of a better alternative. However, there needs to be a strong voice to put across any alternative views and for other countries to have another ideology to emulate and support. The EU as a united bloc, which has unique views on climate change, terrorism and other issues can be this alternative voice.

Challenges along this path though, are many. One of the points of criticism that the Union has faced and is in a consistent effort to overcome is that of a common collective identity – a feeling of sameness or conformity that arises from shared characteristics within a social group[37]. The European Union, on an official level has made attempts to create a common identity for its members. The 1973 Declaration on European identity, where the roots of soft power lie, stated that the fundamental elements of European identity included sharing of same attitudes to life and ideals of "democracy", "rule of law", "social justice" and "respect for human rights".[38] While this is a positive step towards development of the elements of soft power, there is criticism that understanding of identity is still fairly prevalent in current European politics, it does not encapsulate the meaning of European identity in its entirety and as Werned Weidenfeld puts it, a "fiction invented by today's Eurocrats" used to forge the idea of European Union further.[39] The challenge for the EU thus is to not only permeate this idea of a common identity to the masses within the Union but also present it as a credible identity to the outside world. In tune with this is also the challenge of breaking out of the exclusive bureaucratic mould and presenting a more diverse, inclusive union where the national and EU identity complement each other. Looking at the foreign relations, EU's relationship with the US is another challenge that the EU has to deal with in terms of the image the relationship projects to other countries. The EU's mixed attitude of hesitant support, admiration and sometimes outright resentment of American policies (e.g. - war in Iraq) project a confused and disunited transatlantic relationship.[40]

1.3 EU & India relations

India has had strong historical ties with EU member states like Britain, Germany, Portugal and others going as far as contacts between ancient civilisations in the region. With the establishment of the European Union, India has developed strong trade relations as well as a political level dialogue. Other areas that the EU and India cooperate in are environment,

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[37] Burke, P. and Stets, J. (2009). Pp. 122-123.
[38] European Communities. "Declaration on European Identity." *Bulletin of the European Communities. December 1973, No 12* (European Community), 1973: 118-122.
[39] Weidenfeld, W. P. 30.
[40] Mahbubani, Kishore. "Europe's Errors." *Time*, March 08, 2010.

energy, science and technology, development and civil society engagement.[41] The legislative framework that outlines the cooperation began with the Joint Political Statement of 1993 and 1994 Cooperation Agreement. Since then the two entities have cooperated on various issues through official level interactions. Currently India is a "Strategic Partner" for the EU and recent summits have resulted in cooperation moving ahead to areas like education, culture and languages.[42] While efforts are on, the relationship is still criticised to be "under-developed". In a 2008 paper by Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform, he urged EU "to pay more attention to its still under-developed political relationship with India".[43] Over the years since 2008 though, there have been improvements in the relationship considering India's rise on the global level and EU's renewed foreign relations efforts following the Treaty of Lisbon. However, the Indo-U.S. relations at all levels are much stronger than the India-EU relations. The US has consistently worked on building its image in India and other Asian countries with a mix of soft and hard power. In the given scenario, this thesis will analyse the opportunity and challenges for the EU to build its soft power in India.

1.4 Objective of study

There are deep historical ties between European countries and India. Whether it is colonial ties with countries like the UK and Portugal, friendly cultural and other relations with the Soviet countries or even contacts between civilizations in India and Greece or Armenia, India and the EU have found common bonds for centuries. In addition the elements of the EU being a multicultural, multilingual, diverse democracy are seen in India as well. However, despite these bonds and similarities, there is a considerable lack of awareness about the common EU values and identity in India. Knowledge of the EU in India is often restricted to a trade and economic union and core EU values like human rights are not immediately relatable with the EU. On the level of the civil society, there is lack of visibility and information of the EU in aspects other than economic and trade. Also, there is an imbalanced approach towards India from rich key EU member states like Germany, France and UK who have a strong public image in India and other countries like Poland, Czech Republic and

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[41] Delegation of the European Union to India. *European Union - EEAS (European External Action Service) - Civil Society Dialogue.* http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/india/eu_india/civil_society_dialogue/index_en.htm (accessed December 2010).

[42] European Commission. *European Union - EEAS (European External Action Services) - India.* http://eeas.europa.eu/india/index_en.htm (accessed November 2010).

[43] Grant, Charles. "Four pillars for an EU-India partnership." *Centre for European Reform Bulletin*, 2008.

newer EU countries whose bilateral ties revolve around some amount of trade. So a unified opinion of the EU does not exist within the Indian mindscape. Given these issues, it is of interest to see how the EU can build its image in India using the tool of soft power which is one of the important tools for EU's foreign relations. In terms of academic study on EU's soft power in India, it is still an under-researched topic. Focus is usually on EU's trade and bilateral relations with India and aspects like soft power and cultural diplomacy do not normally form a major portion of the study. This thesis will thus contribute to this upcoming area of research. The outcome this thesis hopes to obtain is to explore the challenges and opportunities for EU soft power in India and stress that with the changing global dynamics, it is necessary for the EU to focus on building relations with India using the tool of soft power.

1.5 Research Questions

In this paper, I will use the theory of soft power as propagated by Joseph S. Nye and other theorists as well as EU officials. I will specifically examine the following elements of soft power: culture, values, institutions and policies. While doing this, I will attempt to answer the following questions:

- Why is it necessary to promote EU's soft power in India?
- What has been the status of EU soft power in India over the years, pre- Lisbon Treaty?
- What are the opportunities and challenges at present and in the future (post-Lisbon Treaty) for EU's soft power in India?
- What are the opportunities and challenges for the EU to deal with international terrorism through soft power in India?

1.6 Hypothesis

This thesis explores the hypothesis: There lie opportunities and challenges for the EU to promote its soft power and using soft power in India, the EU can deal with security and defence issues like international terrorism. Having established the definition of soft power and its elements, this thesis will look at the concept more specifically in the realm of EU-India relations to explore the opportunities and challenges that exist for the EU to build its soft power in India. To further prove the hypothesis, the thesis uses a case study to show how

soft power can be applied to achieve a foreign policy goal of peace-building. While proving this hypothesis I will make certain assumptions:

• Soft power is a valid concept which European Union needs to focus on in terms of its foreign relations

• European Union and India are significant players in the global political field and hence it is of importance to study their relation.

• European Union is a potential superpower and should make efforts to improve its standing in the political arena worldwide.

1.7 Methodology

The thesis will take an analytical and explanatory approach. The concept of soft power will be examined and the opportunities and challenges for EU's soft power in India will be analysed to prove that EU needs to promote its soft power in India as a means to succeed in the global political arena. To prove the thesis, I will:

- Examine existing factual data in official level reports and documents on EU-India relations
- Critically analyse political speeches and papers
- Critically analyse existing literature on soft power. This will mainly include official documents like Co-operation Agreements, Joint Press Statements, Joint Action Plans and Strategy Papers to establish the efforts taken.

The challenge of analysing soft power is that in its very nature, the concept is immeasurable and intangible, especially when opposed to hard power and quantitatively proving either of the above questions is not possible. Hence, a qualitative analysis approach will be applied to the paper.

1.8 Limitations

While this thesis aims to extensively explore the opportunities and challenges for EU's soft power in India, there are some limitations. To start with, the topic of this thesis is fairly under-researched. While this provides a strong reason to contribute to research on this subject, it also puts forward the problem of limited resources and lack of existing research material that can be used for reference. In addition, a significant dependence thus is on

available official documents that put out data where it is hard to draw the line between objectivity and propaganda. A final limitation is the time constraint. My internship (which is part of the M.A. Euroculture programme) was of 6 months while the suggested internship period is 3 months. While I attempted to work on the thesis along with the internship, the full-time work days severely reduced my focus on the thesis, because of which I am now left with a short period of complete focus on the thesis and am striving hard to meet the deadline.

<center>**Theoretical Framework**</center>

This thesis on EU's soft power in India is based in the field of study of International Relations. In particular it arises from the theory of Power in international relations. The word power itself comes from the old French word "poeir" which is "to be able to act". [44] The theoretical definition of power however, is multifaceted. Some of the key thinkers on this subject can be traced back to the Greek historian Thucydides following whom there were the likes of Machiavelli, Michel Foucault and Robert Dahl among others.[45] Those like Thucydides, Machiavelli and Foucalt[46], have a similar view on power which brings it down to a display of authority or control by one entity over another, where the entity that wields authority is focussed upon getting its way irrespective of the morality of the mechanism used. Both Thucydides and Machiavelli also point out that while in addition to exercising authority, the masses also need to be wooed to achieve the goal.[47] On similar lines, are the thoughts of ancient Indian philosopher Kautaliya. In his popular book on the science of politics, *Arthashastra*, Kautaliya expresses that one is powerful when one is strong and has the strength to change minds. His ideas of the benefits of wielding power, however, focus on "material gain, spiritual good and pleasures".[48] A more broader idea of power, which is also among the most widely accepted ideas, is that by Robert A Dahl where he suggests that power is when one entity wields influence over a second entity to make the second entity do something which it otherwise would not have done.[49] Taking these concepts of power into consideration we can assume that power is influencing or wielding control to obtain a desired result.

Power can be viewed by through a structural point of view where questions like "who has power and why they have it" or from the procedural point of view which asks, "how power is exercised". [50] The first viewpoint looks at power structures like superpowers and their qualities. The second point of view, which is more relevant to this paper, includes the ways and means to wield power. Having established the meaning of power for the purpose of this

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[44] Flyvbjerg, Bent. *What is Rationality? What is Power?* Aalborg.

[45] Flyvbjerg, Bent. *What is Rationality? What is Power?* Aalborg.

[46] Foucalt, Michel. "Discipline and Punish (1975)." In *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, by Joseph Gerteis, James Moody Craig J. Calhoun, 209-317. Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

[47] Jean-François Simard, Pierre C.Pahlavi. "Measuring the effects of soft power." *Annual convention of the International Studies Association.* 2008.

[48] Boesche, Roger. "Kautilya's Arthasastra on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India." *The Journal of Military History 67.1*, 2003: 9-37.

[49] Baldwin, David A. "Power and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, 178-179. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2003.

[50] Flyvbjerg, Bent. *What is Rationality? What is Power?* Aalborg.

thesis, we can look into these ways to exercise power or the various types of power. The most popular notion of power, in politics specifically, is often that of military might and what measurable resources the country has like size of land, population, economic capacity etc. Considering the superpower in today's times, the USA, and emerging superpower like China, it is evident that countable resources are equated with might. Both the countries feature among the top three countries in the world in lists of countries with largest area, highest population, richest countries by GDP and military strength[51]. One of the types of power that utilise such resources is called 'hard power'. Joseph Nye refers to the use of economic incentive and military threats, to exercise power in foreign relations, as "carrots and sticks" and stresses that there is another way to obtain desired results instead of coercion and force which he refers to as 'soft power'.

The diagram[52] below provides a visual representation of what soft power is and the difference between hard and soft power.
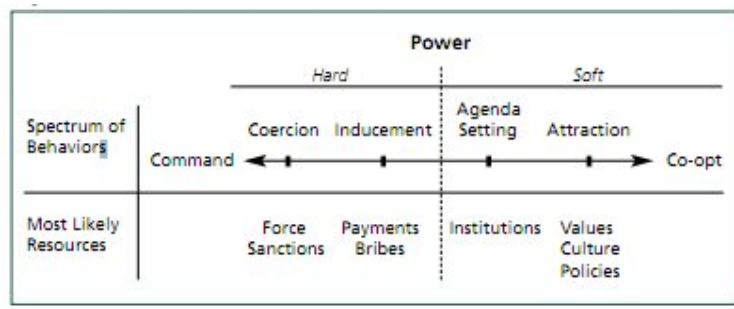
This alternative view of power has emerged in discourse among various academicians and political analysts. It discounts the use of resources like economic and military might to wield power and focuses on using diplomatic strength and resources like culture, values and policies to wield power and obtain desired results. Nye defines soft power as:

"[Soft power] is 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."

While Nye is known to have coined the term 'soft power' the essence of this theory can be traced back to concepts in Taoism. Lao Tzu, considered to be the founder of Taoism, propagated the idea of soft power in his text Tao Te Ching where he states that the best way

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[51] *World Military Strength Ranking.* May 2009. http://www.globalfirepower.com/ (accessed 2010).
[52] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Decline of America's Soft Power." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004.

to rule is not through competitive means using weapons and armies but "indirectly" which benefits all without fighting against each other.[53] Even in recent times, a common idea of soft power echos right from the West to the East. A 2010 BBC documentary talks about the power of culture and lifestyle, in countries like India and China, which pose as competitors to global economic and political powers. The documentary begins with definitions of soft power by American and Chinese experts where they describe soft power as "the attractiveness of a country's model", "the power of telling your story", "when other countries want what you want instead of being forced to do what you want" and "the power to be loved" as opposed to hard power which is "the power to be feared".[54] On the similar lines as the American and Chinese scholars are the thoughts of Indian political analyst Shashi Tharoor who agrees with the definition of soft power by Joseph Nye. In a talk presented at a conference, Tharoor talks about soft power as "power of example" and "the ability of a country to attract others because of its culture, its political values, its foreign policies". His take on it though, emphasises that soft power is not only what a country chooses to display or the attractive image that is built by government efforts, but it is what others see, despite these efforts, whether or not the country wants it so. He also stresses on the communication age today which has been key in propagating soft power.[55] This point is often missed out by theorists on power and particularly soft power. With rapid advancements in technology and communication, the ways through which a country's values, culture and policies are presented to the world are manifold. This should be an important consideration when discussing soft power as this type of power is more relevant today than around a decade or two ago because whether the country chooses to or not, its image is up for viewing and judgement by anyone who has access to communication devices. It also indicates that with the fast-developing technologies that spread soft power at rapid rates, soft power has to become a part of everyday policy and discourse and not pushed back to a topic of closed door annual conferences.

While the idea of soft power as defined by Nye is the starting point for this thesis, it is of interest to look at the critical analyses of his work by others. Christopher Layne in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy*, states that Nye's explanation of soft power is simply a modification of marketing strategies taught in business schools that has been applied to foreign policy

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[53] George R. Goethals, Georgia Jones Sorenson. *The quest for a general theory of leadership* . Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2006.
[54] BBC World Service. *Soft Power: China.* 2010.
[55] *Why nations should pursue "soft" power.* Performed by Shashi Tharoor. 2009.

where America is the brand and the tools to measure impact as mentioned by Nye are the same as of advertising campaigns: "through polls or focus groups".[56] Nye's soft power concept has also found criticism for being conceptually weak as a theory. One of the points of criticism is that Nye's idea of foreign policy being influenced by public opinion[57] does not hold true because in reality it is hard to prove that there is a link between foreign policy made by governments who act in national interest and public opinion which can fluctuate. Layne stresses that "states are autonomous actors that are only constrained minimally by 'civil society'".[58] Considering Layne's point, it is important as it exposes the almost idealistic, naive vision of Nye. But it is perhaps not precise to say that there is no proof of link between foreign policy and public opinion. The theory of democracy[59] itself is theoretical proof that this link exists. In a paper on Effects of Public Opinion on policy the authors explicitly state that "the responsiveness of government policy to citizens' preferences is a central concern in normative democratic theory"[60]. And for practical examples, there are several, like the collapse of Communist regimes where public opinion and force brought about a change in the regime. Another criticism of Nye comes from David Baldwin who states that there is confusion in Nye's work between "power resources and scope" but gives Nye the benefit of the doubt for at least taking the concept of power in a different direction away from the traditional idea of power as military force.[61] Alexander Vuving too believes that Nye's concept of soft power confuses between the behaviour of wielding power and the actual resource used to wield power and soft power then gets equated to the resource that is being used. He suggests that a clear division be made between power resources and power currencies (which is the property of the power resource) to reduce the confusion. However, he doesn't dismiss Nye's idea of soft power as a tool to get others to want what you want, but just modifies it by adding the word "accept" to give what he calls an "approximate definition" of soft power: "Soft power is the ability to get others to want, or accept, what you

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[56] Layne, Christopher. "The unbearable lightness of soft power." In *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy*, by Inderjeet Parmar, 51-82. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.
[57] Nye states that public surveys are a way of measuring soft power impact
[58] Layne, Christopher. "The unbearable lightness of soft power." In *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy*, by Inderjeet Parmar, 51-82. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.
[59] Schumpeter defines democracy as "the democratic method is the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote."
[60] Benjamin I. Page, Robert Y. Shapiro. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *The American Political Science Review, Volume 27, Issue 1*, 1983: 175-190.
[61] Baldwin, David A. "Power and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, 178-179. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2003.

want."[62] On similar lines, Shashi Tharoor, who, while believing Nye's concept of soft power as an opposition to hard power, does not agree that this amounts to the dismissal of one for the other. He calls for an integration of the two types of powers as soft power by itself does not guarantee an effective policy, especially when it comes to national interest of security matters. Another theorist on the concept of power, Walter Russell Mead, while agreeing on the existence of soft power as defined by Nye, believes that economic power and military power, which get categorised as 'hard power' by Nye, has not received as much attention as it should and can be referred to in a more constructive context. In his paper, *America's Sticky Power*, Mead outlines the idea of "sticky power" and "sharp power". Sticky power is economic power which constitutes relevant institutions and policies that attracts others and traps them in a manner where the nations are dependent on the power.[63] This type of power is relevant in today's times where world economies are inter-related and free trade, open markets, interdependent monetary systems and the global financial institutions present a scenario where the nations with stronger economies are more powerful on the international political arena. Also, viewing economic power differently from Nye's categorisation of it as 'hard power', we see that economic power does not necessarily have to be used to coerce people (what hard power does) but has the ability to attract people as well (what soft power does). In addition to sticky power, Mead also suggests the concept of "sharp power" which is traditionally military power, pushes and prods those resisting the power, "in the direction they must go". Using the US's example, he proves that military power does not necessarily mean having to use force towards disagreeing entities, but having the power itself can deter countries from disagreeing and having them voluntarily wanting to ally with the US for their own security and other reasons.[64] Sharp power again is relevant in today's times where international treaties like the NATO, transatlantic military alliances, international peacekeeping military missions, etc. display an attractive military might that countries want to be part of, without explicitly using force and violence. Taking these aspects into consideration, Mead's theories of sticky power and sharp power fall somewhere between Nye's classifications of hard and soft power. Also, while Mead's theories are specific to the USA, it will be interesting to see how these concepts works when applied to the EU which has a different economic model than the US and is far off from having a common army that will pose as a strong military power for the union. Also, like many theorists who don't

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[62] Vuving, Alexander L. "How Soft Power Works." *Panel "Soft Power and Smart Power," American Political Association annual meeting.* Toronto, 2009. 6.
[63] Mead, Walter Russell. "America's Sticky Power." *Foreign Policy*, 2004: 46-53.
[64] Mead, Walter Russell. "America's Sticky Power." *Foreign Policy*, 2004: 46-53.

completely dismiss soft power but offer their own modification of it is Niall Ferguson who refers to soft power as just one dimension of power. Ferguson disagrees with the idea that soft power alone can make a country be loved. He criticises the idea that soft power products will automatically attract agreement on all levels between the countries and gives the example of the colonial India ruled by the British where members of the local population were drawn to British education, like the knowledge of Shakespeare, yet had a nationalist surge in them which pushed them to drive the British out of India.[65] Ferguson's point however, is perhaps overly cynical. First, his criticism of soft power focuses primarily on the products and resources of soft power and not on the way it is wielded. Secondly, in the case of the colonial India that he presents, Ferguson overlooks the viewpoint that British education in colonial India was not necessarily a means to build the British image but more of an imposition following the conquest of the country. It perhaps has more of a hard power intonation than that of soft power as Ferguson believes it to be. Ferguson's idea then, of the dimension of power that helps governments succeed in world politics, is 'psychological power'. Psychological power includes the projection of an entity's "legitimacy" among its own members as well as "credibility" among other powers.[66] Like Ferguson, Nye's position of soft power as an alternative to hard power also finds apprehension from Barnett & Duvall who offer their own types of power – compulsory, institutional, structural and productive – to make the point that pitching one type of power to be used in place of another is not effective in a world where multiple forms of power coexist together.[67] Taking all these aspects of power, and in particular, soft power, into consideration, the result points towards a theory more recently offered by Joseph Nye himself as a build up on his soft power theory. Referred to as "smart power", it combines the best of soft and hard power, and offers a more multilateral approach rather than opting for a unilateral way using only soft or only hard power. Smart power is an integrated strategy consisting of resources and tools that draw from both soft power and hard power.[68] Nye's concept of smart power, seems to resonate the views of others like Tharoor, Mead and Barnett and Duvall who endorse a skilful mix of powers to successfully deal with the twenty first century challenges in foreign relations that countries face.

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[65] Ferguson, Niall. "What is Power?" *Hoover Digest*, 2003.
[66] Ferguson, Niall. "What is Power?" *Hoover Digest*, 2003.
[67] Michael Barnett, Raymond Duvall. "Power in International Politics." *International Organisation, Volume 59 Issue 01*, 2005: 39-75.
[68] Richard Lee Armitage, Joseph S. Nye. *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: a smarter, more secure America.* Washington D.C.: The CSIS Press, 2007.

Having established the position of soft power in relation to other types of power and the appropriate manner of mixing and using these powers, it is important to outline the way to apply soft power. For this purpose, the thesis will look at the theory of conditions offered in an academic paper *Taking Soft Power Seriously* by academician and political strategist Mathew Kroenig along with Melissa McAdam and Steven Weber. In the paper, they agree with Nye's concept of soft power but argue that to efficiently apply soft power, there are three conditions that need to be met, without which using soft power may not be a successful approach.[69] These conditions are: 1) the entity over which soft power is to be wielded should exist in a "functioning marketplace of ideas". This requirement describes that before wielding soft power, it is necessary that the receiving entity should have some exposure to the message that is being sent across to them and should have an affiliation towards the message which will make it attractive 2) the source communicating the soft power message should be credible, able to communicate to the target entity at an emotional level, repeatedly and the target should be open to receiving the communication. This condition looks at the psychological aspect of wielding power and stresses that the attitude of the message sender is key in making a successful impact 3) individual attitudes linked to the foreign policy should have the ability to create an impact. The soft power efforts thus, should be targeted at individuals and relevant actors that can influence foreign policy and should not be in conflict with the target[70]. Taking these conditions into consideration, if we go back to David A. Baldwin's "dimensions of power" mentioned earlier, we can see that these conditions reflect the dimensions of scope, domain, weight and means as outlined by Baldwin. Hence, the multidimensional concept of power seen in context with the conditions for soft power to be successful, provide a framework for application of soft power.

Now that the concept of soft power and its application has been thoroughly explored, I propose a visual framework that builds upon Nye's diagrammatic representation of soft power[71], to bring in the various aspects discussed above:
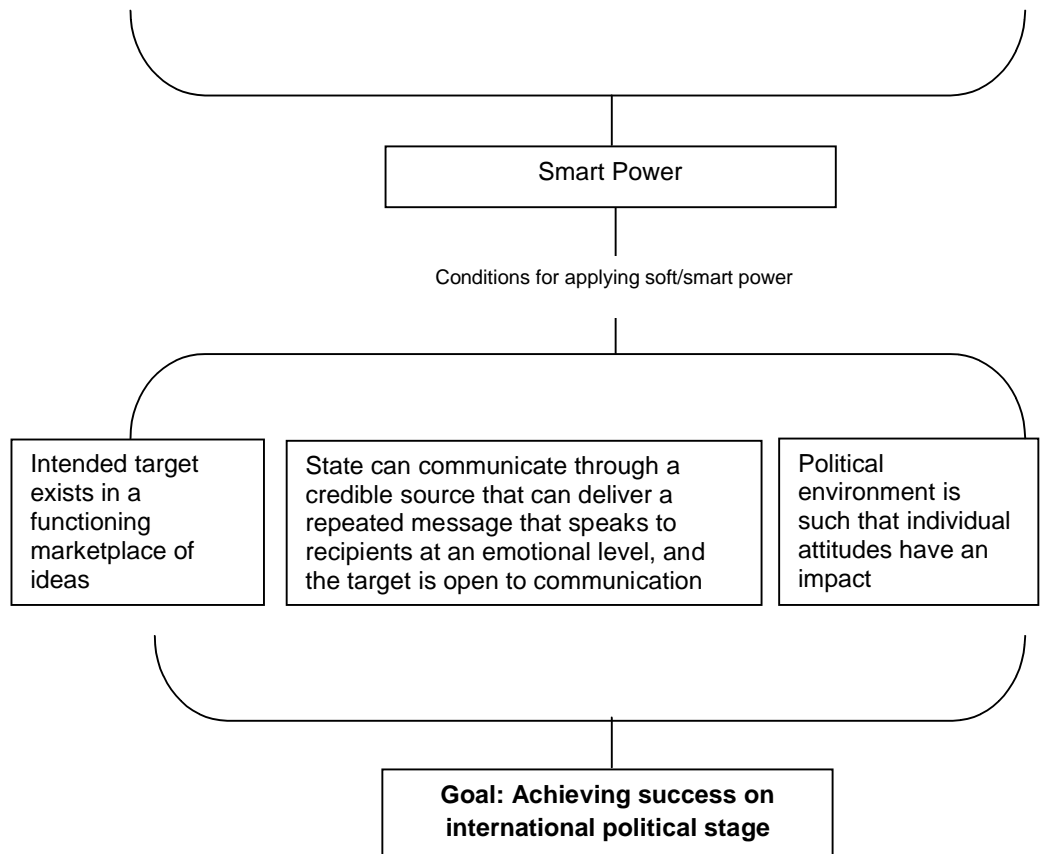
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[69] Matthew Kroenig, Melissa McAdam, Steven Weber. "Taking Soft Power Seriously." Conference Paper, San Francisco, 2008.
[70] Matthew Kroenig, Melissa McAdam, Steven Weber. "Taking Soft Power Seriously." Conference Paper, San Francisco, 2008.
[71] (Nye n.d.)

Power

	Hard	Sticky	Sharp	Psychological	Soft

Spectrum of Behaviours

Coercion Inducement	Trapping	Prodding Pushing	Credibility Legitimacy	Agenda Attraction Setting

Command ←———————————————————————→ Co-opt

Most Likely Resources

Hard	Sticky	Sharp	Psychological	Soft
Force Sanctions Payment Bribes	Economic Policies Economic Institutions	Security Policies Military Alliances Foreign Military Bases Intelligence Organisations	Credible position Morale Stamina to sustain collective efforts	Institutions Values Culture Policies

Smart Power

Conditions for applying soft/smart power

Intended target exists in a functioning marketplace of ideas	State can communicate through a credible source that can deliver a repeated message that speaks to recipients at an emotional level, and the target is open to communication	Political environment is such that individual attitudes have an impact

Goal: Achieving success on international political stage

In the context of this thesis, I will be exploring the soft power of the European Union in India. Regarding the definition of soft power for this thesis, I will primarily apply Joseph Nye's idea of soft power being a way to get others to want the outcomes that one wants by attracting them to one's culture, values and policies, rather than using coercion or force. While Nye's theory has received a mix of appreciation and criticism, it is his concept that of soft power as that is most often addressed in speeches by officials in both EU and India. His theory hence provides a common basis for both entities' understanding of soft power. This thesis will also bring in the ideas of other analysts on soft power and related powers and emphasis the multilateral approach of power that most analysts, including Nye, offer. In addition, it will significantly consider soft power as understood by the EU itself by analysing official documents and speeches to understand how connected EU's actions are to its understanding and propagation of the soft power idea. The thesis thus will have a more flexible view of soft power which will bring together the idea of soft power from the point of view of theorists as well as governments who have to practice it. It will also factor in current world events, global advancements and the developing relationship between EU and India which impact soft power and its usage. By doing so, it will connect the theory of soft power with actions taken and place it in the global context to analyse its effectiveness.

The following two chapters analyse EU's soft power efforts in India till from 1993-2009 and the opportunities and challenges that lie ahead for the EU to build its soft power in India. The concept of soft power will be applied in these two chapters in the following manner:

(1) Examining existing policies, programs and institutions of the European Union and major member countries, in relation to India, to **determine what soft power efforts have already been taken** by the EU in India

(2) Examining major treaties, political speeches, of the European Union and major member countries, in relation to India, to **determine what further soft power strategy the EU desires to make** in India

(3) Analysing comments by analysts and existing lecture to study the **opportunities and challenges for the EU to deal with international terrorism through its engagement in India**

While examining the above, the following criteria of soft power will be kept in mind:

1. Resources of soft power – values, institutions, policies, culture
2. Behaviour of soft power – agenda setting, attraction
3. Dimensions of Power theory; Conditions for applying soft power theory

EU's soft power in India: Status

This chapter will explain EU's soft power components in more detail and will aim to explore what the status of soft power efforts in India were, pre-Lisbon treaty. In specific, it will look at the period from the time the EU was constructed (1993) till the Treaty of Lisbon came into effect (2009). There are two dimensions that will be explored for this period:

1. Country-specific efforts that helped develop their own as well as that of Europe's image and ties with India. While this thesis mainly looks at EU-India relationship, it is hard to ignore the bilateral ties that each EU country has with India. Whether it is institutions like Alliance Francaise, educational exchanges programmes offered by Germany or the special ties between the Indian diaspora in UK and their home country, the country-specific efforts in developing their soft power in India must be noted.

2. European Union bloc's soft power in India that has developed through official level efforts using soft power tools such as Culture, Political ideologies & Policies and Institutions. In terms of culture, it will explore the official level efforts that have been taken in the field of cultural exchange, media, education, sport and leisure. In the field of political ideals and policies the chapter will explore economic & trade collaborations, political asylum and human rights as tools to promote EU's image in India. Finally, taking a look at institutions, the chapter will consider EU Delegation and other EU institutions and their efforts in India.

It must be noted that this chapter will be more of a **descriptive chapter listing examples of what could be seen as soft power efforts of the EU in India** with references to official documents and activities. This will give a suitable background for the next chapter where more analysis will be presented.

Soft power efforts by EU member countries:
As mentioned earlier, one of the angles of EU soft power in India that this thesis will look at is the efforts that specific EU countries take to build their soft power in India. One of the key ways to identify the countries that are making an individual impact on India are looking at the EUNIC (European Union National Institutions for Culture) Cluster in India – France, Austria, Britain, Hungary, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Germany. The aim of the EUNIC Cluster India is to encourage cultural cooperation and international dialogue between EU and India through

cultural institutions and to bring together European countries in a resource-sharing network to promote a collective European image in India.[72] The EUNIC countries are specifically relevant to this thesis as they are countries that not only have cultural institutions for promotion of their individual soft power in India but also cooperate on an EU-level to promote the image of a culturally diverse yet united Europe.

The cultural institutions that EU countries have in India include Alliance Francaise (France), Goethe Institut (Germany), British Council (Britain), Austrian Cultural Forum/Cultural Department of the Austrian Embassy (Austria), Hungarian Information and Cultural centre (Hungary), Instituto Camões (Portugal), Instituto Cervantes (Spain) and Istituto Italiano di Cultura (Italy)[73] which are institutions that in their own way spread the country's soft power in India through teaching languages, exchange programmes, cultural events and more. Besides being a cultural tool in foreign policy, these institutions also include "relationship-building initiatives"[74]. In a broader sense, these relationship-building efforts can be seen as using soft power resources for attraction. While these institutions may not have a direct influence on policymaking, they serve as attractors for people who in turn could influence policy. Other relationship building initiatives from member countries which could serve as soft power tools include development aid, policies regarding political asylum, NGO and volunteer networks as well as regular official visits. Apart from government-initiated efforts for influencing India through the EU's culture, there are also historical influences that come from colonial ties between EU and certain parts of India. The British colonial rule is the most widely spread through India while certain regions like Goa and Pondicherry have influence of their past rulers, the Portuguese and French respectively. The colonial influences are evident specifically in language, architecture and literature.

Stating the soft power elements in bilateral relations between EU countries and India, the question arises is whether these efforts help in garnering support on an international level. Looking at the relations on global stages between EU and India, it is evident that bilateral trade and economic ties as well as security and defence issues mark a higher priority than cultural and institutional ties. The priority subjects for recent discussions when country heads like Nicolas Sarkozy, Angela Merkel and others have visited India are often trade and

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[72] EUNIC Cluster India. *Members of the Eunic Cluster India.* January 03, 2009. http://www.eunic.in/eunic_members.htm.
[73] EUNIC Cluster India. *Members of the Eunic Cluster India.* January 03, 2009. http://www.eunic.in/eunic_members.htm.
[74] Snow, Nancy. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy.* New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009.

economic ties, security issues and science and technology cooperation[7576] In addition, most of the interaction is between bigger European countries like Germany, France and UK, despite historical ties in values and culture between India and countries like the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic for example, had strong cultural bonds with India, specially during the Soviet Union era and before. Some of the major ties include that between Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore who was deeply involved in the culture and lives of Czech people. He was personal friends with professors and voiced his opinions in support of Czechoslovakia during Nazi occupation.[77] In addition, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), a world-wide spiritual and religious movement based on an Indian religion, made its way to Prague, flourishing in the 1990s. During the period of communist rule, it was difficult to preach under the state's supervision. However, in the '90s, the movement began with three devotees and rose to forty within a few years.[78] Several more connections exist between the two countries which would have been an ideal basis for developing soft power. But as we see today, 'hard' elements like economy, defence and international status (the kind that Germany and France have) are more attractive for India to pursue a particular country. The conclusion then arises that perhaps a blend of soft and hard power would be ideal for attracting India in a manner that maintains the values of EU. This resonates the theories of Joseph Nye's "smart power" as well as that of Shashi Tharoor, Mead and Barnett and Duvall who promote a mix of powers to manage foreign relations in today's times.

Soft power efforts by EU in India

Before delving into the soft power efforts of EU in India, it is important to note the status of EU's image in India to analyse whether it needs to be worked on or whether it is already efficient enough. For this purpose, this section first takes a look at results on the external image of the European Union, of a survey that was conducted 16 countries, one of which was India. The survey, jointly executed by the Forum on the Problems of Peace and War and Garnet, examined "public opinion, political elites, civil society organisations and the media" to determine their idea of EU. The image of the EU in the eyes of these groups in India revealed the following: the EU is a poorly known among the general public; for the political

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[75]Thaindian News. *India visit will boost bilateral ties: Angela Merkel.* November 14, 2007.
[76] BBC News. *Deals Begin Sarkozy's India Visit.* January 25, 2008.
[77] Dr. S. Radhakrishnan et al., *Rabindranath Tagore A Centenary, Volumes 1861-1961* (Sahitya Akademi Publications, 1992), 365
[78] "Krishna Consciousness in the heart of Europe," Hare Krishna movement in Czech Republic, http://www.harekrsna.cz/cvs/english.

elites the EU is seen as a "supporter of multipolarism, security seeker, strategic opportunity, a protectionist market" and a union that shares similar values with India; for civil society organisations the EU's focus on environmental sustainability and "neoliberal and protectionist (CAP)" policies stand out and finally in the Indian media, the EU is a not a well known actor, a security seeker, despite its recognised economic and political might is not seen a challenger to the US which is deemed far ahead along with other positive images about its policies like human rights, aid policy and soft security.[79] The survey findings indicate that the knowledge of the EU in India is fairly low, however, the positive images of the EU that exist in India are primarily in the realm of the soft power resources like policies and values. This is encouraging it is shows that what stands out in the minds of the people when they think of the EU are its soft power policies. However, is not seen as a strong contender for the US in terms of economic and political might, indicating the absence of a hard power image, which unfortunately puts the EU far behind the US in recognising it as a power. This makes one question whether soft power efforts are enough to make the EU surpass the US as a global power.

This section will look at EU's collective efforts to promote soft power in India through its values, policies, culture and institutions. EU values which provide a foundation for the Union as identified in the founding constitution have been identified chiefly as "respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights". The values are reflected in most external relations activities that EU undertakes in other countries. These common values provide one of the cornerstones in building EU's soft power abroad. This was indicated in a speech in Japan on EU's soft power, by Hugh Richardson, Head of Delegation of the European Commission to Japan, who mentioned:

"The EU's soft power comes from its common values, or norms, namely the principles of democracy, the rule of law, social justice, human rights and the commitment to a market economy, as well as social solidarity, sustainable development and the fight against discrimination."

In India in particular, these values can be reflected in EU's projects and activities in India, joint statements and official documents for cooperation between the two countries and other diplomatic purposes. The current framework for cooperation between the two entities is based on a 1993 joint statement which specifically points out that the EU-India cooperation is

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[79] Lorenzo Fioramonti, Sonia Lucarelli. "The External Image of the European Union - Forum on the Problems of Peace and War and Garnet Joint Executed Research Project 5.2.1." Survey. 2005-2006.

based on values of "human rights and democratic principles".[80] The statement covers a range of areas for cooperation from trade to drug abuse control and more and aims to enhance these areas of cooperation for better ties between the two entities. However, the key basis of this cooperation is identified as two of the EU's essential values: human rights and democratic principles which have since then been key elements of EU-India partnership. Other than official level interactions, some reflections of these values can be seen in the projects that the EU delegation is supporting in India. One of the key engagements of the EU with civil society in India is in the area of human rights. A majority of this engagement is in the form of funding and aid for organisations and projects on human rights, with the funding amount being more than 5 million euros since 2000.[81] The promotion of the values hence seems to resonate in official as well as civil society interactions of EU in India. However, often this very promotion of values like human rights goes against a positive image of the EU and is perceived as an imperial imposition by the EU on a country which has major security issues which it believes it needs to prioritise.[82] In a paper on India and EU as strategic partners, Charles Grant points out that Indian intellectuals have the idea of a "post-modern EU" that uses soft power to influence countries, which is not a priority for India as the country grapples with security threats. In the paper, he also points out by quoting an Indian professor, that this is the very area where the U.S. manages to gain one up on Europe as it has a fairly flexible foreign policy, not ground in values like human rights, are more in tune with what countries like India want, as they directly help combat issues like security threats.[83]

Building on from the EU values that are used for building soft power in India, we can see that the EU policies face a similar fate. The existing policies are equipped to build EU's soft power in India. The policies revolving around trade and economic cooperation, society and development, education, science and technology, cultural exchange and support for the non-profit sector have been successfully implemented. These policies have been continuing and reinforced since the first EU-India Summit in 2000.[84] The problem however arises when India looks to the EU for a security policy or policy in international conflict resolution which

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[80] European Community, India. "Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of India on partnership and development." Treaty, 1994.

[81] Delegation of the European Union to India. *Civil Society Dialogue* .
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/india/eu_india/civil_society_dialogue/index_en.htm#rights.
[82] Grant, Charles. "India and the EU: Strategic Partners?" *CER Bulletin, Issue 46*, 2006.
[83] Grant, Charles. "India and the EU: Strategic Partners?" *CER Bulletin, Issue 46*, 2006.
[84] European Union External Action. "India Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013." *EUROPA>European Union External Action>India.* http://eeas.europa.eu/india/csp/07_13_en.pdf.

are issues that are high on the agenda for India. A country like India, turns to the international community primarily for assistance in issues like security threats and conflict in the region which can be dealt with by international involvement. The EU has not been strong enough in promoting a collective policy that addresses India's concerns and giving India the assurance of support in these issues.[85] With EU's 'soft' efforts to spread influence, India then turns to countries like the US which offer hard and fast solutions which seem to have a direct correlation to India's prime concerns. The nuclear deal[86] for example, faced several apprehensions by intellectuals, foreign affairs experts and other members of civil society and still is not supported by significant sections of people in India. But considering it terms of building U.S.'s image in India, it gave a boost to US-India ties and U.S. demonstrated to India a "friendship" status that was earlier offered only to the likes of EU and Japan.[87] Other than lifting nuclear sanctions, where EU displayed no policy for the same, there are other elements of the US foreign policy that directly address India's international most important concerns which EU does not. The support for India's bid for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council has been displayed by the recent President Obama of US. And while individual European countries have a bilateral opinion towards India's bid, there is no collective EU policy recognising and supporting India's bid for a seat at the UN Security Council.[88] Further criticisms indicate that EU countries should combine their seats at the Council to have a joint European seat instead of several individual seats for European countries and none for countries like India. [89] This lack of a cohesive approach from the European Union, towards certain policies that are important for India, undermine the soft power that the policies aim to build.

The weakness of the EU's values and policies to build soft power in India take us back to the conditions for successfully applying soft power as outlined by Mathew Kroenig and others. The third condition – soft power efforts should be targeted at actors that can influence foreign policy – stands out here. The EU's soft power efforts do not appeal to India's policymakers who want a collective EU voice that is in tune with issues that are most important to India,

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[85] Voll, Christian Hannemann and Klaus Julian. "U.S. Af-Pak Policy: Relevance for India and the EU." *Conference for European Progressive Studies.* Delhi, 2010.
[86] The U.S. Congress on October 1 2008 gave final approval to an agreement facilitating nuclear cooperation between the US and India. The deal lifts a three-decade U.S. moratorium on nuclear trade with India. It provides U.S. assistance to India's civilian nuclear energy program, and expands U.S.-India cooperation in energy and satellite technology.
[87] *Indian Express.* "Nuclear Summer." March 31, 2010.
[88] Grant, Charles. "India and the EU: Strategic Partners?" *CER Bulletin, Issue 46*, 2006.
[89] *India Europe Forum 2010.* April 12-13, 2010. http://wn.com/India's_bid_for_UNSC_seat.

like security, and that support India on an international stage.[90] As long as EU's weak foreign and security policy is not fixed and is overshadowed by individual policies of member countries, it is hard to build the intended attractive image of EU in India. It is also important to consider that the EU and India have strong trade and economic links and this plays an important role in attracting India towards EU. This hard power approach could provide the push to garner support for EU's long term soft power policies.

The EU has also of late recognised it's lack of efforts on the security issue front and even in the recent strategic partnership documents (2008) mentions international cooperation in conflict resolution as one of its key areas of cooperation and specifically refers to the India-Pakistan peace dialogue. Following up on this, in 2010, India and EU signed a Joint Declaration on International Terrorism which indicates that the EU has recognised the need to address issues that matter most to India which can indirectly help push along and also bring in its soft power efforts. [91]

A comparatively more successful area of EU soft power in India has been EU's culture and institutions. The framework for cultural cooperation lies in the Joint Declarations on culture between EU and India in 2004 and 2008.[92] The 2008 declaration stresses for sharing, exchange and promotion of culture between EU and India. The declarations however, facilitate an official level cultural contact and focus on policy making. What make more of an impact in the cultural sphere are elements like popular culture and education. One of the regular events that bring together culture from European countries, organised by the EU delegation to India, is the European Film Festival which has been running for 16 years as of 2011. However, European film, other than British films are usually restricted to film festivals primarily because of language barriers. In this matter, the US has an upper hand with Hollywood films having a big impact among the Indian population, including the non-English speaking population, as these films are also translated into local languages. This is similar in the case of other media like newspapers as well as any cultural products that need language to be understood. With regards to education, English-speaking countries like the US, UK and Australia have always been a prime destination for Indian students. However, in the recent past, Europe has been emerging as an attractive destination with international programmes in English and being comparatively cheaper but of similar quality as UK. In

[90] Mathew Kroenig, Melissa McAdam, Steven Weber. "Taking Soft Power Seriously." *Comparitive Strategy*, 2010.
[91] Council of the European Union. "EU-India Joint Declaration on International Terrorism." Brussels, 2010.
[92] Council of the European Union. "EU-India Joint Declaration on International Terrorism." Brussels, 2010.

2007-2008, for example, 1,700 students went to France for further studies, while 4,500 students headed to Germany.[93] In terms of higher education for the purpose of building soft power, the EU has implemented scholarship programmes like the Erasmus Mundus which is an important example in displaying how education can be used as a soft power tool for the EU in India. Financed by the European Commission the programme is a mobility programme that offers scholarships for non-European students to complete a programme in two or more countries in Europe. The programme is an ideal example of soft power as it attracts students through the funding and chance to live in multiple countries and in turn influences these students with the values, culture and idea of the Europe Union which has a high chance of turning into support for the EU if the students become future leaders in their own countries.[94] While examining the influence of EU's culture on India, it is necessary to note that Europe itself has diverse cultures and in influencing other countries, it is an individual country's culture that makes an impact. But at the same time, the cultures are packaged in the united EU culture garb and presented in this manner by the government at an official level and in foreign relations policies. This is evident particularly in the official motto of the European Union – "United in Diversity". The cultural activities and policies by the EU can be seen as efforts towards cultural diplomacy, a key element in wielding soft power. American political scientist, Milton C. Cummings, describes cultural diplomacy as: "the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding". The aim of cultural diplomacy is to present a country's views, values and ideas through culture, aside from official level interactions, and attract not just policy makers towards a country but also the civil society who consumes the cultural products for the purpose of building understanding and trust. In its nature itself, cultural diplomacy is an apt tool for building soft power. When looked at theoretically, it uses an important resource of soft power – culture and displays behaviour of soft power – attractive. Looking at the conditions for applying soft power, we see that European culture fulfils some of the conditions[95] successfully when being used to influence India: 1) the

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[93] Mitra, Shreerupa. "Indian students now heading to Europe, SE Asia." *Financial Chronicle*, June 14, 2009.
[94] Nye, Joseph. *Soft Power and Higher Education.* Forum publication, Forum for the Future of Higher Education, 2005.

[95] The conditions for soft power are: 1) the entity over which soft power is to be wielded should exist in a "functioning marketplace of ideas". This requirement describes that before wielding soft power, it is necessary that the receiving entity should have some exposure to the message that is being sent across to them and should have an affiliation towards the message which will make it attractive 2) the source communicating the soft power message should be credible, able to communicate to the target entity at an emotional level, repeatedly and

receiving entity, India, has been exposed to cultures outside of its own, right from the time of ancient civilisations where trade links facilitated cultural exchanges, through colonial times where cultural influences were bound to seep down to the colony and till present where in a globalised world the exposure of outside cultures is normal 2) European countries have had a longstanding record for being one of the most culturally-rich countries in the world. EU policies and attitudes depict seriousness towards culture which makes the EU a credible source when it wields its culture on other countries. And as India has a strong culture as well, the communication through culture strikes a chord at an emotional level which is one of the conditions for soft power to be applied successfully.

Looking at the institutions as an element of soft power in India, the main EU institution that stands out is the EU Delegation to India. The delegation represents the European Union and cooperates with India in areas of politics and economy, trade, environment, energy, science and technology, development cooperation and civil society dialogue. In addition to projects undertaken in India and funding, the delegation also facilitates various official level discussions and interactions.

From the above descriptions, it is evident that the foundation for wielding soft power in India already exists for the EU. The EU consists of values, policies, culture and institutions that it exercises as part of its foreign policy and external relations with other countries, to attract them and garner support. This is the essence of soft power. However, it is important to see what challenges and opportunities lie ahead for the EU in India, specially post-Lisbon Treaty. The following chapters will cover an analysis of opportunities and challenges for the EU to wield its soft power in India.

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the target should be open to receiving the communication. This condition looks at the psychological aspect of wielding power and stresses that the attitude of the message sender is key in making
a successful impact 3) individual attitudes linked to the foreign policy should have the ability to create an impact. The soft power efforts thus, should be targeted at individuals and relevant actors that can influence foreign policy and should not be in conflict with the target.

EU's soft power in India: Opportunities & Challenges

With the Treaty of Lisbon in effect, there have been renewed efforts to promote EU's foreign relations. In a speech in June 2010, Catherine Ashton (EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) spoke about EU- India relations post-Lisbon Treaty saying:

"The European Union as a bloc of democratic, market-oriented countries wants to work with India to promote the many values that we share. The European Union is at the beginning of a process to make even more coherent and effective what we can do and offer to our partners. We are already moving forward and exploring. That opens up enormous opportunities for EU-India relations, in priority areas for both of us such as security, climate change and trade. It is up to all of us to seize the new opportunities and give even greater substance to this vital strategic partnership."[96]

Several comments like these by Ashton and other important representatives of the EU, in various speeches indicate that there has been an enhancement in EU's engagement with India post-Lisbon Treaty and more importantly, there is a keen interest in further deepening this engagement. Hence, it is important to note what opportunities as well as what challenges does the Treaty of Lisbon present in the EU-India relationship. While exploring the opportunities and challenges post-Lisbon Treaty, for EU's soft power in India, the chapter will establish the need to promote Europe's soft power in India. This argument will further be strengthened when the opportunities & challenges for EU's soft power in India will be analysed.

While EU-India relations go decades back, a sustained political dialogue between the EU and India was established in 1993-94 in the form of a Joint Statement and Co-operation Agreement. Since then, several political level consultations and ministerial meetings have been taking place where the two parties agree on certain points of cooperation. Among these some of the recurring and most recent ones include cooperation on security and defence issues like international terrorism, environment, climate change, education and culture. This chapter will briefly mention the opportunities and challenges for the EU to use or build its soft power in the areas of environment & climate change, education and culture, and then go

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[96] Commission, Catherine Ashton EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the European. EU-India relations post-Lisbon: cooperation in a changing world. Speech. New Delhi: European Commission, 2010.

on to specifically explore the opportunities and challenges in the field of international terrorism.

Environment

The 2009 Copenhagen Summit on climate change was a recent example where the EU could have done with India's support. The resulting Accord was the outcome of consultations led by United States along with India, China, Brazil and South Africa, with many countries being excluded or feeling that they did not get a fair deal. The European Union's voice was weak and almost negligible in the deal-making. The reasons for the failure of EU's active participation in the deal range from its internal disunity to its passiveness and desire for consensual multilateral decisions as well as weak leadership.[97]

While India had apprehensions about giving in to U.S.'s demands, it did not have another superpower to collaborate with to take on the US-China might. This would have been a perfect opportunity for EU to step in and draw India to its side. But with a weak display of initiative by the EU, India was left chose to join the US-led group rather than be left out on the global decision-making stage. Perhaps having a strategic partner like India on their side would have help push EU's voice in the climate change agreement. This was realised by Herman Van Rompuy, who at a conference in Germany, mentioned, "The UN climate change summit in Copenhagen 'has reminded us of the importance of the emerging countries, like India and Brazil. It has also taught us some other geopolitical lessons. These developments invite us to ask ourselves: How can we best collaborate with the other players?'"[98]

It is hence clear that there is a desire on part of the EU to engage more with emerging countries like India. The question that is left to be explored further then is: Is soft power perhaps the answer to achieve India's support in global decisions on climate change?

Education

Educational exchanges are one of the prime tools to develop soft power. The European Union has already taken steps in this direction with international exchange programmes as well as mobility programmes like the Erasmus Mundus and partnerships in the field of Science and Technology. The education sector provides tremendous opportunities to improve the EU's visibility abroad as it brings in international students who can be influenced, as well as

[97]Charlemagne. "Winners and Losers in Copenhagen." The Economist 21 December 2009.

[98] IANS. "Copenhagen summit showed importance of India: EU." The Times of India 09 January 2010.

provides inputs for the EU on 'foreign perceptions' and 'cultural differences'.[99] However, challenges like visa policies and language barriers also exist. Education thus, specifically higher education and exchange programmes, is a key area that the EU needs to develop in order to wield its soft power abroad.

Culture

The European Union's diverse culture and history is one of its main attractors. However, in India, its main challenger in terms of external cultural influences is US pop culture. Several efforts are taken by specific cultural centres of European countries to promote their culture in India. On an EU-level however, the efforts are limited and the image of the diverse cultures unified under the EU-umbrella is still not widespread in India. The 2010 EU-India Joint Declaration on Culture[100] is the most recent step towards promoting culture between EU and India. Considering this recent interest in cultural cooperation, it is important to note how the EU can use culture as a soft power tool to build its image in India and what challenges exist in doing so.

International Terrorism

As per the official European Union website, "The basis for the EU's common foreign and security policy (CFSP) remains **'soft' power**: the use of diplomacy - backed where necessary by trade, aid and peacekeepers - to resolve conflicts and bring about international understanding."[101]. This section will analyse the various ways that the EU has used the self-proclaimed soft power in its foreign and security policy with India and what opportunities and challenges exist in doing so. With regards to India, one of the key items that join statements by EU and India consistently mention is to partner on dealing with international terrorism and building peace. At the latest EU-India Summit in December 2010, in an EU-India Joint Declaration on International Terrorism, India and EU resolved to "cooperate in combating international terrorism" within an established framework which included, among several others, "cooperation in the multilateral system, including United Nations". This is important to note as it indicates that there is an effort towards cooperation on a global stage in

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[99] Nye, Joseph. *Soft Power and Higher Education.* Forum publication, Forum for the Future of Higher Education, 2005.

[100] India, Jan Truszczynski for European Commission and Jawhar Sircar for Government of. *Joint Declaration of the European Commission and the Government of India on Culture*. Brussels, December 10, 2010.

[101] European Commission. *The history of the European Union.* http://europa.eu/abc/history/index_en.htm (accessed November 2010).

combating terrorism. The section will explore the steps taken by the EU, beyond official declarations, to garner India's support in dealing with international terrorism.

Resources of soft power in Treaty of Lisbon to deal with International Terrorism

The Lisbon Treaty has various provisions to counter terrorism within and outside Europe. Its main influence in the area of terrorism is through soft power tools as defined by Joseph Nye like institutions, policies and values rather than military sanctions and payments[102]. The military capabilities of the EU after the Treaty still remain with the member states. Even though the EU has a common security and defence policy where it can ask member states to pool in their military resources, the countries have the option of voluntarily opting out of it.[103] The treaty also created a new post for a high representative for foreign affairs and security policy which finally put a face to the EU's united image towards to external world. In addition, establishment of the European External Action Service meant to "increase EU's political and economic influence in the world", the continuation of a EU counter-terrorism coordinator and a defined strategy for countering terrorism[104] display a united effort of the part of the EU in dealing with terrorism. Institutions, which are one of the resources of soft power, are a core part of EU's counter-terrorism resources. Along with the European Parliament and European Commission, there exist the institutional bodies Europol (law enforcement agency), Eurojust (judicial cooperation body) and Frontex (cooperation for border security) which cooperate on an EU level for countering terrorism and maintaining security. More resources of soft power – values and policies – are visible in the EU's counter terrorism strategy and activities. The European Union Counter –Terrorism Strategy document clearly mentions the values with form the basis for the EU's counter terrorism activities: "The European Union's strategic commitment: To combat terrorism globally while respecting human rights....."[105]. The EU's values for the counter terrorism are shared with the United Nations. As emphasised by the Council of Europe in its policy for international terrorism, "The EU and the UN share common values which underpin all our actions in this field: rule

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[102] Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.
[103] European Commission. *Europa - Treaty of Lisbon - Questions and answers.* http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/faq/index_en.htm#15 (accessed January 2011).
[104] Council of the European Union. *Consilium - Fight Against Terrorism - EU Strategy.* http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1195&lang=en (accessed January 2011).
[105] European Council Presidency and CT Coordinator. *The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy.* Strategy Document, Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2005.

of law, good governance and respect for human rights."[106] Thus we see that the EU, specifically after the Treaty of Lisbon, has dedicated efforts towards dealing with International Terrorism, using soft power resources like institutions, values and policies which provide the foundation for the EU's counter terrorism activities and strategy.

Opportunities & Challenges

Having established that the EU, specifically post the Lisbon Treaty, has the required resources for wielding soft power like institutions, values and policies for countering international terrorism, this section will analyse the opportunities for the EU to wield its soft power in India to deal with terrorism in South Asia and around the world. The cooperation between EU and India in this field have intensified since the Mumbai attacks in 2008 where citizens of some EU members states were also victims to the terror attacks.

To start with, we take a theoretical path to see what opportunities and challenges lie in using a multidimensional approach to power and if in fact there exists an opportunity for soft power to be applied in India. David Baldwin suggested five dimensions of power: Scope, domain, weight, costs and means. Applying his theory to EU and India, the dimensions of power present the following opportunities:

Scope: Scope indicates that "an actor's power might vary in different policies"[107]. In this case, it can be applied to study the aspect of India's behaviour affected by EU. In terms of external policies on international terrorism, the EU's agenda includes ministerial meetings, dialogue and agreements, aid and technical assistance and working closely with global leaders like the UN and US.[108] In comparison to its value-driven agenda of cooperation, the EU's common military and defence strength is weak. According to common security and defence policy, member states can be asked to pool in military resources but the decision to do so lies with the states themselves.[109] This indicates that EU policy revolves more around dialogue and cooperation rather than display of strength and might. Hence, in terms of scope, the EU has opportunity to influence India in matters related to being signatories to an agreement or encouraging dialogue and thus gaining support in such situations.

[106] Council of the European Union. *Consilium - Fight Against Terrorism - External Dimension.* http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1412&lang=en (accessed January 2011).
[107] German Institute of Global and Area Studies. *Power, Norms and Governance in International Relations - Conceptual Framework.* March 2011.
[108] Council of the European Union. *Consilium - Fight Against Terrorism - External Dimension.* http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1412&lang=en (accessed January 2011).
[109] European Commission. *Europa - Treaty of Lisbon - Questions and answers.* http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/faq/index_en.htm#15 (accessed January 2011).

Domain: Domain refers to the number of actors that the EU can influence or the size of EU's influence on others. British political thinker Mark Leonard's concept of the "Eurosphere" puts into perspective the actual influence of the European Union in today's times. Mentioned in his book *Why Will Europe Run the 21st Century,* Leonard defines the influence of the 'Eurosphere' saying, around "two billion people, fully one-third of the world's population, live in this 'Eurosphere' and are gradually being transformed by adopting the European way of doing things." This number is derived from considering the EU's network: It is made up of 27 core nations, another group of countries (with approximately 385 million people) exist around the borders of the EU and share networks with member countries, outside of this area there are countries for whom the EU is the biggest trading partner and aid supplier and then there are those like Turkey, Ukraine and Georgia that are aspiring EU members.[110] Considering the "two million people" as part of EU's domain, the EU poses as an attractive partner for countries wanting to be part of a global network. This network of the "Eurosphere" offers a strong opportunity in dealing with conflict-ridden region. Steven Hill points out the influence of the Eurosphere in such regions like the Middle East where countries either border or are closely linked to Turkey which in turn is an aspiring EU member. For conflicts like the Israeli-Palestine issue, the EU exercises its power by providing significant humanitarian aid to all sides that are involved as opposed to the U.S.'s one-track military aid support for Israel. In addition, it has the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership with countries like Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Palestinian territories and other sensitive countries in the region, with one of the core areas of partnership being peace and security issues. Hence, along with its existing sphere of influence, the EU must continue using its "smart power approach"[111] for creating long term co-operations that can be used to deal with international terrorism and conflict resolution. So instead of using military might to force a country to curb conflict and terrorism, it can use a softer approach through its cooperative relationships for the same.

Weight: Weight is the probability that India will be influenced by EU's behaviour. The chances of strong influence increase with "reliability"[112]. The EU serves as a reliable partner for India, having common core values of "democracy, rule of law, respect for human

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[110] Hill, Steven. *Europe's Promise.* California: University of California Press, 2010.

[111] Hill, Steven. *Europe's Promise.* California: University of California Press, 2010.

[112] Gstöhl, Sieglinde. *The G7/G8 network governance arrangement with international organizations.* First draft of Paper prepared for the workshop "The Governance of Global Issues: Effectiveness, Accountability, and Constitutionalization" at the ECPR Joint Sessions in Edinburgh, Berlin: Humboldt University Berlin, 2003.

rights"[113]. The values themselves form the basis for the EU to be a reliable partner. Going by Charles Lispon's argument in the book *Reliable Partners,* democracies seldom go to war against each other and established, stable democracies where exchanges and co-operations in various forms exists are likely to be reliable partners.[114] Having a common standing with India in terms of values, the EU thus has a high probability to build a reliable partnership with India. A step in this direction can be seen with the EU-India Strategic Partnership which is based on common values and respect for each other and outlines a number of objectives including combating terrorism which provides a stepping stone for the EU to increase its probability or weight of its influence on India.

Costs: Costs refer to the amount the EU is willing to pay to gain India's support as well as what it would cost for India. One of the areas of debate among EU's spending is in the field of military spending. From 2001 to 2006, defence spending among EU countries declined even as number of foreign deployed troops increased. Some reasons have been debated for such controlled spending, especially when compared to military powers like the U.S. Analysts point out that focus on more priority issues like social welfare programmes as well as a preference of "soft power" for conflict resolution.[115] This has not always been a positive thing for the EU at it has been criticised, specially by the U.S., for being a weak military body and not spending enough to meet defence goals. While the U.S. is not encouraging of EU's weak military spending, it gives the EU the opportunity to create a niche in defence and security spending which displays a positive image rather than that of a war promoting region and reflects the aversion to war that most EU citizens are said to have. By highlighting its expenditure on humanitarian assistance, intelligence building and assistance, non-military efforts for security in conflict areas, etc. EU has the opportunity to display its dedication towards countering terrorism yet maintaining its soft power values. What EU needs to build is what Mead calls, "sharp power" where the EU does not explicitly have to use force and violence but should give an impression of having the capability of exercising such might, which will then attract countries to ally with the EU.

Means: Means includes the various ways to influence an entity like symbolic, economic, military and diplomatic means. For the purpose of this thesis we are primarily looking at the

[113] Rompuy, Herman Van. *Remarks by Herman Van Rompuy President of the European Council following the EU-India Summit.* Brussels, December 10, 2010.
[114] Lipson, Charles. *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Made a Separate Peace.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003.
[115] Dempsey, Judy. "EU defense spending may clash with military goals." *The New York Times.*

soft power or diplomatic means utilised by the EU and it has been established that the EU has the soft power resources.

Having explored the opportunities in various dimensions of power, for the EU in India, this section will explore whether there exists the conditions for applying soft power are fulfilled. The conditions will be based on Mathew Kroenig's argument in *Taking Soft Power Seriously*. Condition 1: For the EU to effectively wield its soft power in India, there should be a "functioning marketplace of ideas" in India. Taking the case of international terrorism, India is quite clearly aware of the issue and has a strong affiliation towards any efforts made in the direction of countering terrorism. Having been a victim of terrorism itself, several times, India is an ideal marketplace for the message of countering terrorism. In addition, being a democratic, open country, the number of barriers for messages to flow through is comparatively lower as compared to say a country like China where information from foreign sources is often filtered before reaching the masses. Thus, the first condition for successfully applying soft power in India is fulfilled.

Condition 2: This condition indicates that for EU to communicate a soft power message to India, the EU should have a credible standing in the eyes of India, able to communicate repeatedly to India at an emotional level and India should be open to receiving the communication. In the EU-India interaction, there is not a clear proof for fulfilling this condition as there was in condition 1. Credible sources, according to Kroenig are those that are "expert and trustworthy". Taking EU's soft image, with a weak military and defence standing, into consideration, it may not come across that EU is an 'expert' on dealing with international terrorism. In addition, the lack of any successful concrete conflict resolution example where EU played a major role also undermines the expertise. On the other hand, there has been no reason or situation in India where the EU has been seen as not credible or for its messages to have been unaccepted. So the EU still has the capability to build this credibility and put out messages that appeal to India on an emotional level. This condition thus, has the potential to be fulfilled.

Condition 3: This condition stresses that EU's soft power efforts should be targeted at individuals and relevant actors that can influence foreign policy and should not be in conflict with the target. In the area of terrorism, EU's interaction with India is primarily at the level of ministerial meetings and formal agreements. But it is also balanced out with work in the civil society in areas of development which indirectly serves as a barrier for fostering terrorist activities. However, the challenge that EU faces is from the competition of players like the

U.S. which is also targeting similar actors, often more effectively. A prime example is India's bid for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. The U.S. has made it vocal that it supports India's bid for the permanent seat. There is no collective EU policy recognising and supporting India's bid for a seat at the UN Security Council, which is an important issue for India that is going unrecognised by the EU.[116] The challenge thus lies in making a deeper impact than the competitors. Hence, this condition is fulfilled but needs to be made more effective.

Having established the theoretical outline for opportunities for applying soft power in India, we can take a look at the activities and information in the political sphere and what analysts say about the opportunities and challenges that the European Union faces in wielding its soft power in India, specifically in the sphere of combating international terrorism.
In a very recent (January 2011) analysis of the EU-India strategic partnership, Gauri Khandekar of the think tank FRIDE, comments on the EU-India Joint Declaration on International Terrorism (2010) saying that while the Declaration aims for greater cooperation in law and law enforcement, it does not give a strong push to something more significant like intelligence sharing. In addition, Khandekar points out that while there has been increased cooperation between the two parties since the Mumbai 2008 terror attacks[117], the security dialogues are held around once annually and with only a few meetings specifically devoted to security issues.[118] Khandekar specifically points out that during the summit India asserted its inhibitions towards EU's involvement with India's long-standing rival Pakistan and believes that EU aid for Pakistan needs to be monitored as it is being used for terrorism sponsorship.[119] This highlights the discomfort that India has with the EU-Pakistan relationship which is a major deterrent for India to support the EU. A challenge that the EU thus faces is to balance its relationships with Pakistan and India in a way that it doesn't lose the support of either and also prioritise it's focus country for a better strategic partnership. On

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[116] Grant, Charles. "India and the EU: Strategic Partners?" *Centre for European Reform Bulletin, Issue 46*, 2006.
[117] Ten coordinated armed and bombing attacks took place in Mumbai in November 2008, allegedly by militants from Pakistan, killing 164 and wounding hundreds of others
[118] Khandekar, Gauri. *The EU-India strategic partnership: Are we there yet?* Opinion Article, FRIDE - Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior, 2010.
[119] Following the partition of the Indian subcontinent into present-day India and Pakistan in 1947 after the British rule, sowed the seeds for future conflict. There have been three wars between India and its arch-rival Pakistan since 1947, two of them over the disputed territory of Kashmir. A peace process, which started in 2004, stayed on track despite tension over Kashmir and several high-profile bombings until the Mumbai attacks of November 2008, which police blamed on Pakistani militants. *Source: BBC: India Country Profile*

similar terms is the fascination of the EU with China which has India view EU through sceptical glasses.[120]

Following the 2008 Mumbai attack, another terror attack in 2010 in the city of Pune reinforced the need for counter terrorism cooperation between EU and India. In an analysis for Institute for Defence and Strategic Affairs, Alok Rashmi Mukhopadyay too touches upon intelligence sharing and mentions that under the British Presidency and with the suicide attacks in London in 2005, there was an agreement at the sixth EU-India summit to increase cooperation between intelligence agencies in Europe and India – Europol and Central Bureau of Investigation which had been lacking for a long time. Mukhopadyay points out that the challenge for the EU, even with the European External Action Services in force, is that the priorities of the EU and India are different. "For the EU it is the transatlantic partnership, Iran, WMD, etc. While for India, the troubled neighbourhood would remain the obvious focus." He however, gives a solution for the strategic partners to cooperate in the area of terrorism by putting emphasis on "religious radicalisation" which is a common problem for both EU and India. He stresses that EU and India should use every opportunity to cooperate on counter terrorism activities.[121]

Another aspect to consider when analysing the opportunities and challenges for EU in India, is the India-U.S. relationship in the area of defence and security and countering terrorism, which provides several opportunities and challenges for EU to build its own relationship with India in this field. In a 2008 paper for South Asia Analysis Group, Dr Subhash Kapila again takes up the EU-India Strategic Partnership that has been evolving since 2004 which he claims has not received desired attention in the public sphere on account of the more prominent external relations of India with the U.S. and Russia. However, he is positive that EU-India relations are significant in comparison saying that:

 "..it can be analytically stated that in terms of substantial progress, formulation of multi-dimensional blueprints for joint development of the strategic partnership and moving forward and establishment of institutional mechanisms to carry the blueprint further, the EU – India Strategic Partnership scores heavily in comparison with the Russia-India Strategic Partnership and the US-India Strategic Partnership."

Kapila states that the opportunities for the EU to enhance its relationship with India, in comparison with US and Russia, are connected with various factors like strong colonial links,

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[120] Kapila, Dr. Subhash. *European Union-India Strategic Partnership Reviewed.* Paper, South Asia Analysis Group, 2008.

[121] Mukhopadhyay, Alok Rashmi. "EU-India Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Post-Lisbon Prospects." *IDSA Comment*, February 26, 2010.

age-old cultural contacts, similar values and perspectives that unite than those that divide and subtle disparities compared to the more obvious ones in India-US and India-Russia relations, which make the EU-India relationship more comfortable.[122] In addition, the opportunity for EU arises in the fact that it can cooperate with India to fill gaps where the US has not shown much interest, like in South East Asia. On a similar note, Harish Kapur analyses the EU-India relationship with the backdrop of India warming up to the United States. He presents an opportunity for EU to make its mark on India, as India, he says, has an inherent anti-American outlook and has more problems with US than with EU.[123] But at the same time the challenge for EU he presents is that the US has diplomatically appeased India on issues like its relationship with China, regional issues and labour standards. For example, on something as sensitive as Kashmir, the US has managed to put up a neutral front in certain aspects and strategically chosen not to criticise or raise a voice, while EU has irked India with an almost imperial questioning of India's human rights records and often showing signs of cooperation on the Pakistani side over the Kashmir issue.[124] While the EU may have its intentions in the right place and makes honest efforts, the US is putting out an attractive image which may have a hidden agenda behind it, but nevertheless, manage to gain India's support. Further substantiating the India-US relationship as a competitor to the India-EU relationship, is the survey on the External Image of the European Union conducted in 2005-2006 which mentions in its findings that there is a "mutual disinterest" between EU and India and while attempts have been made at an institutional level to bring the two parties closer, India's primary cultural influence is from the US[125] which could pose as a challenge to break through to India in the face of the dominant American culture. On a general note, the survey also presents a bleak view for EU's image in India with just 13% of the public considering it as a world power, political elites viewing EU primarily as a trading partner and the media highlighting mainly the economic and trade relationship. However, it is not all bad news and tough challenges. In the area of security issues, the Indian media regards the EU as a major player in South Asian security issues like conflicts in Kashmir and Sri Lanka. An example of the pro-democracy stand taken by the EU during 2006 Nepal crisis was also constructed positively in the Indian media. More encouragingly, official speeches by Indian political elites "regularly refer to the EU as an ally in the fight against terrorism and a promoter of

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[122] Kapila, Dr. Subhash. *European Union-India Strategic Partnership Reviewed.* Paper, South Asia Analysis Group, 2008.
[123] Kapur, Harish. "India and the European Union - An Uneasy Relationship."
[124] Kapur, Harish. "India and the European Union - An Uneasy Relationship."
[125] Lorenzo Fioramonti, Sonia Lucarelli. "The External Image of the European Union - Forum on the Problems of Peace and War and Garnet Joint Executed Research Project 5.2.1." Survey. 2005-2006.

global security" and as with many other analysts and EU political speeches, the survey proves that the political elites specifically, emphasise the common values shared between the EU and India. The survey emphasises that there exists in public discourse and in the Indian media, the favour for EU as a counterbalance to the US. In addition, considering that the survey has been conducted in 2005-2006, EU-India relations have developed a long way since then, specially on the security front after 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai.

Going back to analysing the EU-India Strategic Partnership, as presented by Kapila, focussing on defence and security issues specifically, Kapila mentions that the EU and India have the benefit of having experience in multilateral approach to international issues and these can be easily combined for conflict resolution and appeasing tensions round the world. He emphasises the benefit of the Strategic Partnership to counter terrorism specifically in South Asia as the Partnership recognises India as a major player in the South Asian region and in turn, India can expect its strategic partner EU to respond to India's concerns in the region. The challenge, Kapila states, is that India views the partnership in softer aspects of the relationship like political, economic, science and technology and culture while the EU seems to expect India to play a major role in security management in the South Asian region.[126] Analysing this point about the difference in expectations from the strategic partnership, it leads to questioning whether EU's consistent efforts using primarily soft power tactics has led India being unable to automatically view the EU as a partner for dealing with harder issues like defence and security management. The answer to this could lie in establishing a link between EU's soft power image and efficient handling of hard issues like security and terrorism. This link takes us back to thinking about the various other modifications of soft power suggested by analysts and theorists in the beginning of this thesis, like Mead's "sticky" and "sharp" power, Tharoor's suggestion of a combination of hard and soft power and finally Nye's "smart power" concept. Based on these theories and analysis of EU's opportunities and challenges in India, it is evident that solely soft power is not the answer and the EU needs to take up the challenge of developing its smart power if it wants to compete for India's attention with the likes of U.S. and Russia. On similar lines is an article in Spanish newspaper El Pais, which criticises the soft power basis for EUs influence in the world, saying that it is not a sufficient replacement for real hard power policies. It points out that in 199-2008, while defence expenditures have had a steep rise from about 173% for Russia to a 66% increase for U.S., EU's defence spending has just seen a 5% rise which is negligible for the kind of world

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[126] Kapila, Dr. Subhash. *European Union-India Strategic Partnership Reviewed.* Paper, South Asia Analysis Group, 2008.

power the EU attempts to be.[127] With competition like this, the EU's soft power seems to be an idealistic attempt in a world that is "by no means as noble as the partisans of soft power would have us believe".[128] While the article may seem to be on one extreme by encouraging a hard power approach as opposed to EU's soft power approach, it does make one think of the middle path which would relate to Mead's "sharp power". This approach involves having the traditionally military power but does not necessarily mean that force and violence have to be used. Just having the capability can make the entity attractive to other countries who would voluntarily want to support the power for their own safety benefits. Another analyst Charles Grant points out another opportunity for the EU, which arises from the fact that India, while forging close ties with the US, would like to maintain a balance by having close ties with the EU as well, so that it doesn't have to be completely dependent on just the US. While this opportunity exists, it also comes with the challenge of proving to India that the EU has strong foreign and defence policies which will be relevant for India. Grant mentions what has been the argument by other analysts like Kapila as well as by the EU itself in strategic documents, that "the common values shared by Indians and Europeans could underpin a close partnership". Based on these arguments above, it is evident that a soft power approach, with relevant institutions, values and policies for countering terrorism is a positive way ahead for the EU in India. However, it is also necessary for the EU to work on its hard power image, at least for providing a sense of security and relevance, especially for countries like India for whom security and defence issues are of top priority.

In his book on Europe's rising position in the world, Steven Hill lists out several opportunities for the EU in leading the way in today's age. Two of these stand out as opportunities that exist for the EU to develop its counter terrorism efforts in India through a soft approach: the EU has a stronger say on international issues as the individual member state votes and voices are usually majority in favour of the EU positions and the EU's multilateral diplomatic approach that is more likely to garner cooperation even from countries in conflict as opposed to the hard power approach of the US which not gone down well with many in the recent past. Hill stresses the reducing US influence, even among countries like India which are its allies and is optimistic that change is on the forefront but just needs a gentle push in the right direction without creating hostility. This push he believes can be

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[127] Rizzi, Andrea. "Soft power no match for hard reality." El Pais 27 July 2009.
[128] Rizzi, Andrea. "Soft power no match for hard reality." El Pais 27 July 2009.

provided by the EU which is well equipped to do so with its soft power approaches that gain support and attraction from countries that voluntarily willing to ally with EU. [129]

While there is optimism and opportunities stated for the EU to wield its soft power in India, there have been efforts in this direction on the part of the EU for almost a decade at least. However a fundamental barrier crops up time and again which poses as one of the challenges that the EU needs to deal with at the earliest. Much criticism from India is towards EU's mixed identity of a common union and member states which sends out a confused message to countries who are not sure how to balance the relations with individual member states as well as the European Union as a single entity. Analysts comment that internal disagreements among EU member states and the bureaucratic frustration of having to deal with two levels of institutional authority (member states and EU institutions) undermine the EU's image as a common union. The Lisbon Treaty is a step in the right direction as it attempts to provide a single image of Europe to the outside world and gives a face to the European Union as a common unit with the appointment of Herman Von Rompuy as President of the European Council and Catherine Ashton as the Vice President and High Representative for foreign affairs and security policy. However this again has been met with criticism from various quarters for appointing people in an image-building position who may have the skill but do not have the charisma or popularity that someone in this position requires. Charles Grant, in a paper on EU-India ties, quotes an Indian official as saying "if you want us to take the EU seriously, please appoint a president we have heard of".[130]

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[129] Hill, Steven. *Europe's Promise.* California: University of California Press, 2010.

[130] Grant, Charles. "Four pillars for an EU-India partnership." *Centre for European Reform Bulletin*, 2008.

Conclusion

Soft power is a fairly new and developing concept in the field of international relations. For the European Union, it is one of the key elements that forms the basis for its external policy and interaction with the world. The EU's engagement with India occurs in various fields ranging from culture and education to environment and security and defence issues. Official speeches and opinions of political elites of the EU indicate that over the years there has been an enhancement in EU's engagement with India, specifically post-Lisbon Treaty. More importantly, there is a keen interest in further deepening this engagement. This thesis takes a look at EU's soft power efforts in India and analysis the opportunities and challenges for the EU to engage its soft power to achieve results in various areas of cooperation, in specific, that of international terrorism (security and defence issues). Analysing the opportunities and challenges in this specific field is important in the wake of the recently signed EU-India Joint Declaration on International Terrorism (2010) where the EU and India resolved to "cooperate in combating international terrorism" within an established framework. Such a Joint Declaration makes it clear that EU is interested in partnering with India on the issue of international terrorism. Soft power in particular includes institutions, values, policies and culture. The thesis analyses how these resources come into play when dealing with an issue like international terrorism. The EU, specifically after the Treaty of Lisbon, has dedicated efforts towards dealing with International Terrorism, using soft power resources like institutions, values and policies which provide the foundation for the EU's counter terrorism activities and strategy.

Opportunities for the EU to deal with international terrorism through soft power are explored through relating the situation with the theories as well as analysing what analysts say about the EU-India relations in particular to international terrorism.

By using David Baldwin's five dimensions of power – scope, domain, weight, costs, means – the thesis explores the opportunity these dimensions offer for the EU to wield its soft power in India to deal with international terrorism. The conclusions based on this theory reveal the following:

Scope: EU policy revolves more around dialogue and cooperation rather than display of strength and might. The EU thus has the opportunity to influence India in matters related to being signatories to an agreement or encouraging dialogue and thus gaining support in such

situations rather than trying to wield military might where its scope is very limited.

Domain: Regarding the domain of EU's influence, Mark Leonard's concept of "Eurosphere" indicates that several countries in and around Europe as well as those networked with the EU bring together almost 2 million people, including several strategic countries for dealing with international terrorism. This cooperative network of the "Eurosphere" offers a strong opportunity in dealing with conflict-ridden regions.

Weight: The EU serves as a reliable partner for India, having common core values of "democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights"[131]. This common standing with India in terms of values, provides the EU a high probability to build a reliable partnership with India. The EU-India Strategic Partnership which is based on common values and respect for each other and outlines a number of objectives including combating terrorism which provides a stepping stone for the EU to increase its probability or weight of its influence on India.

Costs: The EU has a controlled spending practice for hard security and defence issues, while spending more in softer aspects of relationship building. By highlighting its expenditure on humanitarian assistance, intelligence building and assistance, non-military efforts for security in conflict areas, etc. EU has the opportunity to display its dedication towards countering terrorism yet maintaining its soft power values.

Means: The EU has established tools and resources for wielding power through diplomacy and soft power means.

Having established the opportunities and challenges presented by the dimensions of power theory, the thesis also looks at whether the conditions for EU to wield its soft power in India, exist. Awareness of the issue of terrorism, affiliation towards anti-terrorism activities having been a victim of terrorism itself, a democratic open country with few barriers for external messages to flow through, make India a "functioning marketplace of ideas" for the message of countering terrorism as sent through the EU and thus fulfil the first condition for applying soft power. The second condition, which requires the EU to have a credible standing in the eyes of India and the capability to communicate repeatedly at an emotional level, has the potential to be fulfilled but the challenge lies in proving its credibility and communicating the message more efficiently. The third condition which stresses that soft power efforts should be directed at those that can influence policy, is met but needs to be made more effective to make an impact, specially when facing competition like the United States.

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[131] Rompuy, Herman Van. *Remarks by Herman Van Rompuy President of the European Council following the EU-India Summit.* Brussels, December 10, 2010.

Thus, the theoretical bases of soft power and its application proved the opportunities and challenges that the EU has in terms of developing its soft power in India. The thesis then went on to study comments from analysts, primarily on the EU-India Joint Declaration on Terrorism and the EU-India Strategic Partnership – both major steps in establishing stronger relations specifically for the purpose of countering terrorism. Based on the analysis the **opportunities** for the EU to wield soft power in India for dealing with terrorism include the following:

- Common values and a multilateral approach to foreign relations
- Waning popularity of the US's hard power tactics, making the case for soft power more attractive
- Favour for the EU to be a counterbalance to the US is expressed in Indian public discourse and in the Indian media
- With a double layered support from the individual member countries as well as the EU as a single union, the EU has a stronger say on international issues where EU's single voice as well as most individual member country voices align with the EU position.

Thus we see that there is space and support on the global front for a country using soft power to make its mark. The EU has the advantage of soft power resources like values, policies and institutions all using soft power tactics to cooperate with India in dealing with international terrorism.

The challenges that lie ahead for the EU when it attempts to wield its soft power in India to deal with international terrorism include:

- Low frequency of security related meetings which indicate a low use of soft power resources of institutional interaction
- EU's support of Pakistan and fascination with China undermines its image as a reliable partner for India specifically in security and defence issues where Pakistan and China are major threats for India
- A case of the EU values of human rights being unattractive for India is in the Kashmir conflict where EU has criticised India's human rights record in the region and in an almost preaching manner put India off as it prefers a neutral or a flexible stance on an issue very important to India
- Competition from the US's soft power efforts in India. The US has diplomatically appeased India on issues like its relationship with China, regional issues and labour standards. Also, India's primary cultural influence is from the US.

- Political elites and media are more aware of and propagate the economic and trade relationship of EU with India which undermine the EU's efforts in creating a soft power image in India
- Bureaucracy of the European Union and its member states puts a strain on EU's soft power resources of institutions and policies which do not seem attractive when they are not easily accessible or not promoted in an attractive manner.

Taking these opportunities and challenges into consideration, it is important for the EU to build its soft power in India to combat terrorism by attracting India to gain support. For example, the EU is pushing India to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Common Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and perhaps a flexible soft power approach can be one of the tools EU can use to putting forward its cause.

Considering everything discussed so far, a solution I can offer is based on the combination of powers, much in line with what Shashi Tharoor, Mead and now even Nye say, about a combination of hard and soft power, more popular known as "smart power". In a world where atleast military equipped and being able to display an image of military might is equated to having power, it would be a mistake for the EU to rely completely on soft power. Specially when looking at allies in issues like security and defence, having at least a strong image that seems capable of dealing with security and defence issues if the need arises, proves to me more attractive in this case. At the same time, the EU should not let go of its soft power as that is its strength and what sets it apart from other powers. In a world where US-type hard power is gaining criticism, it is time for EU to effectively use its soft power by modifying it into smart power to prove successful in world politics.

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