



**Berliner Studien zur
Internationalen Politik und Gesellschaft**

Herausgegeben von Klaus Voll und Uwe Skoda

Band 3

Rising India – Europe's Partner?

**Foreign and Security Policy, Politics, Economics,
Human Rights and Social Issues, Media,
Civil Society and Intercultural Dimensions**

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Berliner Studien zur Internationalen Politik und Gesellschaft

Berlin Studies in International Politics and Societies

Edited by Klaus Voll and Uwe Skoda

There are hardly any international events of significance today which fail to influence the run of domestic politics. Every state is affected, if variably. International relations do not amount to the practice of 'global internal politics', though they do indeed form a complex network of interdependencies within which a small group of states and trans-national organisations clearly have the whip hand.

This series attempts to highlight the propelling forces and essential constituents of this system, whose mechanisms and system-induced dependencies shall also be elucidated.

The contributions are chosen on the basis of the following considerations:

- Lucid presentation, apart from tracing historical developments, must lead to a topically relevant and future-oriented analysis, divergent standpoints being accommodated so as to avoid one-sided simplistic analyses.
- The global inter-linkages of the international system should be delineated in overarching presentations of individual subject areas, conflicts in international politics and in developing societies / countries being focused in their fundamental aspects along with attempts to seek solutions. We see macro level studies on international relations as important as detailed studies on a micro level. Apart from political studies, we endorse and welcome anthropological and sociological perspectives as well as interdisciplinary and other methodologically well-founded approaches to cover and explore local configurations of power and societies.
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- This series, originally established in 1976 together with Werner Pfennig, aims to make room for controversial presentations. The individual volumes shall also be designed as reference works and provide guidance for further studies and practice-related evaluations.

Published in the series are contributions from writers of varying academic positions. The contents of the contributions reflect the views of the individual authors who therefore bear full responsibility for them.

Klaus Voll and Uwe Skoda

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In Memory of John S. Lall
1914 – 2002

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About John S. Lall

In 1983, I met John S. Lall for the first time as my neighbour in Jor Bagh in Delhi. As a newcomer to India, I learned a tremendous lot from his wide-ranging knowledge, about India and its relations with various parts of the world over the years. He has been one of India's finest administrators, ever since his position as the first *Dewan* (Prime Minister) of Sikkim, during the rule of the *Chogyal*, up to a prominent position in the Ministry of Defence, Government of India: "In one way or the other, the Himalayas have been an obsession with me all my life, the form changing with occupation and the passing years. An enthusiastic trekker to start with, I was fortunate to be asked to become the first *Dewan* of Sikkim in pre-integration days from 1949 to 1954. Service in the Defence Ministry from 1958 to the end of 1963 spanned the souring of relations with China, the war of 1962 and the subsequent effort to learn lessons and acquire a little more of the will and capacity to wage war, should it ever become necessary.—It was a war which should never have taken place."¹

Endowed by his studies in England, he spoke excellent Oxford English. His wide interest in domestic and international affairs has been impressive. So much so, when he accompanied and guided in early 1984 for a whole day the former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri—the old impressive capital of the Moghul ruler *Akbar the Great*—Schmidt wanted to invite him spontaneously to lectures in Germany, especially to the *German Society for Foreign Policy* (DGAP). Lall—the author of the text of a memorable photo-book on Agra and Fatehpur Sikri²—had served as a young officer of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS)³ as District Collector there.

Lall, who has written extensively on administration and a variety of other subjects, also published books on the *Ecology of the Himalayas*⁴ and a standard work on *Aksaichin*⁵ which deals with the intricate border problems between India and China as well as with the illegal annexation by China of this geo-strategic important (former) part of India. This book is very much valid till date with its solid analysis of the historical foundations from the 19th century till the invasion of the Chinese *People's Liberation Army* (PLA) in Tibet, the then Indian China policy and the Indo-China war in 1962, particularly at a time, when these great Asian powers are trying to find solutions for their borders and are increasingly engaging in political and economic relations.

John Lall and myself, we have been neighbours for about 15 years in Jor Bagh and later in beautiful Nizamuddin-East in New Delhi, in close vicinity of *Humayun's Tomb*, which is on the World Heritage list. Still in his eighties, he drove his well-maintained *Volkswagen Beetle*, often coming from the library of the *India International Centre* (IIC), before he finally settled with his wife Hope in their estate in Jilling / Kumaon in 2 000 meters altitude, with its beautiful far-distant view to the Himalayan panorama of Nanda Devi, Trishul etc. and close to his son Steve, a former pilot of the Indian Air Force (IAF) and an environmentalist, his daughter-in-law Parvati and granddaughter Nandini.

In the late 80s and early 90s, we did little tours outside Delhi together, visiting Aligarh and Meerut and the cathedral of Sardhana, in the midst of sugar-cane fields. I still see him sitting under a mango tree in Sardhana together with an old Muslim, owner of an orchard, speaking in the finest Hindustani and Urdu with each other. Lall dedicated in the 1990s a novel-like biography—which gives good insights into those times—to Begam Samru, a legendary and extraordinary woman of the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, ruling the *Jaidad* of Sardhana given to her by the Emperor and confirmed by the British. She lived into her eighties during the decline of the Mughal Empire.⁶ “Formal history has paid scant attention to the unusual story of a *nautch*⁷ girl who died in

1836 as a Christian princess, honoured by Emperor Shah Alam, and the friend and ally of the last foreign conquerors of India. Her life spanned the inglorious decline of Moghul rule in Hindustan, known as *Gardi ka Waqt* ('time of troubles') and the extension of British power up to the Southern limits of the Sikh kingdom of Punjab.—The life story of this extraordinary Christian princess has no parallel in the transition from chaos to order in Hindustan two hundred years ago. Her memory lives on in the splendid cathedral she built at Sardhana near Meerut which continues to draw thousands of visitors from far and near.”⁸

In Delhi, we went quite often together to interesting lectures and discussions to the prestigious India International Centre (IIC)—for quite a number of years John S. Lall had been its director—and later to the newly-built India Habitat Centre (IHC). On one memorable occasion, the *Center for Science and Environment* (CSE) awarded the prize of “the greenest Chief Minister of India” to the CM of Sikkim. When his Chief Secretary learned about Lall’s presence, the CM invited him spontaneously for the next day for dinner together with his wife to *Sikkim House* in Delhi. In Gangtok, the main Bazaar is named after John S. Lall, acknowledging his impeccable tenure there and his reputation till date. Later, a fire had devastated the original documents in Gangtok’s Central Secretariat, so an officer came all the way up to Jilling to verify the authenticity of Lall’s administrative instructions and regulations—coping with Sikkim’s developmental stages at that time—some of which had been still followed in the late 90s and might be even nowadays.

For some of the authors in this book, John Lall, born on the 9th of September 1914, had been a senior, but close and well known to them, in particular for K. Subrahmanyam, N. N. Vohra and Salman Haidar, I believe. Others know him and his work and have interacted with him. Visiting German politicians like Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt and Egon Bahr or later Dr. Hans-Georg Wieck as German Ambassador to India interacted with him quite intensively, but also Professor Hartmut Elsenhans and Hans-Eberhard Dingels, to name only a few.

Even after settling in Jilling, which he named “Tashiding” (‘Place of Happiness’), he came quite regularly a few times in a year with the *Raniket Express* to Delhi, where I regularly received him in the morning shortly before 5 a. m. at Old Delhi Railway Station. He stayed most of the time in his beloved IIC or sometimes also with his long-time friend Soli Sorabjee, one of the most eminent jurists and a former Attorney General of the Government of India. On John S. Lall’s last trip to Jilling, instructed by the then IIC-director N. N. Vohra, three officers of the IIC, who till date hold him like their other colleagues, who knew him personally, in high esteem, and myself—besides trusted Deepak Joshi, brother of his daughter-in-law Parvati, brought him, till his old age a physically and mentally fit and proud man, for the first time in a wheel chair—with great pains due to cancer—via the underground passage of Old Delhi Railway station to his compartment in the *Raniket Express*. I don’t know how, but I spontaneously embraced him for the first time in my life, not knowing that he would die a few days later on the 26th of December 2002 in Jilling, where he is buried.

Originally, at the conception and during the initial stages of this book, I had no intention to dedicate it to anyone. But in the course of time, during my early morning walks in the garden of Humayun’s Tomb, I thought that I should honour in a modest way a remarkable man—although ex post—and his memory, who symbolized best Indian values and a self-confident readiness for constructive dialogues between Europeans and Indians, based on an extraordinary and always updated knowledge, particularly with regard to historic and contemporary World Affairs.⁹

Therefore, it is perhaps worthwhile for all those, who are genuinely interested in constructive and future oriented dialogues between representatives of the European and Indian civil societies as equal partners in a globalising world, to know about an extraordinary man like John S. Lall who thought and acted according to such maxims.

Tashiding (‘Place of Happiness’)
Jilling-Matial, Uttar Pradesh

Klaus Voll
20th of September 2006

NOTES

¹ John S. Lall (1989): *Aksaichin and Sino-Indian Conflict*. Allied Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Madras, New Delhi (356 pages including a very detailed index), quoted from the Preface, p. IX

² "...on the grand pageant of Moghul Agra..."(quoted from notes on John S. Lall in his book on the Himalaya. (The editors)

³ John S. Lall had been trained under the British in the erstwhile *Indian Colonial Service* (ICS)

⁴ John S. Lall (Ed., 1981): *The Himalaya. Aspects of Change*. Oxford University Press (OUP), Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras with a wide range of essays.

⁵ See Footnote (1)

⁶ John S. Lall (1997): *Begam Samru. Fading Portrait in a Gilded Frame*. Roli Books, New Delhi

⁷ A dancing girl; Begam Samru, originally known as Farzana, was born as the daughter of a concubine. (The editors)

⁸ Especially at the 2nd Sunday of November each year, hailing from all kinds of (religious) communities (The editors).

⁹ I have done this in accordance with my co-editor Doreen Beierlein who has experienced the beauty of Jilling.

Preface

The aim of this book is to strengthen further dialogues between Europeans and Indians, but also for Europeans to recognize India's growing political, economic and cultural importance as well as its international and geo-political involvements—not to forget the tensions in the region and the examples of cross-border terrorism and low-intensity warfare directed against the integrity of the Indian Union, at the same time not ignoring internal causes—to mention a few, besides some of the other topics dealt with in this book, like economics, social and human rights issues, media in their various aspects, cultural dimensions, intercultural experiences and competences. In future, it would be also worthwhile to focus increasingly on India's knowledge about Europe in a more systematic manner.

Therefore, people from various backgrounds did contribute: Historians, Political Scientists, Economists, Business Administrators, Sociologists, Ethnologists, Cultural Anthropologists, Environmental Scientists, Indologists, Islam-, Media-, Literary-, International Relations- and Global Studies Scholars, Psychologists, Lawyers, acting and former Diplomats—some up to the highest levels as Ambassadors and Foreign Secretaries—Defense Analysts, Civil Servants, Journalists, Professors and Academicians from Universities, Think Tanks, Research Institutes and a political Foundation, Religious Leaders and Scholars—two of them recipients of the *Right Livelihood Award* (Alternative Nobel Prize)—an active Politician, Political Advisors, Social and Human Rights Activists, Film Makers, Dancers, Photographers and also refreshingly young Students, partly with an Indo-European background. I also want to stress that quite a substantial number of women in various positions

from India and Europe have contributed to this volume. Unfortunately, some authors could not write or finish their articles, primarily due to serious health reasons or more important professional commitments during the preparatory period.

Implicitly, besides methodological and theoretical considerations, this tremendous variety will permit certain holistic and also realistic insights into the complexities of different subjects, perhaps in a way as a *little mosaic* even into India as a whole and its specific relations with Europe. Transcending generations, all the authors are seemingly inspired by the zest for a mutual and improved understanding between Europe and India in an increasingly globalising and interculturally connected world which requires in future far more analytical and in-depth knowledge about such diversified (sub-) continental civilizations like Europe and India and their relevant contemporary structures, besides real intercultural competences which cannot be so easily acquired.

Different world views, dissent, criticism and implicit contradictions don't have to be exclusive, they can very well prepare in a constructive manner the ground for a genuine interest into each others societies with qualitative insights in various fields. This has to be a continuous and even more coordinated and transparent process in future in order to be able to associate with each other in a truly civilized manner and to create mutual benefits.

Unfortunately, the ground realities in this regard are quite different. After 23 years in India, yet primarily in Delhi, I find it important to improve the interactions with all cross-sections of the people of India, which is undoubtedly on its way to become a world power of the 21st century. Even constructive criticism is often not welcome at all, especially by quite a number of the "complacent and snooty post-modern Germans", to quote a very knowledgeable and sincere Indian. Not only a few amongst them prefer to remain largely amongst each other and they do reduce the contacts with the society of their host country to a minimum or at best they keep them with the establishment, although quite often from yesteryears.

“Diplomats”, without generalizing in view of commendable exceptions, “are above all civil servants”, according to an exceptional European ambassador to India, besides that they are quite often at a disadvantage, due to insufficient inputs by their External Affairs Ministries, and are not adequately informed about the existing experiences, contacts and data etc. from their predecessors, leading to a lack of institutional memory.

Europeans, residing in Delhi and most of them in well-paid professions as diplomats, representatives of business houses, members of political foundations etc., show practically no interest in following often profound, controversial and topical public debates in various institutions like the India International Centre, India Habitat Centre, Constitution Club etc., although there are a few laudable individual exceptions, particularly from some of the smaller European countries like Austria, Ireland or The Netherlands, to name a few. Stereotypes about each other have to be overcome. It is a definite requirement to mutually understand the respective thinking, professional and economic interests. *The Indo-German Science Circle*, launched in 2004, is a commendable step in the right direction. True communications with representatives from the industrial-, IT- and service sectors in particular and the reform-oriented Indian bourgeoisie and the professional middle classes, why not also the Trade Unions, NGO-sector etc., in particular are essential.

On the other hand, there are a lot of scholars from various disciplines in Germany alone, not to mention the wide variety in Europe as a whole, who work on India or Indo-German/European topics—besides political and private foundations as well as think-tanks –, but they often literally don’t know about each other, although the situation is gradually improving.

This book contains different viewpoints. Criticism of structures in India is not meant to show off, but to highlight the dangers of unnecessary social costs without adequate reforms. Perhaps experiences from Europe’s social and economic history could be of interest for Indians, irrespective of the existing cultural differences. The country has a tremendous potential, considering its hard working people—be it as small

and medium farmers, landless and qualified factory workers, craftsmen, (IT) engineers and scientists etc.—in order to unleash even more productive forces leading to higher growth rates. But the high amount of suicides by indebted farmers, due to a lack of rains etc., is alarming and disturbing. On the other hand, it is quite embarrassing to see European diplomats regularly wining and dining in opulence on Page 3 of the various national newspapers primarily with those who are perhaps not really representative of the “real” India and also bear quite a lot of implicit responsibility for many of its dismal conditions.

We are speaking so often, sometimes slightly light-minded and a bit superficial, about civil society contacts and dialogues. The fact that more than a hundred experts and personalities from India and Europe, even a few from other parts of the world, have contributed to the success of this book, without any financial remuneration or funding, speaks for itself and demonstrates their genuine interest as citizens in the various subjects. Certainly, the world-famous Frankfurt Book Fair 2006 with India as partner country has been an additional incentive.

I am aware about the fact that it would have been worthwhile to include more sociological, historical, political scientific and economic contributions particularly from the Indian side in this volume, perhaps there is a slight overdose in the field of foreign and security policy—as a result of my specialization during the last years—but time and space constraints did not permit this ideal approach, besides that there has been also an undefined limit to which I could stretch with my multiple ideas and long-standing contacts the patience of my young co-editor.

There are quite a number of contributors to this volume who are based in Berlin, all in their own right, a few from the academic traditions of the erstwhile German Democratic Republic, particularly from the Humboldt University in Berlin, but also quite some younger one’s from the Freie Universität. Since 1985, I am teaching there, without any honorarium, aspects of *Indian Politics*. At that time, there have been no seminars at all at the biggest Institute for Political Science in Germany about the largest democracy in the world. Some of the authors

have attended also my seminars and it has been a great joy for me to see them growing in their areas of specialization over the years and to enter into useful professions. With others, I have conducted seminars together. Besides a few exceptions, I know most of the authors personally, some since three to four decades, others often for quite a number of years, partly also as a result of my various professional assignments in Germany and in India. Some have become real friends. Many of them I meet either in Berlin or they are visiting me in my home in Delhi with its unique and beautiful view of the full panorama of *Humayun's Tomb* which belongs to the *World Heritage*.

The small but innovative publishing house *Weißensee Verlag* in Berlin has taken the initiative to develop gradually an internet-based Indo-European Information System (IS) with systematic address collections which should lead to new synergies and information benefits, as a result of the active participation and inputs from many concerned.

Also on behalf of my young and dedicated co-editor Doreen Beierlein, who has carried a lot of burden during the editorial process, I want at the end whole-heartedly thank all those who have contributed with their article(s) to this volume.

I want to thank also Maria Kapfer, Camilla Fabbri, both from *Weissensee Verlag*, and Doreen Beierlein for the final editorial work, Kavita Verma, Christoph Sprung and Doreen Beierlein again for transcribing some of the interviews. In particular, I want to thank also Amit Pasricha, one of India's younger and excellent photographers, author of several photo books, for providing the photos for the cover. Arndt Christian-Andrew Michael, one of the contributors to this volume, did for several days a lot of proofreading, for which both the editors are extremely grateful. Nourki and Meena Tamang in Delhi contributed with their dedicated work indirectly to the relatively smooth final editing.

In particular, I want also to express my sincere gratitude to both the publishers, Reuben Israel, publisher of *Mosaic Books* in New Delhi and his team as well as Ralf Hannemann, *Weißensee Verlag*, Berlin, so that this volume—the latest in a

long list after 30 years of the *Berlin Studies in International Politics and Societies* (“Berliner Studien zur Internationalen Politik und Gesellschaft”), launched in 1976—can be exhibited as a result of a true and modest Indo-German cooperation at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2006 with India as partner country.

During the final stages of the editing processes, the quiet morning hours inspired me in the beautiful monsoon atmosphere of the garden of *Humayun’s Tomb* in Delhi—resembling in the perception of the erstwhile builders to “Paradise” and so beautifully restored by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Agha Khan Foundation supervised by the young Indian architect Ratish Nanda—to bring this volume finally to a good end, together with my co-editor in far-distant Berlin.

Klaus Voll

New Delhi, 19th of September 2006