Standard ways measuring power: **military, economic** and other forms of power (*military power*, *nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles, size of armies, air forces and navies, numbers of foreign bases and power projection capabilities, space-based assets and cyberspace capabilities; for economic power, absolute and relative GDP, world trade shares, foreign exchange reserves, tax revenues, military budgets, industrial production, possession of vital energy and other resources)* 

**Soft power** – scientific, technological, intellectual, ideological and cultural prowess, presence and power position in int organisations, institutional power

**Superpower**: needs not just dominate own region but to extend beyond any one region in its reach and influence

## Great power:

- greater than regional but smaller than global, does not need to have great capabilities in all spheres (i.e. economic capabilities alone), considered a Great power in other power's calculation (Buzan and Waever)
- largely determined by relative military capabilities in turn imply economic, industrial and technological power. Dominates its region (Mearsheimer)

**Regional power**: power confined to home continent; whose regional power status more security related than economy related; defined by both relative military capabilities and historically inherited dynamic of amity and enmity Land power – geostrategic importance owing to stopping power of water (more difficult by an order of magnitude project power across oceans or seas than threaten land invasion) - Mearsheimer

**Middle power**: those lack system shaping capabilities but cannot be 'ignored' – cannot challenge Great powers, have capabilities resist imposition Great Power diktats and behaviour under compulsion

- · May or may not be a regional power
- Regional power can be a great power or a superpower (i.e. US)

**Organski and Kugle**r attribute power transitions to worldwide spread of industrial revolution increasing the relative power of newly rising nations relative to Great Powers

- Rise of a challenger almost guarantees a major war
- Exceptions: Britain → US

· Not all rising powers dissatisfied

## **India**

- Constrained as a regional power by geostrategic factors –
  possession of nuclear weapons by Pakistan, a de facto ally of China
- Blocked along continental north by nuclear Pakistan and China
- Reduced to defensive and deterrent posture
- Indian Ocean to south hamper development of power projection capabilities that would count in global strategic calculations of major powers
- India not accepted as South Asia's natural leader
- Does not have power of compulsion over Pakistan
- Measured by criterion being able to dominate and impose will on neighbours, does not qualify as a regional power
- Can be qualified a regional power only by 3<sup>rd</sup> criterion relative size
- Other power constraints: dependent energy and resource imports, weak manufacturing and technological base, arms importer
- Middle power, rising one that is increasing its global weight but not able to leverage relative weight in its own region

## Continuity

- · Continued antagonism Pakistan and China
- Continued supply arms relationship with Russia
- Only progress is confidence building measures prevent the outbreak of war – 1992 agreement not to attack each others nuclear facilities, 1999 agreement prior warning testing ballistic missiles, extended cruise missiles
- China: 4 border defence management agreements prevent start border war due to un-demarcated and disputed nature of Line of Actual Control
- · Indian centric south Asia not coming into being
  - Relations Pakistan deadlocked on terrorism
  - LAC between India and China, minor incursions without casualties
  - o China modernizing its forces and military infrastructure
  - China relations with Indian neighbours Myanmar,
     Afghanstan

## Change