

India Ascendent: Analyzing India's potential as the next global superpower

Adam Vali

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

As the power dynamics in the world continue to change, the idea of global superpowers does too. With Russia's influence falling since the breakup of the Soviet Union, the United States' role as the sole hegemonic power waning and China rising in East Asia, there is the opinion that other countries could also rise to superpower status, one of those being India. This thesis explores the three forms of power that superpowers use; military, economic, and soft power to examine the potential of India to become a superpower, using a case study of both the United States and China as comparisons. The thesis comes to the conclusion that India does possess the tools necessary to become a superpower, but it still has many challenges to overcome, stemming from their status as a still developing country.

Created by Adam Vali, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. Correspondance concerning this research paper should be addressed to Adam Vali, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. Email: arvali@cpp.edu

Undergraduate Journal of Political Science, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 2023. Pages 18
©2024, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Introduction

Throughout human history, empires have risen and fallen, attaining the status of a superpower, only to fall and be replaced by an even greater power eventually. Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, global power dynamics have rapidly shifted as the order of power has been redrawn. Gone is the time of two definite superpowers in a bipolar world fighting over spheres of influence throughout the globe, replaced by a multipolar world of countries jockeying for positions of power in both their region as well as the world. Russia's descent from an undisputed superpower in the Eastern world with the fall of the Soviet Union has been coupled with the dramatic rise of China just across their border, and scholars have continually debated the amount of influence the United States still has in the world today. This shift in power dynamics has led to many questions on the roles of superpowers in the world today, as well as the potential for other countries to increase their influence in worldwide affairs and become superpowers in their own right.

One such country that scholars have labeled with the potential to become a superpower is India, led by its world-leading 1.4 billion people. India has quickly become a booming economy, and coupled with their massive population, it seems poised for a leap into the upper echelon of global powers. This leads to the question this paper seeks to answer; what are the characteristics of a superpower country, and what potential does India have to reach superpower status? There are many different ways in which countries have become superpowers throughout history, and in order to examine and evaluate the potential for a country to become a superpower, one must first identify common themes in superpower countries, and how they gain and maintain power before making conclusions on the potential of an additional country.

This paper will seek to find an answer to the hypothesis of whether or not India has the potential to become a leading superpower in the world. The hypothesis is that India has the potential to become a superpower country, led largely by their economic growth, but there are challenges the country faces that must be

overcome in order for this ascent to be realized.

The argument of this paper centers around the belief that India has immense potential to become a superpower country and could one day be a global superpower, but there are several challenges that must be addressed first. Despite their large economy and population, India is still a developing country faced with a large rural population with literacy rates that lag behind the rest of the developed world, as well as millions of Indians still living in poverty. If India can mobilize this population and create a larger and wealthier middle class, along with increasing relations with allies around the globe, they have the potential to be one of the major players in global affairs and hold the title of one of the world's superpowers.

To answer this research question, a case study will be conducted first to determine what the characteristics of superpower countries are, using the United States of America and the People's Republic of China as the two cases of superpower countries. Since the Cold War, the U.S. has stood as one of the two global superpowers of the world, rivaled only by the Soviet Union in their worldwide ideological battle. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the U.S. stood as the undisputed hegemonic global power. This position has changed in recent decades as China rapidly ascended onto the global stage in the early 2000s, once again creating a bipolar world. Using these two countries as a baseline for a superpower, an investigation project will be conducted into how these countries project their power in global affairs, and which types of power are the most important for countries today. This paper will then compare these power characteristics to India's, and the similarities and differences will serve as an evaluation of India's potential to become a global superpower.

Literature Review

Power in Global Affairs

Power is a difficult term to define under one definition, especially when trying to measure levels of power on a global scale. Each state and actor may have a different definition of power and what it means to be powerful, with their definitions changing based on a country's interests.

When consulting the dictionary, power is defined as “the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events”. Measuring power, especially how “much” power a certain state or actor has, is much more nuanced than simply stating that one state has a larger military or access to more resources so they must wield more power than another state. Thus, the measurement of power is a multilayered concept, one which scholars have researched and written on throughout history. This paper will take elements from several scholars’ research, creating a measurement of power in global affairs that will serve as a foundation for the research question.

Yale Professor Robert Dahl explored the idea of power and what it means in his 1957 article “The Concept of Power”, where he defines the idea of power as “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Dahl, p. 202-203) He further expanded on this definition by creating a way to measure the amount of power each actor had, by looking at the source of each actor’s power, the means to exert that power, the extent of A’s power, and the scope of that power over B. (Dahl, p. 203) Dahl’s definition and concept of power have remained relevant throughout the decades, but scholars have also critiqued Dahl’s idea, claiming there are other variables, or “faces of power”. The concept of multiple faces of power was further expanded upon by Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, who argued that power can consist of one state making decisions for another, but “power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. (Bachrach & Baratz, p. 948) This idea is known as agenda framing, where a more powerful actor influences another by normalizing a set of rules or norms that are seen as legitimate, which benefits State A, because B cannot retaliate due to the agenda being the norm. This results in the most powerful actors being able to ensure that they can keep their power, by setting an agenda that either does not allow other actors a seat at

the decision-making table or shapes the table in a way that significantly reduces the power of other actors at that table. In the 1970s, the idea of faces of power was expanded upon by Steven Lukes, who argued that there were not one or two faces of power, but three, with the third being actor A’s ability to influence actor B to act in a way that they would not act, to actor A’s benefit. Using these three faces of power, Lukes creates a way to assess the power of actors in three ways, “the extent to which agents are able to advance their interests and/or the interests of others. Another is to identify the extent to which they are able to harm others’ interests. A third is to identify the extent to which an agent or agents can induce and reproduce the subordination, dependency, or control of others in ways that may or may not involve their willing consent.” (Lukes, 2005 p.3) By building off of Dahl, Bachrach, Baratz, and finally, Lukes, a definition of power can be set as well as a way to also identify and measure different facets of power and how power is used throughout global affairs.

With the idea of faces of power and how actors exert power over each other comes the idea that there is a scale of a country’s power, with the few at the top labeled as superpower countries. This then leads to the question of what makes a country more powerful than another, and is it theoretically possible for every country to become a superpower? The next step in examining power and the idea of global superpowers is identifying how states grow their power, and how much power is needed for a country to be considered a superpower. In his 2011 book titled *The Future of Power*, Joseph Nye identifies three main types of power; military, economic, and soft power. These types of power are used by states in various ways to further their interests and agendas through the three faces of power discussed earlier. Throughout history, emphasis on these powers has changed as society progresses and evolves, but these three forms of power have been at the core of every country as they compete with each other on a global scale.

Military Power

Military power has long since been the main

tool used by states to further their interests beyond their borders and grow their power. Kenneth Waltz describes the role of force in global affairs as, “In politics force is said to be the ultima ratio. In international politics force serves, not only as the ultima ratio, but indeed as the first and constant one.” (Art & Waltz, 2009 p.5-6) Despite the world becoming ever increasingly interconnected and states moving away from military threats as a way to get what they want, force, especially the threat of force, is still the most important factor of a nation, for both offense and defense.

Peter Paret discusses the importance of military power and the need for states to have a strong military across human history, all the way back to medieval Europe, where feudal warlords would increase their territory and power by enlisting men from their territory to conquer neighboring territories, expanding the warlord’s power and influence. This then created the need to defend the territory one already had, and the need to have a strong enough army to capably defend one’s territory if attacked. (Paret, 1989 p.11) The importance of a military goes beyond the ability to conquer or defend, as “Once these forces are in place, the stability of the government they serve is significantly increased. They provide a new and more resilient basis for political power” (Paret, 1989 p.11) Having an army prepared and ready in the event of conflict is essential for any state or leader who wishes to stay in power, as it not only deters other actors from interfering with the state but a strong military can also be used to coerce other states to act in the state with the greater military’s interests fulfilling two of the three faces of power. A strong military presence also provides legitimacy to the state leader, helping cement their power and status.

In the 21st century, military power has taken a shift, as nuclear weapons have created a policy of mutually assured destruction, as well as realizations about the humanitarian impact of war. This does not mean the importance of military power is fading however, as Colin Gray writes “Military force is not always the right tool to employ, and even when it is appropriate, there is no guarantee that it will be used effectively—but these are matters extrinsic to the main point.

There are conflicts that cannot be resolved politically, sufficiently alleviated by diplomacy or any other nonmilitary means, or settled by some tolerable compromise.” (Gray, 2011 p.47) A strong military is still a core component of any powerful nation, as even if said military is never used, the threat of military force is still a deterrent, and can be used to project power. Military power and the threat of force are still important tactics used by states today, but states can no longer rely on pure military strength to get their way. This can be seen in economic agreements, another source of power, and how economic relations and military power coincide. As MIT professor Robert Art writes, “Economic relations between two states are settled on the basis of each state’s perception of its own economic interests, on differences in the strength, size, and diversity of their economies, on differences in the degree to which each state coordinates the activities of its interest groups and hence centrally manages its economy, and on the differential in their military capabilities. Because military power is only one of the ingredients that determine the economic relations between two states, its role is not always, nor usually, overriding.” (Art, 1980 p.31) The role of military power has shifted throughout the centuries, and although its use and impact are no longer the sole determinant of a country’s overall power, military force will always be a core component of any country’s power.

Economic Power

Economic power can be translated to both hard power and soft power, and the strength of a state’s economy is vital to projecting and maintaining power. In sum, economic power can be defined as “the inclusion of all varieties of the means of production (capital stock), size of the labor force, education and health of labor, management and organizational skills, technical capability, financial wealth, and non-reproducible natural resources like oil reserves of a state.” (Atesoglu, 2018 p.73) Economic strength and power are vital to countries who seek to expand their influence beyond their borders and project power on a global scale. Economic power can also be attributed to all three faces of power, as

countries with the largest economies can wield their economies to further their interests across the world. The first face of power, forcing a state to act in a way they would not otherwise do, combines both economic power and military power. Military power and economic power have many overlaps, as one needs a strong economy in order to fund a powerful military, but economic power goes beyond the ability to finance war with another state. The relationship between economic and military power can be seen through the world's history of imperialism and colonization, with Issac Christiansen defining imperialism as "the process by which capital from core countries appropriates the land, labor, and resources necessary to produce commodities and subjugates the interests of peripheral client states to those of capitalists in the metropolis." (Christiansen, 2020 p.338) To accomplish this expansion and increase a state's economic power through imperialism, a state must have the force needed to ensure the security of its new territory, through military power. As Christiansen further writes, "This requires vanquishing competing imperialists in the field when possible, gaining access to critical mineral resources around the globe, obtaining a share of other empires' value flows through subsidiary corporations that purchase interests in foreign banks, establishing currency dominance, and establishing a global network of military bases that serves as a further source of political influence." (Christiansen, 2020 p.338) Thus, military power and economic power share an important linkage, as it is impossible to strengthen one's economy without the backing of force if needed, as well as money and resources to ensure that the interests of the state are protected.

Economic power is also important in regards to the second face of power, as the desire to shape the global markets to benefit oneself is shared by countries across the world, "specifically, states with political authority over the central nodes in the international networked structures through which money, goods, and information travel are uniquely positioned to impose costs on others." (Farrell & Newman, 2019 p.45) The most powerful actors in global affairs have the power to shape the world market, and they do so

in a way that benefits them, while also limiting the potential power of countries who could challenge them. Farrell continues to explain that "If they have appropriate domestic institutions, they can weaponize networks to gather information or choke off economic and information flows, discover and exploit vulnerabilities, compel policy change, and deter unwanted actions." (Farrell & Newman, 2019 p.45) The idea that the most powerful economies have the ability to shape the markets in their favor coincides with the growing international policies of economic interdependence. As global economies become more entwined, the importance of great economic powers grows, as developing countries become more dependent on the larger economies as a market to export goods to, helping benefit the developing country's economy, but this dependence also gives economically powerful countries more power, as they are the ones that hold the playing cards in the global economy.

Soft Power

As the world's leading countries continue to develop, they have begun to realize that force and coercion are not the most effective tools for accomplishing their foreign policy goals. As the literature states, "The G-8 nations are accelerating their transformation from industrial to postindustrial economies, where power increasingly rests on a nation's capacity to create and manipulate knowledge and information. A country's capacity for creativity and innovation can trump its possession of armored divisions or aircraft carriers, and new hi-tech tools can greatly enhance the reach of military and nonmilitary influence. (Wilson, 2008 p.112) As priorities in foreign policy diverge from hard power, soft power has become an increasingly attractive method.

Joseph Nye was the first scholar to coin the term soft power, and he defines the idea as "The ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own." (Nye, 1990 p.168) If a country is seen as legitimate and accepted by the majority of the international world, they are seen as more attractive to work and ally with, lending that country greater soft

power. Nye further expands on how soft power is shown and exerted in global affairs in later writings, explaining that “Soft power is not merely influence, though it is one source of influence. Influence can also rest on the hard power of threats or payments. And soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, though that is an important part of it. It is also the ability to entice and attract. In behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction.” (Nye, 2008 p.95) Although the idea of soft power is largely abstract, there are many concrete ways that soft power can be seen in global affairs.

One example of the use of soft power, and its subsequent importance can be seen in the book *States and Markets*, written by Susan Strange in 1988. She uses the United States as an example, explaining that even in a more interdependent world “ Washington may have lost some of its authority over the U.S.-based transnationals, but their managers still carry U.S. passports, can be subpoenaed in U.S. courts, and in war or national emergency would obey Washington first. Meanwhile, the U.S. government has gained new authority over a great many foreign corporations inside the United States.” (Strange p.249) By creating a system in which countries want to ally and align, the power of the greater country is actually increased. This tactic can be defined as economic diplomacy, where economic power is then translated into soft power, allowing powerful economies to still shape markets, but in a way that is beneficial for both countries. This method of economic diplomacy goes beyond “negotiating trade or investment agreements, but it’s the projection of the values that characterize a society. By crafting an economic system that is rules-based and fair as well as pragmatic, a country espousing the importance of adhering to rules and norms abroad would have greater credibility.” (Yueh, 2020 p.7) As the frameworks that create today’s international economy continue to change, soft power is seen as an increasingly attractive method for countries to project and maintain power. Using the existing rules and norms set in place to not only validate

their power but also to convince other actors that their actions around these rules and norms are legitimate, entices countries to cede power to the most powerful actors. Thus, soft power, and how one’s soft power is projected in the world will only become more important, as states try to increase their soft power by any means.

Methodology

This paper’s research aims to answer the question of what makes a country a superpower, as well as analyze India’s potential to become a global superpower. The method used in this study is a qualitative case study, in which I will first determine what the characteristics of a superpower country are, and compare those traits between India and today’s defined superpowers, the United States and China. It is important to note that one cannot predict the future, and trying to predict whether or not India will become a superpower state is pure speculation, rather I will be analyzing the potential for India to rise in power, observing characteristics that could allow them to ascend, as well as reasons for India to remain a regional power.

As global power dynamics shift in today’s age, the potential for new countries to rise in the global order increases. China’s rise from a populous, underdeveloped nation into the second-largest economy on the globe in a few decades is a testament to how power shifts, as well as providing a blueprint to other countries on how they can expand their power and influence. India finds itself in a similar situation to China’s in the early 2000s, and India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has made it clear that his ambition is to see India rise into one of the global superpowers in a similar manner. The aim of this paper is not to compare India now to China’s rise but to serve as an examination of power in global affairs, and how countries increase their power.

As the research method of this paper is a qualitative case study, it can be difficult to set specific measurements of power. Power cannot be measured on a numerical scale, so it is important to first lay out the foundations in which power can be measured before assessing where the United States, China, and finally India sit in

terms of global power. For this research, three main sources of power will be used to define a superpower country, with those powers coming from its military, economic, and soft power. These three sources of power represent the different strategies used to project power throughout the globe, as military strength allows power through the threat of force, as well as the capability to defend oneself, and economic resources allow countries to use their wealth to coerce outside states to work with them, and increasing one's soft power creates an environment where other countries will align with the superpower based on shared ideals and attractiveness, not just by force.

There are several ways in which military power will be measured in this case study. One of the simplest ways to measure military power is the size and strength of a state's military, as a large army signifies more power. However, there is more to military power than the size of an army, as the ability to mobilize said army is also an important factor in military power. Thus, another unit of measurement for military power that this paper will utilize is the readiness of a country's military, as the ability to rapidly mobilize and transport armed forces around the globe is a major way that countries project their power. This measurement will especially look at the country's military presence outside of its borders, with an emphasis on military bases in foreign countries. The last unit of measurement that will be used to analyze military power will be the amount of resources a country devotes to its military, examining the relationship between military power and economic power.

Measuring economic power can be accomplished in both quantitative and qualitative ways, and a combination of the two will be used to examine how countries gain and wield economic power. Analyzing statistics such as GDP and GDP per capita are useful resources when examining the size and strength of one's economy, and both will be used in this paper to analyze both a country's current economic status as well as serve as an indicator for potential growth as well as regression. Much of a country's economy depends on its labor force, and the size of a country's labor pool as well as the education

level of that pool can help give insight into the potential for economic growth in a state, another quantitative way to measure one's economic power. Economic power goes beyond just the size of one's economy and labor force, so it will be important to analyze the qualitative ways in which economic power is measured to fully understand a country's position in the global economy. As the global economy becomes more connected and interdependent, it will be important to analyze how countries use trade to their benefit, as well as their focus on exporting versus importing goods to and from the global market. Examining and evaluating a country's imports versus exports and the importance they place on each will be a vital way to measure not only the current status of a country's economy but will also serve as a guideline for examining the potential for economic growth, based on the focus and values a country places on its economy.

Soft power is the most difficult power to measure as the philosophy behind soft power is more abstract, with a focus on attraction rather than force or coercion. However, there are common methods used by countries throughout the world to increase their soft power, and this paper will examine several of the ways in which increasing soft power can be accomplished. One of the most important ways that soft power is achieved is through the exportation of one's culture, creating a positive opinion of the country in the international world. In today's technological era, media has increasingly become a major tool in the exportation of culture, and examining how different countries use various forms of media to promote their culture and ideals globally will be an important measurement of soft power.

Additionally, relationships between countries can also give information about their soft power, as less powerful nations try to ally with stronger ones for defense as well as economic gain, blending to increase the soft power of the more powerful country. The countries with the most resources use their wealth gap to assist less wealthy and developing nations as a form of both economic and soft power. There are multiple ways countries go about this process, and examining and evaluating the ways in which

countries give out aid can also help educate researchers on how countries achieve soft power. Although largely abstract and difficult to measure, examining the relationships between countries will be vital to answering the question of how countries grow and maintain soft power, as well as potential ways that they grow this soft power.

Using these three sources of power, a case study will be conducted on India comparing their levels of these powers to that of the United States and China. Since the end of the Second World War, the United States has cemented itself as the preeminent power in the world, and although there have been debates about its waning influence in the world, it possesses both the strongest military in the world as well as the greatest economy and are still indisputably a global superpower. Additionally, China has seen an enormous rise throughout the 21st century, and the mobilization of its massive, rural population into megacities focused on manufacturing the world's goods has given it immense power. India hopes to emulate this process with their large population and growing economy, and it remains to be seen if they can use the resources at their disposal to have a jump similar to China's.

Analysis

Military Power

When looking at the power of a country, military power is often the main measurement used, as a country's ability to use force to achieve its goals is one of the main definitions of power. Military power is not only used by scholars to examine power dynamics in global affairs, but by states as well, as in order to properly project power one must not only know the extent of their military but be able to estimate the opposition's military to plan a successful operation. However, measuring the respective military power of a country presents several challenges as military power is not purely a measurement of the size of one's army or the amount of military vehicles a country possesses. Many of the most powerful states do not publish their full military statistics, as secrecy and deception are needed to project power. The United States does not want China to know the full extent of its military power, and vice versa.

One of the difficulties in accurately measuring and predicting military power can be seen through the sheer size of a state's military, and the amount of soldiers, vehicles, and weaponry that each state possesses. This is the most basic measurement of power but does not tell the full story. As of January 2024, China leads the world when it comes to sheer military size, with 2 million active personnel across their military divisions, (Statsia) followed by India with 1.45 million and the U.S. with 1.38 million. Estimation of military power cannot be completed off of army size alone, however, as India and China are the two most populous countries on the globe, and therefore they have the resources needed to have a huge military.

Military size can also be measured in the amount of military craft that each country possesses, as the size of one's military is only useful if one has the vehicles and resources to equip its large army. The most important military craft in today's age is the aircraft carrier, as the world becomes more interconnected and global trade becomes an increasingly important focus, it is imperative that a powerful country or one that wants to increase its power develop a "blue water" navy in order to access the vast oceans and project power. Aircraft carriers fulfill all of these needs, as they not only provide the ability to access the world's oceans but also serve as floating battle stations, capable of housing and transporting thousands of troops, all of which can be rapidly deployed to any arena they are needed. Thus, a country's capability of having a "blue water" navy can be the most important statistic when looking at a country's military capability due to the sheer importance of being able to respond to any situation around the globe. When looking at each country's "blue water" capabilities, the United States stands far above the rest, as according to its 2023 defense budget, the U.S. possesses 11 aircraft carriers and an additional 9 helo carriers, all of which are strategically located across the globe. Respectively, India and China each possess two carriers, although they are rapidly trying to expand that number. China especially has placed a heavy emphasis on strengthening its navy and plans to release its newest supercarrier, named Fujian into commission in 2025, a steam-

powered carrier with electromagnetic catapults to help launch aircraft, allowing those aircraft to be less weight-constrained and capable of holding more missiles and ammo. (Tajima and Iwaki, 2024) When the Fujian is completed, China will be able to increase its military power in the Pacific, a major source of tension for all three countries as they jockey for control and influence in the area. Not to be outdone, India has also stated that it plans to develop a third carrier of its own, however, the development of such a craft will take years to build and a large amount of resources to fund. When measuring military power in terms of pure troops and craft, we can see that the United States dominates this sector, as although they do not have the sheer number of troops as India and China, their military craft and the abilities that these allow the United States to project power globally, as they have the resources needed to intervene in multiple areas of the globe at once. This can be seen in the world today, as the U.S. has multiple carriers positioned throughout the globe, in the Middle East to respond to the growing tensions in Israel, in the Black Sea to respond to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and multiple carriers throughout the Pacific, projecting its military strength to its rival superpower China.

The ability and readiness of a country's military to respond to any threat is also an important factor in projecting military power, as seen through the importance of aircraft carriers. Military readiness is a difficult unit to measure, especially because military training evaluations are not published, but there are ways to estimate, such as looking at outside bases as well as combat experience. All three countries have increasingly conducted more public military training and scenarios, which not only helps sharpen troops but also is a power projection to others around the globe. China has increasingly conducted military training and exercises throughout the Pacific, showing its desire to control the region and project its power. Even more important, however, are the networks of military bases that countries have set up in allied states, which allows them to have a base of operations outside of their sovereign borders and be in closer proximity to their enemies and

sources of tension. The United States once again leads this statistic by a wide margin, with 750 military bases around the world, including 120 in Japan and 73 in South Korea, with the primary aim of these bases to counter Chinese influence in the Pacific. (Hussein & Haddad, 2021) By comparison, India has 10 military bases, with one being most recently opened off the coast of the Maldives, again with the intention of countering Chinese influence in the region. China, however, lags behind India, as their sole military base outside the country is located in Djibouti, to protect Chinese vessels sailing around the horn of Africa. This difference has a major effect on the power levels of each country, as the U.S. is better equipped than any other country to respond to threats across the globe, and it also calls into question China's ability to respond to its interests beyond the Pacific Ocean.

The last important factor in measuring military power is how much of a state's resources are devoted to its military, to upkeep existing infrastructure, develop new weaponry, and fund their deployment around the globe. This can be seen in the defense budget of each country. The United States once again far outpaces any other country in terms of defense spending, allocating a massive \$825 billion in 2024 to their military and defense. In response, China has also dramatically increased its defense spending by 7.2%, to the equivalent of \$222 billion U.S. dollars. India by comparison lags far behind at only around \$75 billion, although that is still the fourth highest in the world, only under Russia and the two superpowers. The difference in defense budgets goes beyond showing the capabilities of each country but also points to other, nonmilitary factors. As will be discussed later, the economic differences between the countries translate to their budgets, as the U.S. and China simply have larger economies that make more money that can be allocated to their military than India.

Economic Power

The second measurement of power in global affairs is economic power, the backbone of any country. As the world becomes more integrated and economically interdependent, the emphasis

on military power has waned, and the economic power of a country, and how they wield that power has become increasingly important. The most common measurement of a country's economic power is through its gross domestic product (GDP), but there are several other ways to measure economic power that goes beyond pure exports and imports, such as the education and skill of a country's workforce, as well as the natural resources a country possesses.

When looking strictly at each country's GDP, India is poised for massive growth, and their increase in economic power is one of the main reasons they have the potential to become a superpower. The United States and China lead the global GDP charts, with the U.S. bringing in over 25 trillion dollars in 2022, with China right behind at 17 trillion. India currently ranks fifth in the world with a GDP of just over 3 trillion. However, there is much more room for economic growth in India than in the superpower countries, due to India not being a fully developed country. According to the World Bank, in 2022 China's GDP grew by 3 percent, while the U.S. grew by 1.9 percent. This is contrasted by India's GDP growth of 7.2 percent, showing the economic potential that India has. Due to this rapid economic growth, many experts predict that India will surpass Japan and Germany for the 3rd largest economy globally by 2027, although their GDP will still be behind that of the two superpowers. GDP is not a completely accurate representation of a country's economic power, however, as despite India's large economy, this is not reflected in their citizens also being wealthy. GDP per capita is the measurement of a country's GDP divided by its total population, and India lags far behind the two superpowers when it comes to this metric. The United States once again leads the three countries with a GDP per capita of \$75,000, with China following with \$12,500. India lags far behind both, with a GDP per capita of just \$2,000 showing the massive inequality that exists between the three countries. India is, of course, the most populous country in the world, followed by China, which does skew these statistics. Using GDP and GDP per capita, we can see that India's economy has the potential

to join the U.S. and China in the upper echelons of economic power, but there is also a wide discrepancy between their total GDP and GDP per capita, again showing their need to further develop the country before a conversation can be made about India being an economic powerhouse.

One of the ways that India can increase both their GDP and GDP per capita is by growing the education level of their workforce, allowing their citizens access to better-paying jobs, both domestically and internationally. India's Ministry of Education has placed a high importance on increasing access to higher education in India, and each year they conduct the All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) to track India's educational growth. In the most recent report, they found that "the Number of Universities have been increased from 864 in 2016-17 to 1113 in 2020-21 and the number of colleges has increased 40,026 in 2016-17 to 43,796 in 2020-21... with Enrolment has increased to nearly 4.14 (41 million) crore in 2020-21 from 3.42 crore in 2014-15, i.e. an increase of around 72 (7.2 million) Lakh in the enrolment (21%)" (AISHE) It can be seen that this increased focus on India's education has produced positive results, but it will still be many years until this growth is realized into India's economy. By comparison, the United States enrolled 15.4 million undergraduate students in 2021, and China enrolled 46.5 million undergraduates according to their departments of education. This comparison is not necessarily a measurement of each country's economic power, but an educated workforce is essential to developing a state, which is why India has placed such a high importance on increasing access to education.

One of the main ways in which economic power is wielded in global affairs is through trade. Trade agreements can be extremely beneficial to both countries, and the most powerful ones use trade to their advantage. This can be seen most clearly in China's rise to global power, as they opened their doors to foreign trade and investment, allowing for the production of cheap goods to be manufactured in China and then exported to the rest of the world. In the 10 years between 2000 and 2010, China's exports

grew from USD 253 billion to 1.6 trillion, and as a result China firmly cemented itself as a global power. By positioning itself as the global manufacturing hub, China was able to wield immense power, as companies around the world moved their manufacturing hubs to China, which not only helped to increase China's economic growth, but also meant that the companies, and by extension the home states of these companies were heavily dependent on China for producing cheap goods. In a study conducted by Stanford's Center on China's Economy and Institutions, between 2001 and 2019, 60% of the United States' manufacturing jobs were lost to China, which greatly shifted the power dynamics in the world. (Autor, 2016) This is an example of the third face of power, as through their massive manufacturing hubs, China was able to cause nations around the globe to be heavily dependent on them, greatly increasing their economic power.

By comparison, the United States' trade power doesn't come from its ability to export goods but to import them. The United States currently represents the largest consumer base on the globe, and the United States as a whole is the largest importer of goods in the world. This power allows the U.S. to influence global markets differently, as companies and countries seek U.S. markets to further their profits. The United States uses this power to both help its allies, but also punish those it deems as enemies, through negotiating beneficial trade agreements with its allies, as well as inducing sanctions on its enemies. Sanctions have increasingly become a tool used by the U.S. to wield its power, although the effects of these sanctions are not as powerful as expected. As the U.S. responded to Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2021 with increasingly harsh sanctions, especially on oil and gas (Russia's main export) the thought was that without the large markets of the U.S. and European Union, Russia would not be able to finance this war. However, these sanctions allowed other countries, especially China and India to purchase Russian oil at lower costs, which benefited all countries involved. Although sanctions can be a powerful tool, in today's age of interdependent trade, it is hard to cut a country off completely, as there will always be buyers.

As the Indian government continues to emphasize the importance of global trade and investment, India has the potential to become one of the world leaders in terms of economy. As stated earlier, their economy has continued to rise, creating potential for huge growth. As their immense population continues to develop, so will their consumer base, as by 2030 India is predicted to have the second largest consumer market, only behind China, with the U.S. dropping to third. Additionally, as the world has realized the downsides to becoming too dependent on China as the world's manufacturer and has increasingly begun to move operations out of China, there is only one other country that possesses a large, unskilled labor force comparable to China's, India. Through the policy of "Make in India", India has increasingly opened up its doors to manufacturing, utilizing its large labor pool in ways that bear striking similarities to China's tactics in the 2000s. A great example of this can be seen in the actions of the world's second-largest company, Apple, and their divestment from China to India. Apple has publicly stated that it aims to have 25% of all its production, and has invested over a trillion dollars to open manufacturing plants in India. (Chandra, 2023) India has already cemented itself as one of the leading manufacturers of smartphones, a vital commodity in today's world, which will only serve to strengthen the Indian economy as well as increase India's importance to the outside world. India does not yet possess the economic power of the U.S. to influence countries through economic sanctions, but as we continue to see the middling effects of sanctions on a global scale, India does not necessarily need to dictate the world economy through its purchasing power but rather mimic the actions of China, and create a dependency on exportation, rather than importation.

India's potential to become a global superpower rests directly on the shoulders of its economy and subsequent economic power. It already has one of the largest economies in the world, with its GDP continuing to grow year over year. However, the large discrepancy in their GDP versus GDP per capita shows that although they have a great economy, the average Indian

citizen is not benefiting from it. By focusing on both higher education for its workforce as well as creating more job openings in unskilled labor, India is creating a system that will not only grow its internal wealth, leading to a more developed and wealthy population but also increase its importance in the global economy, as it tries to replace China as the world's manufacturing hub.

Soft Power

Soft power is perhaps the most difficult power to measure but has also become the most important facet of power in today's world. As countries continue to move away from the use of force or economic coercion to accomplish their goals, attraction to their sphere of influence has become the norm. Soft power cannot be measured in numerical terms such as one's army size or GDP, and so to measure and evaluate the soft power of a country we must look at its relationships with other countries, as well as the systems within the country that would lend themselves to increasing soft power.

One of the quantitative measurements that can be used to evaluate soft power is through economic assistance and loans to less wealthy/developing nations. By combining both economic power and soft power, wealthier countries can use their resources to help other countries, allowing developing countries more resources to help them develop, while also tying them monetarily to the loaner state. Both the United States and China have begun to use this tactic to spread their influence across the globe with the United States giving out more foreign aid than any other country, devoting \$70 billion in 2022 to foreign aid according to the government website. This aid is a major factor in U.S. foreign policy, as through this aid the U.S. strengthens its alliances while also countering its enemies. Much of the United States' foreign aid comes through international programs such as the Peace Corps, in which Americans travel to developing countries for two years to help build infrastructure, educate both children and adults, and overall help the communities they are sent to develop. China, on the other hand, has focused more on extending loans to developing countries,

creating a dependence between China and the recipient. In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced a massive new project named the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) that sought to create a new Silk Road, not only reconnecting China with Europe and Africa to increase trade but also allowing Chinese influence to spread further, greatly increasing their soft power. (Feingold, 2023) In the decade since this announcement, China has spent over a trillion dollars on the BRI, mostly through various loans to participating countries, making China the largest debt collector in the world. "In 2011–2018, China made official loan commitments totaling U.S. \$6 billion." (Rajah, 2019 p.9) As a result, these countries are tied to China monetarily, giving the Chinese government immense power over those indebted to it. Through these two approaches, we can see how economic power and soft power can combine and be used to further the power of a country, as the U.S. uses its wealth to send aid and resources to developing countries, helping to build up communities, and creating a more favorable opinion of the United States. China on the other hand has used its economic power in a more forceful approach, as it too is promoting the development of poorer countries, while using debt to control them. India, by comparison, does not yet have enough economic power to mimic the actions of the two superpowers and is not seen as a major donor of foreign aid, with much of the little aid they do give going to neighboring countries such as Nepal and Bhutan, with the focus of creating a sphere of influence in Southeast Asia. (Mawdsley, 2017) Although aid and monetary loans can be a core component of expanding the soft power of a country, India itself is not yet a fully developed country and therefore does not possess both the desire and funds to become a global donor of aid, and instead has decided to focus on other aspects of soft power to increase its global influence.

The exportation of culture and ideals is another core component of soft power, as it positively promotes a country, allowing foreigners to experience that country's lifestyle, leading to them being more favorable to that country. One defining example of how the exportation

of culture can lead to an increase in soft power is through Hollywood, as the United States has long used its dominance in movie production to showcase American culture and power. Hollywood accounts for 60-75 percent of the global movie market (Olson, 2000, p.6), which gives the U.S. immense power in how Hollywood productions picture the United States, as well as its enemies. This globalization of American culture has not only “increased exposure to global media and produced increasingly sophisticated global audiences who have come to expect the Hollywood aesthetic.” (Olson, 2000 p.8)

The effects of Hollywood across not only the global entertainment industry but on the global perception of the U.S. as a whole have helped shape U.S. soft power throughout the decades. India has also made moves to export their culture through Bollywood, their Hollywood equivalent. Each year, Bollywood produces around 1,000 films, double that of Hollywood, and although the revenue generated pales in comparison to Hollywood, these thousands of movies serve as a way to export Indian culture, themes, and ideas throughout the world. (Hong, 2021, p.2) India has publicly stated that they see Bollywood as a way to expand their soft power, and this will only increase in the coming years.

India’s soft power potential is benefited by its rich and diverse culture, capturing the interests of people throughout the globe. As H. H. S. Viswanathan writes, India’s soft power is greatly increased by its cultural impact throughout the globe. India is home to all major religions in the world, which incentivizes foreigners of all faiths to travel to India for religious purposes, helping to showcase India’s culture. (Viswanathan, 2019 p.133) Additionally, India also benefits from a long list of historical sights and monuments, attracting tourists from around the globe to experience India’s history. The most significant of these monuments is, of course, the Taj Mahal, which attracts around 40,000 visitors daily, and its status as one of the seven wonders of the world greatly increases India’s exportation of culture and soft power. Lastly, India has been incredibly successful with exporting some of its religious practices. Yoga and meditation originated in India and have

since become popular throughout the world. India capitalized on this in 2014, as they successfully petitioned the United Nations to hold an International Yoga Day, which is now celebrated every 21st of June. (United Nations) India’s rich and diverse culture is incredibly beneficial to its soft power potential, and its exportation of culture will only increase as it becomes more connected with the developed world.

Another core component of a nation’s soft power is its relationship with other countries, through alliances and treaties. Countries seek to ally themselves with those who share common interests and can help increase both their domestic and foreign power. The United States has used its status as a global power to continually create alliances that benefit themselves and new allies, while also serving as a check to those it does not agree with. The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a check on the USSR during the Cold War not only served as a counterweight to the United States rival superpower, but in the decades since the fall of the Soviet Union, European states have still sought to join NATO as an insurance policy against Russian aggression. The attractiveness of a NATO alliance to smaller European countries is a huge showcase of the United States’ soft power, right in the front yard of Russia.

China has sought to counter growing U.S. soft power through alliances of its own, most notably through their BRICS alliance, partnering with Brazil, Russia, India, and South Africa to create an economic alliance that aims to counter Western influence, curbing the soft power of the West, while increasing the soft power of BRICS allied countries. (Acharya, 2023) In August of 2023, at the annual BRICS summit, Chinese President Xi Jinping continued to stress the importance of the BRICS alliance, stating “ BRICS is an important force in shaping the international landscape. We choose our development paths independently, jointly defend our right to development, and march in tandem toward modernization. This represents the direction of the advancement of human society, and will profoundly impact the development process of the world.” He also stressed the importance of

security that BRICS provides, “International rules must be written and upheld jointly by all countries based on the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter, rather than dictated by those with the strongest muscles or the loudest voice. Ganging up to form exclusive groups and packaging their own rules as international norms are even more unacceptable.” (Xinhua, 2023) This second statement is a direct call out to what China sees as increasing U.S. meddling in foreign affairs, and wants to use BRICS as a way to replace U.S. influence with Chinese influence. This message has resonated with a lot of the developing world, as many developing states such as Iran, Argentina, and many African nations have sought to align themselves with BRICS, dissatisfied with their treatment by the West. It remains to be seen if BRICS can become as successful as China dreams, but their role as the leader of the BRICS alliance showcases their influence in global affairs and greatly increases China’s soft power with the developing world.

India is in a unique position when it comes to its global alliances as it has stressed a policy of non-alignment creating alliances with both China and the U.S., helping its soft power as an alternative to aligning with one of the superpowers. During the Cold War, India cemented itself as the leader of the Non-Aligned movement which allowed India to stay out of the Cold War tensions. This allowed India to rebuild its state in the aftermath of its independence movement, as well as set a standard of India as a peaceful state, attracting allies and business. (Harshe, 1990, p.399) India has largely continued this policy, as they have to balance sharing a border with China, but are also suspicious of Western influence given their colonial past. As stated earlier, India is a member of the BRICS alliance and sees itself as a major player in the alliance. However, India is wary of its neighboring superpower and has continually sought relations with the U.S. to counter China’s influence in the Pacific. The United States sees India as an indispensable ally in the Pacific, “India is seen as an island of democracy in the region, surrounded by authoritarian China, Afghanistan, Iran, and Russia.” (Waseem, 2024) This gives India a degree of power over the United States,

as the U.S. cannot afford to lose India as an ally. This can be seen in current geopolitics today, as India has not joined the U.S. and Western allies in sanctions against Russia and has benefited by continually purchasing cheap Russian oil and natural gas, and the U.S. cannot retaliate, due to India’s strategic importance. The soft power created by India’s commitment to non-alignment greatly benefits the country, but as tensions continue to rise across the globe, they may not be able to play both sides for long.

Conclusion

Global power dynamics are a complex, ever-shifting puzzle as every country attempts to increase their respective power, while also curbing and sometimes actively hindering the progress towards power of others. The top of the global power order has shifted throughout history, with the United States being seen as the hegemonic superpower in the globe, with China recently joining them at the top of the global order. This paper sought to analyze how these countries project their power, as well as evaluate whether India, a growing regional power, has the potential to join this elite upper class. When it comes to India’s position in the global power order, it is evident that it has the potential to become a preeminent power in the world, but challenges remain. When evaluating India’s potential to become a superpower, it is important to understand that one cannot predict the future, and there is no crystal ball to predict the future of any country. However, by observing India’s levels of military, economic, and soft power, especially concerning the superpowers of the United States and China, their trajectory can be estimated.

Although military power is not the sole determinant of power it once was, a strong military is needed for any country that wishes to have power beyond its borders. Although incomparable to the military strength of the United States, India has an immense population that it can leverage if needed, and their military numbers are similar to China, which has placed a high importance on advancing its military. However, India is far away from truly matching the military might of the two superpowers,

who devote ever-increasing proportions of their GDP to their military, a spending race that India cannot hope to win. If India wants to increase their military power, it must first develop other areas of their country, and use the increase in resources to develop their military.

India's economy represents the greatest asset in its quest for superpower status, as the level of economic growth in the country has not been seen since China's explosion onto the global stage in the 2000s. India's economy is already one of the largest in the world, with the potential to climb even higher, but that does not mean that India wields great economic power. India's GDP per capita lags far behind that of the two superpowers, and much of the developed and developing world. Once again, India must further develop their economy before any claims of economic power can be made. Modi has placed a priority on this development, and India's emphasis on improving access to higher education to create a more educated workforce, as well as moves to create additional jobs in the unskilled labor market has shown that growth is inevitable, although the amount of growth these policies create remains to be seen. India has also sought to integrate itself more into the global economy, taking advantage of countries moving out of China by offering cheap Indian labor as an alternative. This helps increase the importance of India for countries, but simply becoming another China is not a surefire recipe for economic power.

India's soft power potential is great, buoyed by its rich and diverse culture that it has begun to export to the world, through its growing Bollywood productions, as well as common household practices such as yoga and meditation. However, culture is not the only determinant of soft power, and India's legitimacy in global affairs is not seen in the same light as the United States or China's. Their soft power will once again increase as the country develops, but as soft power and the way it is projected become more and more important in global affairs, India once again has much to work on. Its policy of nonalignment and alliances with both the U.S. and China strengthen their soft power as they are not seen as a threat, but this non-alignment can also

serve to India's detriment, as tensions increase between the two superpowers, potentially forcing India to choose a side, alienating the other.

In conclusion, when evaluating India in terms of military, economic, and soft power, the three types of power used by superpower countries to project their power, India has the potential to join the United States and China as the dominant powers of the world. However, this potential is not close to being realized, as India must first fully develop their country and economy before it can increase their ambitions globally.

United States v. China v. India

	United States	China	India
Military power	Greatest blue water navy, with military bases across the globe to respond to any threat and the largest defense budget of any country.	Largest military in terms of sheer numbers, in the process of developing their blue water navy, as well as the second largest military spender	Second largest military in terms of soldiers, starting to develop a blue water navy, and the fourth largest spender on military, although it is much less than the superpowers
Economic power	The largest economy in the world with the highest GDP and GDP per capita uses its consumer market to entice favorable deals	The second-largest economy in the world, but GDP per capita lags behind. The global exporter of technology, using its power to create dependence	The fifth largest economy with the potential to move to third, but its GDP per capita ranks 140th. Wants to usurp China as the global manufacturer, but the infrastructure is not yet in place
Soft power	Hollywood serves as its global exportation of culture, uses its wealth to give foreign aid to developing countries in order to build their infrastructure, creating goodwill.	Leader of the BRICS coalition, creating an economic system dependent on China. Uses its wealth to loan money to developing countries, tying them to China	Its rich history lends itself to its power to export culture, but is not wealthy enough to give out aid, as well as its history of non-alignment allows India to play both sides of the global coin, but is not seen as legitimate as the U.S. or China

References

- https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/document-reports/Annual%20Report_2022-23_English.pdf
- Acharya, B. (2023). What is BRICS, which countries want to join, and why? | Reuters. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/what-is-brics-who-are-its-members-2023-08-21/>
- Art, R. J. (1980). To what ends military power? *International Security*, 4(4), 3. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2626666>
- Art, R. J., & Waltz, K. N. (2009). *The use of force: Military power and international politics*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Atesoglu, H. S. (2018). Economic Power and international security. *Insight Turkey*. <https://doi.org/10.25253/99.2018ev.04>
- Autor, D., Hanson, G., & Dorn, D. (n.d.). The China shock and its enduring effects. *The China Shock and Its Enduring Effects*. <https://sccfi.fsi.stanford.edu/china-briefs/china-shock-and-its-enduring-effects#:~:text=The%20impact%20of%20the%20China,fewer%20workers%20had%20college%20degrees>
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. S. (1962). Two Faces of Power. *The American Political Science Review*, 56(4), 947–952. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1952796>
- Belt and road initiative data - belt and road portal.. (2022). <https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/data>
- Chandra, A. (2023). Apple iPhones to be assembled at New Plant in India's Karnataka state | Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/technology/apple-iphones-be-assembled-new-plant-indias-karnataka-state-2023-03-03/>
- China exports 1960-2024. MacroTrends. (n.d.). <https://www.macrotrends.net/global-metrics/countries/CHN/china/exports#:~:text=China%20exports%20for%202022%20was,a%203.84%25%20increase%20from%202019>
- Christiansen, I. (2020). Linkages Between Economic and Military Imperialism. *World Review of Political Economy*, 11(3), 337–356. <https://doi.org/10.13169/worldrevipoliecon.11.3.0337>
- Dahl, R. (n.d.). The concept of power. https://fbaum.unc.edu/teaching/articles/Dahl_Power_1957.pdf
- Dyvik, E. H. (2024). Largest militaries in the world in 2024. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/264443/the-worlds-largest-armies-based-on-active-force-level/>
- Fa.gov. FA.gov. (n.d.). <https://www.foreignassistance.gov/about>
- Fact sheet. OVERSEAS BASE REALIGNMENT AND CLOSURE COALITION. (n.d.). <https://www.overseasbases.net/fact-sheet.html>
- Farrell, H., & Newman, A. L. (2019). Weaponized interdependence: How global economic networks shape state coercion. *International Security*, 44(1), 42–79. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00351
- Feingold, S. (2023). China's Belt and Road Initiative turns 10. Here's what to know. *World Economic Forum*. [https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2023/11/china-belt-road-initiative-trade-bri-silk-road/#:~:text=\\$1%20trillion%20and%20counting,concluded%20in%20this%20October%20speech](https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2023/11/china-belt-road-initiative-trade-bri-silk-road/#:~:text=$1%20trillion%20and%20counting,concluded%20in%20this%20October%20speech)
- FY 2024 defense budget. U.S. Department of Defense. (n.d.). <https://www.defense.gov/Spotlights/FY2024-Defense-Budget/>
- Gray, C. S. (2011). *HARD POWER AND SOFT POWER: THE UTILITY OF MILITARY FORCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY*. Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep11431>
- GDP by country. Worldometer. (n.d.). <https://www.worldometers.info/gdp/gdp-by-country/>
- GDP growth (annual %) - China, United States, India. World Bank Open Data. (n.d.). <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CN-US-IN>
- Haddad, M. (2021, September 10). Infographic: History of US interventions in the past 70 years. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/10/infographic-us-military-presence-around-the-world-interactive>
- Harshe, R. (1990). India's Non-Alignment: An Attempt at Conceptual Reconstruction. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25(7/8), 399–

405. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4395968>
- Tyler, Tom R., and Robert J. Boeckmann. "Three Strikes and You Are Out, but Why? The Psychology of Public Support for Punishing Rule Breakers." *Law & Society Review*, vol. 31, no. 2, 1997, pp. 237–265. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3053926>. Accessed 30 Apr. 2023.
- Hong, Y. (2021). The Power of Bollywood: A study on opportunities, challenges, and audiences' perceptions of Indian cinema in China. *Global Media and China*, 6(3), 345–363. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20594364211022605>
- Key features of budget 2024-2025. (n.d.-b). <https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/doc/bh1.pdf>
- Lukes, S. (2007). *Power*.
- Mawdsley, E. (2017). *The Emerging Powers and the Changing Landscape of Foreign Aid and Development Cooperation Public Perceptions of Development Cooperation*. Department of Geography, Cambridge. <https://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/>
- Ministry of Finance Report (2024). (n.d.-c). https://npcobserver.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/2024-MOF-Report_EN.pdf
- The NCES Fast Facts Tool provides quick answers to many education questions (National Center for Education Statistics). National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Home Page, a part of the U.S. Department of Education. (2022). <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=98>
- Nye, Joseph. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, 94–109.
- Nye, J. S. (2011). *The Future of Power*. PublicAffairs.
- Nye, Joseph. (2017). *Soft power: The origins and political progress of a concept*. Palgrave Communications, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2017.8>
- Olson, S. (2000). The globalization of Hollywood. *International Journal on World Peace*, 17, 3–17.
- Paret, P. (1989). *Military Power*.
- Rajah, R., Dayant, A., & Pryke, J. (2019). *Ocean of debt?: Belt and Road and Debt Diplomacy in the Pacific*. Lowy Institute for International Policy.
- Reports. Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2022). http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/reports/202304/t20230403_1054100.html
- Strange, S. (2016). *States and markets*. W. Ross MacDonald School Resource Services Library.
- Tajima, Y., & Iwaki, S. (2024). China and India Race to expand aircraft carrier fleets. *Nikkei Asia*. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Defense/China-and-India-race-to-expand-aircraft-carrier-fleets>
- Viswanathan, H. (2019). *India's Soft Power Diplomacy: Capturing Hearts and Minds*.
- Waseem, S. (2024). Why India became indispensable to US foreign policy and Pakistan was left behind. – *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2024/02/why-india-became-indispensable-to-us-foreign-policy-and-pakistan-was-left-behind/>
- Wilson, Ernest J. "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 110–24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097997>.
- Writer, S. (2024). China and India Race to expand aircraft carrier fleets. *Nikkei Asia*. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Defense/China-and-India-race-to-expand-aircraft-carrier-fleets>
- Xinhua. (2023). Full text: Remarks by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the 15th BRICS summit. <https://english.news>
- Yueh, L. (2020). *Economic Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Principles and Challenges*. LSE IDEAS. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep45276>