
UNIT 10 EMERGING CENTRES OF POWER*

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10.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit would enable you to understand:

- Various definitions and discourses on the concept of Power in International Relations
- Types and levels of Power and the concept of Polarity in International system and
- Characteristics of emerging centres of Power

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Power in International Relations (IR) is related to the power of a state in terms of influencing the actions and policies of other states. A state's ability to influence can be drawn from its socio-cultural, political, economic and military capabilities. A powerful state can influence, control the political environment, events, issues and interactions between the states at international level. A powerful state can also resist, dominate, maintain status quo of any kind of consequences, complications, implications for itself which may be the result of the interactions between other states. Realists argue that the primary objective of a state in international relations is to acquire that power, one, to influence the actions of other states according to its wish; two, to resist any negative implications of

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these interactions for itself; and finally, to successfully project its own power and influence far and wide beyond its geographic region. Likewise, a regional power is one who can make a difference to regional peace and stability on the basis of its similar power capabilities. Based on the ability of states to influence the actions and policies of other states, and the spheres of influence, powerful states can be categorised into global powers, regional powers and sub-regional powers. The nature of influence can be classified into 'hard' and 'soft' powers. If the power is distributed among many states in international system it can be called a multipolar system; and if there are only two states which can influence, it is regarded as bipolar system. If there is only one hegemonic power which dominates over the world, then it is a unipolar world.

10.2 CONCEPT OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Hans J Morgenthau (1948), a well-known Realist whom you have studied in earlier Units, defines international politics as 'struggle for power'; and that countries are engaged in relations with each other for securing power. This aspiration for power is the driving force behind countries' willingness to have relations with other countries and to participate in international affairs. Since all the countries are engaged with each other with the same motive, power politics and struggle for power is an inevitable phenomenon. Neorealists, like Kenneth Waltz (1979) whom again you have studied earlier, argue that the bipolar system is the most stable world order as the power is divided between two hegemons with their satellites. The bipolar structure determines the foreign policies of individual states; and thus the global politics. Here the individual national interests are integral to the interests of power blocs. Waltz had found the Cold War bipolarity as a source of stability and predictability in international system. Robert Gilpin in his seminal work *War and Change in International Politics* opines that states enter into relations and create structures to advance their interests. As the interests of states change over time, states seek to change the system to get a more favourable distribution of benefits. The ability of the states to change the international system depends on the military, economic, and technological capabilities of states and the changes in the interests of the states are according to the change in domestic preferences – which, in turn, are due to changes in domestic politics.

John Mearsheimer, known as 'offensive' Neorealist, insists on the ability of the hegemonic power to dominate other countries in the region. He argues that a hegemonic power always works to strengthen its own power and weaken the powers of its rivals with the fear that if it does not do so, it can lose its domination over the region. American Political Scientist Robert Dahl in his work *The Concept of Power* (1957), had proposed a formal definition of power. He defines power: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." Here, A refers to the influencer and B refers upon whom the influence is being exercised. A's ability to exercise power is relative and not absolute and eternal. Robert Dahl's argument on power goes with the relational concept and declares that power is a causal and multidimensional concept. Power can be derived from many and varied sources; and, it is without any permanency.

The relationship between power and interdependence among independent states had been analysed by Joseph Keohane and Robert Nye in their 1977 work titled

Power and Interdependence, in which they argue the relationship between the two are asymmetrical in the sense that the interdependence itself is a power resource. They say the asymmetries in interdependence are most likely to provide sources of influence for actors in their dealings with one another.

10.2.1 Types of Power: 'Hard' and 'Soft' Power

Power in International Relations can be classified into various types. These types indicate the nature and ability of states to influence the policies and actions of other states. Though all states possess certain amount of power, only few states possess the ability to influence the conduct of other states.

There are basically two types of power, 'hard' and 'soft' which are used by the great power to influence the behaviour of other states. What is 'hard' power and what is 'soft' power? Let us discuss and analyze.

'Hard' power: 'Hard' power is the capability to influence the behaviour and actions of other states with the use, or threat of use, of military and economic means. The exercise of 'hard' power is aggressive and coercive and is often used to forcefully mend the policies of other states according to the interests of the 'hard' power. The results of exercise of 'hard' power are often immediate; or can be seen in a very short time. A state's emergence as a 'hard' power requires economic development coupled with military might. It requires huge investments in infrastructure, manufacturing, military, technological and innovation sectors and a steady GDP growth rate. A 'hard' power effectively uses advances in these sectors for its own national interest. The use of 'hard' power goes along with risks both at economy and military fronts and a state which aspires to be a 'hard' power has to bear these risks. The premier example of a 'hard' power is United States of America. Its intervention in Iraq in 1991 and 2003 and its 'global war on terrorism' (GWOT) can be cited as illustrations of 'hard' power capability. 'Hard' power goes along with risks to the economy and the military; America is engaged in its longest war in Afghanistan without a definite military or political victory. Some countries like Japan and Germany can be called as economic powers but not 'hard' powers because they lack the military ability and outreach to influence other states like the United States.

'Soft' power: What does 'soft' power mean? In contrast with 'hard' power which is heavily relied on coercive methods, 'soft' power can influence other states with the use of culture, movies, values, ethics, social, ethnic, linguistic, historical and human relations. 'Soft' power can also use lobbying as a tool to influence foreign policies of other states. Diaspora can play an important role in this kind of influence. The 'soft' power concept was proposed by Joseph Nye who argued that a country can achieve its interests by influencing the policies of other countries through 'soft' tools like culture. Thus the 'soft' power depends on its abilities to gain results through 'soft' tools and not 'hard' tools. Though the 'soft' power influence may not be as immediate and effective as 'hard' power, it can nevertheless play an important role in shaping the public opinion and developing a positive environment among the interacting states. The example of a 'soft' power is India which has the ability to influence the policies, perceptions, perspectives of other states through its historical and cultural background and a wide diaspora. UN International Yoga Day, Bollywood, Indian philosophy and diversity are deemed its 'soft' power. Football, Amazon rainforest etc. are the 'soft' powers of Brazil. Canada is a 'good' international citizen; a trustworthy

‘mediator’ and a useful ‘go-between’ are its ‘soft’ power assets. US has immense ‘soft’ power – Hollywood, fashion, premier educational institutions and universities, knowledge production and its research and development (R&D) in the field of natural and human sciences etc.

10.2.2 Global, Regional and Sub-regional Powers

Based on a state’s capability to influence other states, a power can be categorised as global, regional or sub-regional power.

Global Power: A global power exerts its influence at a global level; and is also called by others as global power. A more commonly used expression is the ‘great’ power for these global powers. A great power possesses both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ powers to influence other states in their domestic as well as foreign policy decisions. Paul Kennedy (1987) argues that historically power of a ‘great’ power cannot be compared on a single parameter. It depends on the political environment of that period; and, further, the power can be measured in terms of the power of other states. The characteristics of a ‘great’ power include the resources availability, economic strength and military ability for a sustained campaign. Kenneth Waltz opines that it is through mutual understanding that states decide on who are the ‘great’ powers of a period (Waltz 1979, 131). Martin Wight in his book *Power Politics* published in 1978, argues that a ‘great’ power is the one with the ability to create, define and monopolise the international conflict. Though Wight used the word ‘dominant power’ instead of ‘great’ power, his ‘dominant’ power does not deny the existence of other powers in the international system.

Kenneth Waltz identified five essential requirements to be a ‘great’ power. These essential requirements are: state’s population and territory; availability of resources and resource mobilisation; economic output and power; political stability; and military strength and outreach. These five essential requirements which are necessary for a state to be identified as a ‘great’ power are to be mixed together and should be available at any point of time. Absence of any of these can make a state a power but not a great power. For instance absence of resources makes a power dependent for the same on other states. Absence of military strength can make a state only an economic power. Absence of economic power and mere presence of military power can make a state only a military power and not a great power. Apart from these essential requirements, other tenets of a great power include socio-cultural influence over the majority of the states of the world, ability to innovate, adopt advancements in science and technology, etc.

Regional Power: A regional power will have all the characteristics of a great power, but confined to a particular region. It plays a very dominant role in determining the issues of the region, guiding the economic activities of states, playing a vital role in the intra-regional trade and security etc. It would have a major share in regional production, population, skilled workforce, technological advancements and investments. A regional power would also have a significant influence on the cultural aspects of other states and will have all the ‘soft’ power qualities. Thus the basic characteristics of a regional power includes: economic indicators such as the major share in regional GDP, per capita income, per capita production, per capita expenditure and regional trade. Military indicators include modern and well-equipped armed forces which can reach out to major parts of the region, ability to conduct wars, influence the internal security of neighbouring countries in the region, and majority share in the military expenditure. Political

indicators are like the ability to influence the internal political environment of other states, a stable domestic political environment, ability to lead and guide in the regional policy matters, and ability to determine the inter-regional networks, connectivities, contacts etc. A regional power can also play role of a cultural hegemon in the sense that its own culture, media, social relations, outlook, music and movies can play a dominant role in socio-cultural aspects of other states in the region. In this sense its own diaspora plays a crucial role at socio-cultural levels and also as a pressure group at political level. Analysts often describe India and Brazil as examples of dominant regional powers.

Sub-regional Power: A sub-regional power can exercise its influence over its neighbouring countries and at a relatively smaller regional level. It would have its say in determining the sub-regional issues, can guide its neighbours in their foreign policy options, dominates the trade and investments, posses much larger military strength and enjoys relatively better political environment. A sub-regional power aspires to be a major player at regional level and seeks to become a regional player. The examples of sub-regions are Middle East, South Asia, East Asia, Central Asia, East Africa, West Africa, South America, Central America and the Caribbean region, etc.

The powers at the various levels work towards sustaining their position and as well as to improve their position. For example, a great power would work to sustain its position at global level, for which it adopts various strategies ranging from providing assistance to imposing sanctions in order to make the countries at global level to fall in line with its approaches and interests. Similarly the regional power aspires to be a global power and a sub-regional power seeks to achieve the position of a regional power. The position of these powers at various levels depends on the political and other environments of that particular period. A power of a particular time may not be enjoying the same position at later periods of time; and thus there can be no permanent power hierarchy in international system.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

- 1) Discuss characteristics of various ‘types’ and ‘levels’ of powers in the international system.

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10.3 POLARITY IN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Based on the ability of states to influence the affairs of other states at various levels and the distribution of power, an international system can be defined in terms of polarity. It means polarisation of power. Polarity examines whether or

how the power is distributed in one or more countries at global levels. There are three types of international system - Unipolar, Bipolar and Multipolar.

10.3.1 Unipolar System

A Unipolar system is defined in terms of a single state having highest economic, military, cultural and political influence all over the world. It goes against the theory of balance of power as there will be no other power to balance the system. Unipolarity is hegemonic. The global hegemon enjoys absolute domination in guiding the international policies and providing direction to international politics. Moneteiro in his work titled, *Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is not Peaceful* provides three characteristics of a Unipolar system. This system is marked by existence of several individual states with mutual relations among them. These mutual relations are inter-state/ inter-national relations. Secondly, since there is no superior authority to supervise these relations; the system is marked by anarchical situation and situation constrains the Unipolar system as the states will not readily accept the domination and dictation of the Unipolar state. Thirdly, the balance of power will be absent in a Unipolar system as there exists no similar or equal power.

10.3.2 Bipolar System

Bipolar system indicates the distribution of power between two states or blocs in international system. These two states or blocs can influence the global affairs, issues and relations. Majority of the states express their solidarity or align with the interests of a single power or a bloc; and thus bipolarity divides the states internationally. Cold War era international system which was dominated by USA and Soviet Union is the best example of Bipolar world order. There are three basic characteristics of a Bipolar system: First, it represents the international system in which majority of the states are either allies or express their tactical support with any of the two powers. Secondly it reflects a competitive environment in which two powers compete with each other in all the spheres ranging from economy to military, technological advancements to extending support to other states, and from influencing international issues to controlling conflicts and conflicting conditions. Thirdly, it represents zero sum game in which if one wins, other power loses.

10.2.3 Multipolar System

A Multipolar system in international relations reflects the existence of multiple powers as poles of power. It indicates that the power is not concentrated in a single hand but distributed among many players. Not all power poles are of the same size, strength and resourcefulness. Some power poles are durable others may prove short-lived. Nevertheless, the powers at the core of the pole are players which exercise considerable amount of influence on other smaller or weaker states. Emergence of a Multipolar system depends on many factors. First the economic developments, technological advancements, political influences, military outreach in many countries can create multiple power centres. Second, the weakening of a bipolar system disturbs the international status quo and the balance of power leaving a power vacuum. This vacuum encourages other states to step in and fill up the gap, focusing on rapid growth in many spheres. Third, the efforts by the states to fill up the vacuum lead to competition

in all the areas. The existence of Multipolar world order does not mean the absence of a single hegemon but it means competition among other states to match up or to step into the shoes of a competing hegemon. The post-Cold War period marks the emergence of Multipolar system. US is the global hegemon, unmatched and unchallenged in military and technological terms, but other power poles have emerged with strong economies, political stability, technological and military capability and with considerable 'soft' power appeal of their own.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the concept of polarity in international system.

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10.4 POST-COLD WAR PERIOD AND EMERGENCE OF NEW CENTRES OF POWER

The first decade of post-Cold War period witnessed the world adjusting to the changing world order. The period also marked remarkable US domination on one hand and a steady growth in the number and strength of non-state actors taking frontline positions in defining the relations between the states. This period saw a steady growth of terrorism which was earlier confined to a single state or region. This growth of terrorism particularly Islamist terrorism challenged and narrowed down the idea of nation–state. Terrorism, money laundering, arms trafficking and similar other challenges were not confined to particular states or regions; they were global with established global networks. This growth of global terror networks required cooperation between the states across the boundaries, regions and ideological barriers. In the Cold War period, the international system was largely divided based on the ideology and the dominant factor for the relationship between the states was the ideology. This was the main victim in the post-Cold War period. Though capitalist ideology became the guiding principle for globalisation, it no longer was the reason for conflict between the states. Another important development of post-Cold War period is the phenomenal growth of globalisation and linkages of global networks. Globalisation is relatively a new idea for many developing and developed countries. It demanded unprecedented interdependence between the states. The interdependence in terms of securing resources, production process and market forces created a network – a chain which could not be broken. In other words states needed each other; they need to cooperate with each other.

Growing economic and technological interdependence led to the redistribution of power. Since no state no longer controlled all the resources and enjoyed absolute economic might, the distribution of power became dynamic, random and vague. The basic characteristic of this system is not polarisation of power

but distribution and diffusion of power. The countries which are in the process of increasing their economic, military and political powers comparatively than other states began to be described as 'emerging powers'. 'Emerging powers' are those countries which should have substantial land mass with vast natural resources and population. Since modern idea of economic development needs the countries with huge manufacturing base, self-sustainability in agricultural production, political stability and sustainable policy making process, states with these qualities were categorised as 'emerging powers'. Robert J. Guttman in his book titled, *Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower* published in 2001 writes that in the 21st century, a super power requires not only economic and military power but also strong market, young, highly educated workers and high technology with a global vision. Emerging powers also need to adjust themselves to the changing global dynamics in economic, political and strategic spheres and also should be in a position to take up leadership position.

Based on the above discussion and description, one finds that the post-Cold War period has witnessed the emergence of new centres of power. These centres range from nation-states to association of states to non-state actors. However there is no conceptual clarity about the category called the 'emerging power'. Taking into account parameters like economic development, military capability, political stability and cultural strength, BRICS countries of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa are generally described as 'emerging' powers or 'emerging' economies. Others such as Mexico, Indonesia etc. are not far behind being similarly described. European Union as a single economic community is an emerging centre of power; it is a member of G-20 and also finds representation at various other multilateral platforms. Others, such as Japan, Germany, France, UK remain as great powers in their own domain. US continued to be described as the sole superpower or global hegemon.

10.4.1 China

China is world's most populous country with an estimated population of about 1.4 billion and with an area of about 9,600,000 square kilometres; it is one of the world's biggest countries. According to World Economic Outlook published by International Monetary Fund, it's GDP is about 14 thousand billion US dollars which is about 16 percent of world's GDP. China adopted centrally planned and closed economy along Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy. During the rule of various leaders like Deng Xiaoping's since the 1980s, reforms were introduced which slowly and steadily transformed China's economy. Soon after, it became an investment hub for manufacturing and infrastructure sectors. The manufacturing sector grew phenomenally; so much so that China began to be described as the 'global factory' of cheap and affordable manufactures for rest of the world. Its economy is highly export competitive; and share of exports in the GDP is quite high.

China also hosts largest number of armed forces, spends second highest amount on its military defence after the USA; and has emerged as a military power in the Asian region. In order to play a key role in adjacent regions, it is expanding its military presence. The claims on islands in South China Sea, its military base in Djibouti in the horn of Africa, increased naval presence in Indian Ocean are the examples of its effort for military outreach. China has adopted 'String of Pearls' strategy in Indian Ocean. By building ports, which bear strategic importance,

China wants to have effective control over the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). 'String of Pearls' extends from Chinese ports to Sudan Port in northern Africa, linking Strait of Mandeb, the Strait of Malacca, Strait of Hormuz and Strait of Lombok. As part of this strategy, it built strategic ports in Pakistan (Gwadar Port), Sri Lanka (Hambantota), container shipping facility at Chittagong in Bangladesh, Marao Atoll in the Maldives, and Somalia. These ports are being developed for commercial, communication and strategic purposes.

Apart from 'String of Pearls' strategy, another important strategic initiative is Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) which aims to develop infrastructure along ancient Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road connecting Asia, Europe and Africa. This initiative has brought many Asian, African countries directly under the influence of China, as the country has initiated huge infrastructure development projects. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is one such example. Belt and Road Initiative has also invited many concerns, doubts about China's intentions and also seen as a strategic effort by China to emerge as countering power to the USA.

10.4.2 Russia

After the end of Cold War and collapse of Soviet Union, Russia faced enormous political and economic problems. It is the largest country in the world, spread in about 17 million square kilometres, which accounts about 16 percent of geographical area of the world across Asia and Europe. Russia is rich in natural resources, and hosts about 30% of all the world's natural resources with an estimated value of about 75 trillion US dollars. Russia also owns second largest armed forces in the world and largest nuclear weapons. According to SIPRI, it is the fourth biggest military spenders in the world. It spends about 5.5 percent of its GDP on armed forces. Russia is second biggest arms exporter after the USA. It takes about 22 per cent of share in global arms exports. Russia is 11th largest economy in the world and the second largest oil exporter after Saudi Arabia. It accounts for about 11 per cent of global oil exports. Russia has the reserves of about 175 billion tonnes of coal and produces 5th largest amount of coal in the world. Many neighbouring regions including Europe import huge quantities of natural gas from Russia. Russia has its military presence in many Central Asian Republics like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and former Soviet allies like Armenia, Georgia, Belarus, Moldova. It has direct involvement in Syrian conflict and took over Crimea from Ukraine.

10.4.3 India

India is the second most populated country in the world and also hosts highest number of young population which can also be called as human capital. Census of India 2011 recorded that India has about 30 per cent of working population in its total population, which amounts to about 36 crores. According to IMF estimates, it's GDP is about 2.96 thousand billion US dollars which is approximately 3.36 percent of world's GDP. India adopted liberal economic policies since 1991 and since then it is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. India also receives highest amount of remittances from its overseas working population. In 2018 it received about 68 billion US dollars as remittances. India is a nuclear weapons power. It has the fourth largest strength of armed forces in the world; and according to SIPRI spends about 2.5 percent of its GDP

on armed forces. India is the largest importer of arms in the world. In between 2008 to 2017 the imports increased by 24 per cent. Russia is the largest exporter of arms to India which accounts for about 62 per cent of its total imports followed by USA and Israel. India imports about 12 per cent of total global arms imports.

As an emerging economy, India depends a lot on the safety and security of Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs). A peaceful and rule based freedom of navigation is necessary for its economic growth and security, in particular energy security. In strategic perspective, India is in the process of establishing patrolling, surveillance radar systems in Madagascar, Maldives, Mauritius, a naval base in Seychelles to protect its trade and strategic interests. It has close military relations with Bhutan and Sri Lanka. It also initiated collaborations with Japan for the Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) aimed at forging strategic partnership to connect Asian and African countries with development projects. In 2017 India along with USA, Japan and Australia became part of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue to address its concerns in Indian Ocean. India also launched 'Act East' Policy (erstwhile Look East Policy) to forge strong economic, trade and security relations with neighbouring South East Asian countries. All these initiatives and strengths make India an emerging power in Asia.

10.4.4 BRICS

In 2009 first ever summit meeting of the four fastest growing economies of that time came took place in Yekaterinburg in Russia. The imperative of their coming together was to push for a multipolar world order, reform of the international governance mechanisms and institutions including the UN, IMF and World Bank, and to make globalization a transparent, just and development-oriented process. South Africa joined the BRIC grouping in 2011 making it BRICS - Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. BRICS countries account for about 40 per cent of global population, have a combined contribution of about 23% of the global GDP and GDP in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) terms of around 32%. Fast growing economies, the grouping maintains, despite slowdowns of recent years, high growth rate – on average about 5 per cent.

Economic and financial cooperation among the member countries is the most important activity of BRICS. For this purpose formation of New Development Bank (NDB) or BRICS bank with an objective of financing infrastructure projects and sustainable development in developing countries, and creation of Contingent Reserves Arrangement (CRA) to assist countries during the situations of instability in the balance of payments were initiated. These initiatives are seen as an alternative arrangement to Western dominated World Bank and IMF. Both these institutions are evidence of growing financial multipolarity and diffusion of financial power away from the 'West' to the 'Rest'. BRICS also provides platform for the non-OECD countries to discuss global issues and negotiate actions independent of existing global institutions. However it is not a political alliance or a military pact; hence, BRICS is not a direct challenge to the US hegemony. In a multipolarised world, BRICS can only be seen as another pole.

Individual countries within BRICS like Brazil, Russia, India and China have their own strategic and national interests. There are also differences and disputes among them; for example, India-China border dispute. India and China are competing with each other on many issues in the region. Russia is seen as a direct threat to Western interests. These countries have very different strategic

interests and their national agendas are, most of time, competing with one another. BRICS is also an asymmetrical grouping; China is far bigger an economy than rest of the BRICS combined. The other four BRICS also depend heavily on trade with China and look for investment from China.

10.4.5 European Union

The European Union (EU) is a union of 27 states in Europe. It is an arrangement for internal trade, market, movement of goods, investments and people. There exists an administrative setup, with a European Parliament, Council, Court of Justice, an evolved legal system, democratic functioning and with a separate budget and currency. EU occupies about 15 per cent of global share in trade, and is one of the 3 largest players in international trade. EU is the largest contributor to the humanitarian aid in the world. Its European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) has partnership with multiple states and NGOs in providing humanitarian assistance to the needy. Though EU does not have its own dedicated armed forces and depends on the forces contributed by the member countries. Looking at the ‘soft’ power abilities of EU, many scholars like Reid (2004) and Leonard (2005) describe European Union as an emerging power. In spite of the fact that Britain has exited from EU, it still remains one of the most important trading partners to many developed and developing countries in the world. EU, in the absence of large ‘hard’ power, is counted as an example of ‘soft’ power with enormous cultural and diplomatic weight in the world.

The end of Cold War marked end of bipolar system in International Relations and paved the way for competition among aspiring states to emerge as independent power centres. The phenomenon of globalisation opened gates for transfer of investments, capital, and technology among states; and gave rise to a new strategic outlook which focussed on greater economic and commercial exchanges based on the principles of free trade. Accordingly competition among countries to play a key role and to take a leadership position in regional and global matters to enhance their respective national interests increased. The new opportunities provided by the post-Cold War period gave rise to emergence of new centres of power. ‘Emerging’ powers and ‘emerging’ economies came onto the global and regional stages with leadership claims; European Union became an economic and technological powerhouse, essential for an orderly global economic and trade system. China raced to become the second largest economy with great technological capability in Artificial Intelligence (AI), robotics, internet of things etc. These emerging and rising powers seek power in the traditional meaning of power – which is dominated by the military, economic and political power. The new centres of power also possess ‘soft’ power resources and skills to play a role in international relations. Thus, states like China, Russia, India and groupings like BRICS and EU are significant centres of power of the post-Cold War world.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.
- 1) What do you mean by emerging centres of power?

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10.5 LET US SUMUP

The above discussion has provided a conceptual understanding of Power in International Relations; the capabilities and roles expected of a powerful state. The Unit also discussed and described characteristics, types and levels of Power in international system. It also discussed the developments of the post-Cold War power; and the opportunities provided by these developments to the states which aspired to become a power in their own right under the existing system. The Unit has identified, based on the prevailing conditions, few states as emerging centres of power. The states like China, Russia, India and collaborative arrangements like BRICS and EU as emerging centres of power. Of course, as international power dynamics continue to change, some new members could as well be added to the list of emerging power centres.

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10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - Hard and soft power
 - Global, regional and sub-regional powers

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - Polarity examines how the power is distributed in one or more countries at global levels
 - There are three types of international system - Unipolar, Bipolar and Multipolar

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - No conceptual clarity about the category called the 'emerging power'
 - Based on parameters like economy, military, political stability and cultural strength