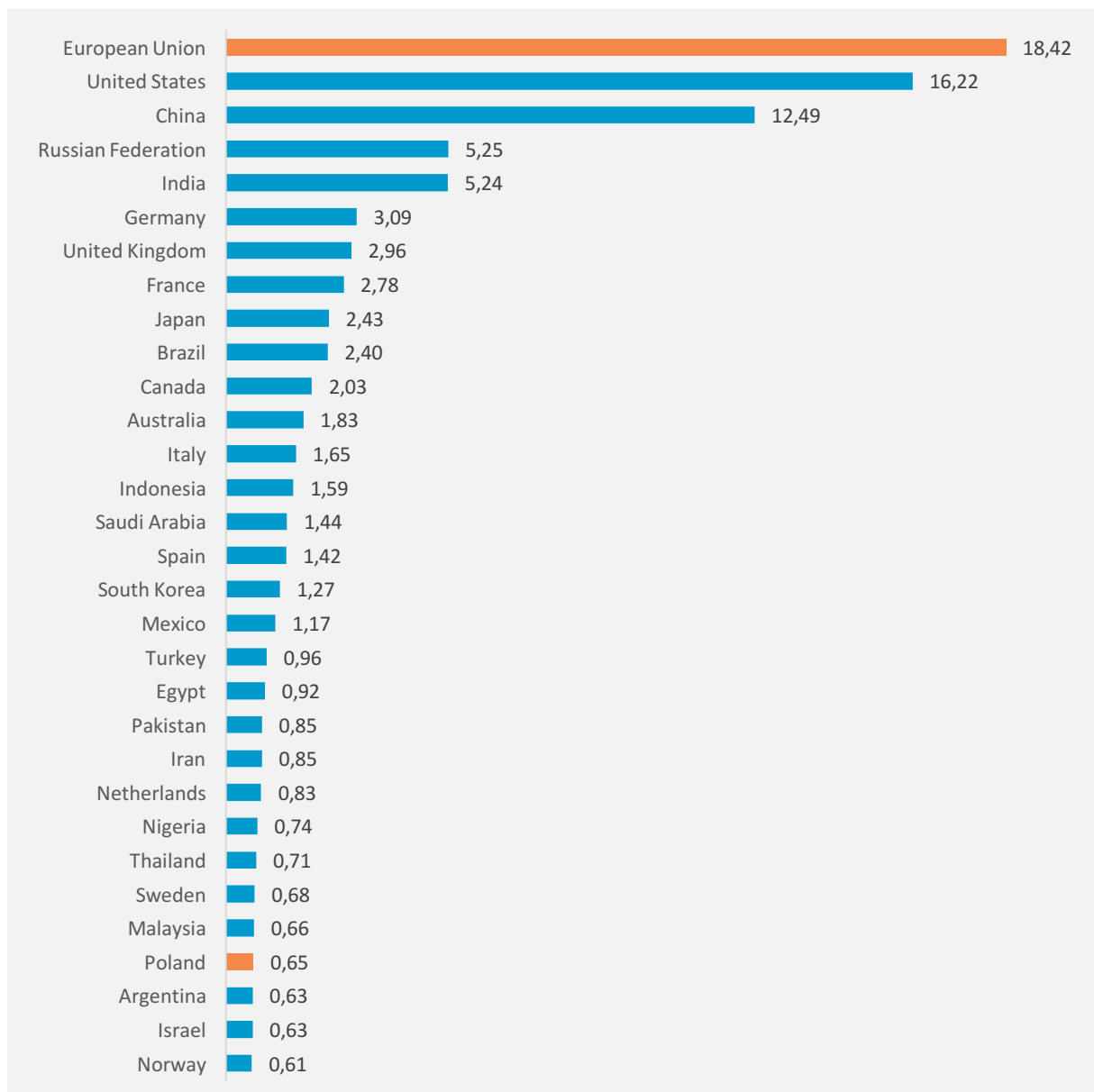


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In.Europa "State Power Index" 2017

Poland in terms of power is the 27th world country: behind Thailand, Sweden and Malaysia, but ahead of Israel, Argentina and Norway - according to the In.Europa State Power Index 2017. The lead are: 1. United States, 2. China, but a better integrated Europe could be the leader ranking.

Thirty most powerful countries in the world according to the State Power Index 2017 and the potential of the European Union:



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We created the state power index to show two phenomena: how Poland's position has changed on the international arena since 1989 and what the potential power of the European Union can be. As we face growing uncertainty in the world and a risk of a reshuffle of the global order, it is worth seeking to have the EU play a greater international role than today. This is especially the case because of Europe's numerous external and internal threats and the alternative to integration are uncontrolled and unpredictable developments in the world.

First four countries in the ranking – USA, China India and Russia – are well ahead of the rest because of the size of their territory, the size of their armies and size of their economies. Interestingly, some of the countries make up for these shortcomings with other factors, such as the proportion of their GDP spent on the army, as well as diplomacy and alliances. At the other end, the weakest countries in the world, ranked 160/168 and below are: Liberia, Swaziland, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Gambia, Bhutan, Antigua and Barbados, Comoro Islands and Micronesia.

Poland is in the 27th place among 168 country. Interestingly, in 1991, or two years after the start of the political transition and four years after the economic changes, our country held the 35th spot in the world in terms of power. The main reasons for this was the uncompetitive economy, low accumulation of capital and shifting military alliances. Positive changes in the following years allowed Poland to advance eight places.

Poland: among the powerful, it is not enough to be strong. In general, Poland is a powerful country, having found itself among the 20 per cent of the strongest countries in the world (27th place among 168 countries). However, this is not necessarily a reason for optimism as in the real world the translation of a country's strength into its level of security is relative and largely depends on the strength of its neighbours. However, the neighbours with whom historically Poland had the most intense relations are Germany and Russia, which both are among the leaders of the ranking. In comparison with the strongest, we look weak.

Especially significant is the disproportion of power between Poland and Russia (3/168), which consistently expands its military capabilities and in the 21st century is conducting hybrid military confrontation just below the level of war with some neighbours in order to secure its interests. Meanwhile, Germany (5/168) is currently focusing on its economic strength and soft power.

Because of the collective potential of member states, the European Union could be the greatest superpower in the world. If the EU were to become a more cohesive entity, such as federation with one government, then the strength of such a system would hypothetically be greater than that of the USA. The combined power of the

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EU would equal 18.16 points compared to 16.22 points for the US and 12.49 points for China. Today, the EU indeed may be perceived as a superpower, but only as to lifestyle – EU is a place where tourists from America or Asia like to spend their free time, and where migrants from different parts of the world seek better tomorrow in material terms (but not necessarily in terms of identity).

When it comes to Europe's potential, it could become the most important link in international politics. But for now, the vision of EU as an internally cohesive power exists only on paper. In fact the EU is currently weakening, especially after the departure of the Great Britain. That is why – in the face of growing military danger in Europe – it is best to launch reforms with a more cohesive security, defence and foreign policy, as well as a reflection on whether the EU should have strong common values.

We live in the times, when weaker countries, to remain in relative safety, must group themselves into larger defensive units. The future of the world economy is a rivalry not between states, but blocs of states. The bloc strategy is also connected with the development of defence potential – facing an increasing international instability it is important to integrate defence policy and cooperation to increase common power of deterrence. A good example of tangible benefits of military integration is the European Union: even though individual EU states are individually weak, the Union as a whole would be treated as a serious power. However, at this stage of integration it is too divided; deeper integration is necessary, especially in the defence and security arenas.

Forthcoming changes in the balance of power will spawn destabilisation and the threat of war. Long-term fluctuation of power is taking place among the world leaders, or the top ten countries in the ranking. Its dynamics suggest the coming end of the unipolar world, or the one where the US was the hegemon, i.e. a single superpower that could not be equalled by any other country in the world. The accelerating growth in strength by China (as well as India) suggests that we are moving towards a bi- or multi-polar world, in which the balance of power in the world will be remodelled. The remodelling of the international system in this spirit is already causing growing disturbances, seen by the strongest countries in the world as strategic windows to redefine their roles and modify their network of alliances. These modifications may be implemented not only with economic or soft power means, but also military ones, as shown by the hybrid war conducted by Russia in Ukraine.

Western countries cannot pull themselves together in the conditions of a hybrid confrontation. Russia is not only able to conduct a military confrontation outside the

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radar of Western countries, but it can also effectively influence the political sentiment in these countries. This does not just include the alleged support for Eurosceptic circles in Great Britain, which could have influenced the decision for the country to leave the EU, or Brexit. Russia also had a documented influence on the result of the most important elections in nominally stronger countries like US. What is more, chancellor Angela Merkel publicly raises concerns about a similar diversion in German elections. So far, Western countries have not openly used similar tools of warfare due to many different reasons, including ethical ones. In this respect, Russia holds an advantage over Western countries because it has more instruments of international influence.

Poland's power in numbers:

27th most powerful country in the world

17th most effective diplomacy (until the end of 2016)

24th largest available capital

29th the most influential culture

33rd country in terms of population size and its ageing

34th country in terms of militarisation (production of weapons, size of the army and spending on the army)

51st place in the world in terms of energy independence

67th country in terms of land mass

How we describe state power index 2017

State power for us is the total of economic capital (and its perception by the financial markets), army and military capabilities, land, human capital, culture, natural resources, as well as diplomatic strength of a given country. The State Power Index assumes values between 0 and 100 points.

Economic capital by itself (size of the economy) is an important resource of every country, but other factors are also important: the ease with which individuals or associated entities may accumulate significant property, as well as the perception of the country as a stable and trustworthy among potential investors.

Militarisation (military potential), is understood quite literally: it is both budgetary spending on the army (or its nominal value), as well as the sale of weapons on the international market, the number of uniformed officers in the country and the possession of nuclear weapons.

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A state's power is also affected by its surface area. The larger the country, the more likely it will have access to diverse natural resources.

Human resources are another important dimension – we consider the population of a given country, as well as its age as factors important to this indicator. A demographic change occurs in some societies quicker than in others, while the number of the elderly can affect a country's actions during a necessary sudden mobilisation, also to the state of the economy.

The popularity of a country's culture is an important factor reflecting its power. We estimate it with the help of the best global universities that are located in each country.

Natural resources and energy security and participation in the energy sector (or whether a given country exports or imports energy) are also important.

In an increasingly networked international system a country's diplomatic effectiveness, which we capture by looking at the nationality of people playing key roles in the most important international organisations, are also important.

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Full text of the publication with interactive maps is available on the website index.ineuropa.pl/en/