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# NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES

# 2020

**University of Warsaw**  
**Faculty of Political Science and International Studies**

**University of Wrocław**  
**Faculty of Social Science**  
**Institute of International Studies**

# **NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES 2020**

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**Warsaw 2020**

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*The fundamental concept in social science is Power in the same sense  
in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics*

Bertrand Russel

*The most important feature of every international system is the distribution of power*

Raymond Aron



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## PREFACE

We present to you the second, expanded edition of the report *National power rankings of countries* in the Open Access format. The report constitutes an attempt to respond to the great institutional and social demand in the field of empirical studies of international relations, including the use of powermetric methods. The circulating popular views of "return of geopolitics", "changes in the international distribution of power", "the shift of the centre of power from the West to the East", "twilight of the West" still require scientific verification. Research material based on the synthetic powermetric indicators allows for analysing changes in the distribution of power between states as the main actors of international relations. The basic term used in the Report is "power"; its equivalent in French is "puissance", in German "Macht" and in Russian "мощь".

The international distribution of power, which is the most important feature of any international system, constitutes a product of a long historical process, characterized by high inertia, which means that it cannot be changed in a short time. However, there are periods of acceleration on the timeline, as exemplified by the period after the Cold War. These periods are characterized by high dynamics resulting in new geopolitical contradictions, i.e. contradictions between interests or traditional spheres of influence and the possibilities of

maintaining them. This, in turn, leads to exacerbation of tensions in relations between states.

The report is addressed to all interested persons and institutions, in particular to politicians, government officials and entrepreneurs with the hope that it will prove helpful in the decision-making process. We also want to interest analysts and specialists in various fields and scientific disciplines with the results of our research. We are looking forward to an interdisciplinary debate on changes in the international distribution of power and their economic, social and political consequences.

We would like to note that similar reports are prepared in large research teams with significant organizational and budgetary capabilities. The results of our work were achieved thanks to the effort of just few persons. Although we have tried to develop it as solidly as possible, we do not rule out various defects or even errors, which is why we ask readers for understanding as well as any comments - including very critical - of a substantive, methodological, technical or aesthetic nature. We are already thinking about the third edition, which is such comments would be very useful to us.

Łukasz Kiczma  
Mirosław Sułek

## INTRODUCTION

The power of states, its estimates and measurement has always been the subject of interest of leaders, rulers and politicians who have needed relatively objective decision-making parameters. Initially philosophers, and later specialized researchers, have been trying to meet these expectations.

The power of international relations actors is measured by the subdiscipline of geopolitics – *powermetrics*, which as an applied science, is dealing with measuring, estimating and assessing the power of participants of social life, especially states, as well as modelling, simulating and forecasting their relations in the global, regional and local dimensions.

However, it was only after World War II, due to the division of the world into hostile camps, when relevant research began to develop rapidly. This was supported primarily by the dynamic development of other scientific disciplines such as economics, econometrics, game theory, cybernetics and computer science.

After the Cold War, the powermetric research intensified. The simplicity and stability of the bipolar system disappeared, the formation of a new international order has begun, whose main feature was growing instability. Consequently, additional interest arose in the studies on the international distribution of power, this time not only among rulers, politicians and commanders, but also among the society which, thanks to the Internet, is able to follow developments, exchange views and assessments of the international distribution of power on an ongoing basis. Against this background, geopolitics has also been reactivated as one of the ways to practice the international relations science.

Many models and concepts in the field of measuring the power of states have been developed. In the Report, we used a uniform methodology based on measuring the power of states according to the formal model of the University of Warsaw professor - Mirosław Sulek. This method, hereinafter referred to as the Sulek model, is based on measuring three types of state power: economic, military and geopolitical.

The Report presents changes in the international distribution of power after the Cold War and covers the years 1992-2018, i.e. from the end of the Cold War till the year for which the latest statistical data is available. We have prepared it to better understand the changes taking place in the international system - currently and in the future. This in turn should lead to the construction of more excellent strategies in the field of states' security and development.

The subject of focus of this Report is *the international distribution of power* understood as a distribution of power between states. This means that in our study we omit all non-state actors. We present the international distribution of power synthetically, thanks to the formula which in our opinion is easy to understand and apply also for non-specialists. We derive from the well-known thesis of Raymond Aron stating that *the most important feature of every international system is the distribution of power*.

The Report does not refer to *hard power, soft power, smart power, sticky power or sharp power*. Such division, becoming more and more advanced, leads to the loss of capacity for operationalization. We do not include nuclear weapons in our military power calculations. We also omit non-state actors, as aforementioned.

## SUMMARY

The Report presents changes in the international distribution of power after the Cold War, i.e. in years 1992-2018. To this end, we used a special methodology that allows for estimating three types of state power: economic power, military power (being part of economic power), and geopolitical power (being the resultant of economic power and military power).

- In line with the above mentioned distinction, in 1992 there was a clear unipolar system in all respects personified by the United States.
- In 2018, the situation changed radically, as the bipolar system (USA - China) has emerged in terms of economic power, remaining unipolar in terms of military power. Taking geopolitical power as a criterion, an "un-balanced" bipolar system, where a US predominance emerged.

We present the militarization of states in three forms, as: economic militarization, expressed by the participation of military power in economic power; GDP militarization (expressed as the share of military expenditure in GDP) and demographic militarization (expressed as the share of the number of active duty soldiers in the whole population), with appropriate exponents - according to the model.

In 1992, the most militarized countries in economic terms included: Kuwait, Vietnam, Mongolia, Jordan, Oman, Bulgaria, Armenia, Turkmenistan, the United Arab Emirates, and the Russian Federation. In 2018, the order of countries according to the above criterion changed significantly. The most militarized countries in general

were: Oman, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Israel, Armenia, Iraq, Jordan, Iran, Algeria, and Lebanon. It can be seen that the level of militarization has increased mainly in the Middle East.

In terms of *GDP militarization*, in 1992 the leaders were: Kuwait, Mongolia, Vietnam, Turkmenistan, Bulgaria, Oman, Mozambique, Armenia, Jordan, Tajikistan and Saudi Arabia. In 2018, the list of countries was similar, including: Oman, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Algeria, Israel, Kuwait, Iran, Mali, and Armenia.

The ranking of countries in terms of *demographic militarization* was different. In 1992, the top ranks were occupied by: Israel, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Croatia, Iraq, Taiwan, Russia, Libya and Oman; and in 2018 by: North Korea, Israel, South Sudan, Brunei, Armenia, Greece, Singapore, Cyprus, South Korea, and Sri Lanka.

We also displayed power cycles for the first 30 countries in terms of economic power in years 1961-2018.<sup>1</sup> This period, despite being relatively short, allows for observing the trends, which in turn facilitates forecasting. The presented charts make us aware that the course of the cycles is very diverse. Let's look at one example. Chart 1 (items 1-5) shows, for example, that the power of China in the years 1961-1978 was experiencing a slight downward trend, while in the years 1979-1993 its level of power remained unchanged, and only after the end of the Cold War turned into a rapid upward trend. This means that the infamous Deng Xiaoping reforms of the late 1970s did not bring any noticeable change in terms of power. The power of the US was

<sup>1</sup> We refer to the theory of Ch. F. Doran. See. e.g. Ch. F. Doran, *Systems in Crisis. New Imperatives of High Politics at Century's End*, Cambridge University Press 1991; Ch. F. Doran, 'Economics,

Philosophy of History and the << Single Dynamics >> of Power', *International Political Science Review*, 2003, vol. 24, No. 1.

fluctuating, but was showing a downward trend throughout the period. Japan underwent a model cycle of strength: in the years 1961-1988 - rapid growth; in the years 1989-1995 - stabilization; and since 1995 - a strong decline. India was showing a downward trend until around 1993, followed by a slight upward trend. The cycle of strength for Brazil was swinging, but throughout the entire period the trend was slightly upward, with a distinctive acceleration in the years 2003-2011, which gave grounds for indicating Brazil as the future great power. However, since 2011, the downward trend started again.

According to the adopted power criteria, both in 1992 and 2018 there was no "superpower" in terms of economic power. The United States maintained the position of a "superpower" in the field of military and geopolitical power. In 1992, China had the status of "regional power" in all categories of power, but in 2018 it achieved the status of "world power" in terms of economic power (ahead of the United States for the second time in a row)) and "great power" in terms of military and geopolitical power.

Very interesting are the results showing the biggest winners and losers in terms of economic power, which is the most objective measure, because in the short term it does not depend on the decisions of politicians, as opposed to military and indirectly - geopolitical power. Therefore, the warfare for power is a zero-sum game, if someone wins, someone has to lose. The group of the biggest winners in terms of economic power included, among others: China, Vietnam, United Arab Emirates, India, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Romania, and Oman. The biggest losers in terms of

economic power included: Japan, Libya, Italy, Ukraine, Greece, Germany, France, Sweden, Portugal and Belgium.

In terms of regional system, the biggest winners included: South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The only losers are Europe and Central Asia as well as North America (to a little extent).

A comparison of the dynamics of power between the EU, the US and China on the basis of economic power in the years 1961-2018 shows that in 2018 these three actors became equal. In the EU's power cycle, considered taking into account its enlargement, two phases may be distinguished - the first was an upward trend in the years 1961-2009, while since 2009 we were observing a clear downward trend. If the EU were considered as a separate single power, the resulting balance of power could definitely be described as three-pole.

In the distribution of power between the East and the West, understood in accordance with the adopted definitions, we may observe two different trends. The first, declining one characterizes the West; the second, upward one, characterizes the East. In 1961, the West had a huge advantage, in 2011 there was a balance of power. From that moment, the following trends continued: for the West - a slight downward trend; for the East - a slight upward trend.

It should be remembered that the most reliable comparisons of changes in the international distribution of power over longer periods should be based on economic power. In current policy, military power comes to the fore and, as a consequence - also geopolitical power.

## METHODOLOGY

### 1.1. *The pursuit of power and the logic of human action*

The power of the state or other organized social groups constitutes the most important property of human action, and its logic remains unchanged throughout history - only tools (technology) and environmental conditions change. The science of human action (praxeology) is of a priori-deductive, not empirical-inductive character.<sup>2</sup>

People as particles of a social organism are born, live and operate in a competitive environment, i.e. in a world of limited resources (the so-called scarcity of goods), in which they primarily want to *survive* and then *develop*. To this end, they create *social systems of action*. There are only two ways to deal with the scarcity of goods: the first is voluntary cooperation, the second is warfare. Cooperation is a positive sum game (all parties involved benefit from it); warfare is a negative sum game (all parties involved suffer losses). In real life, there is neither pure cooperation nor pure warfare. There always occurs a mix of them (hence, for example, relations between states may be friendly, correct, tense, and hostile). In the course of their activity, people must make decisions regarding the directions and proportions (intensity) of cooperation/warfare. This type of action is called *rivalry* (which is a zero-sum game). Survival and development in the conditions of scarcity of goods necessitate striving to maximize their abilities (wealth, power, strength, glory, fame, prestige, recognition, authority). This aspiration is synthesized in the concept of power expressed by Bertrand Russell, who wrote „The fundamental

concept in social science is Power in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics ".<sup>3</sup>

So we have three types of human activities: cooperation, warfare and rivalry.

*Cooperation*, as a positive sum game, means that all parties involved benefit from it. From the state perspective, the market economy is its clear example. Cooperation between enterprises and clients as well as cooperation between enterprises themselves brings benefits to entrepreneurs and clients. The theory of cooperation is economics (it may be called the economics of cooperation or civil economics). Cooperation is based on trust and truth, and therefore on the information. It is characterized by the ethics of cooperation, i.e. economic ethics, understood as the ethics of calculation as well as the ethics of reason and prudence, and is accompanied by economic aesthetics, focused on creating order and harmony in the economic system.

*Warfare* (as a negative sum game) means that all parties involved in it suffer losses. Warfare understood in this way can be fought in various fields. From the point of view of the state, the best example is the armed warfare, i.e. the warfare for life and death. In the fight, the key is victory, i.e. either destroying the opponent or inflicting such heavy losses that he no longer poses any threat. The theory of warfare is the art of war (it can also be called warfare economics, or simply military economics). The art of war is based on deception, trickery, surprise, and misinformation. It is accompanied by military

<sup>2</sup> See: L. von Mises, *Human Action. A Treatise on Economics*, Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn, Alabama 1998, pp. 30-36. It is worth emphasizing that there are attempts to create a completely a priori theory of international relations;

See e.g.: M. R. Crovelli, *Toward an A Priori Theory of International Relations* (<http://www.mises.org> – accessed on 4/05/2020).

<sup>3</sup> B. Russell, *Power. A New Social Analysis*, Routledge, London and New York 1996, p. 4.

ethics, which protects the unity of command and action, and the fighting spirit. It is supported by military aesthetics, which is manifested not only in the elegance of uniforms and drill, but also in warfare operations.

*Rivalry* (as a zero-sum game) means that the benefit of one side entails the loss of the other with identical value. This is the nature of striving for power - on the scale of society or even the world there is always 100% of the target asset, and individual units organized in various social groups are struggling for the largest possible share. This may be clearly seen in the international arena - individual countries are striving for the greatest power, i.e. the largest share in the power of the world as

a whole. One can't share power here, the interests of the parties are completely opposite. The theory of rivalry is geopolitics. Since the rivalry is stretched between cooperation and warfare, it is based on duplicity, which is manifested primarily in propaganda. Depending on the degree of tension between rivals, propaganda is directed more toward truth or more toward deception. All this is in line with the ethics of rivalry (ethics of politics), supported by the aesthetics of rivalry. Rivalry is a key issue in social life - cooperation and warfare subsystems are subordinated to it. In other words, the logic of rivalry, i.e. the pursuit of maximization of power, is the dominant logic of social life.

**The logic of rivalry, i.e. the pursuit of maximization of power, is the dominant logic of social life.**

Cooperation and warfare belong to the real sphere; *rivalry* belongs to the sphere of regulation. In the real sphere, mainly matter and energy are processed, while in the sphere of regulation - mainly information. Processing of information in the *rivalry* department is aimed at reaching decisions as to the scope, directions and intensity of *cooperation - warfare*. Three branches of praxeology correspond to three types of human activities.<sup>4</sup> Their characteristics are presented in table 1.

Following Raymond Aron's advice, we define the power of states (political units) as the *ability to act - create or destroy*.<sup>5</sup> The ability to act is called by us economic power, the ability to create - civil power, while the ability to destroy - military power. Political leadership has at its disposal both powers - their resultant (and not their sum) creates geopolitical power. These three types of power constitute a reflection of the three subsystems of human action.

<sup>4</sup> See more: M. Sułek, 'Praxiology: A New Approach', (in:) Wojciech Gasparski (ed.), *Praxiology: The International Annual of Practical Philosophy and Methodology*, Volume 25, Routledge, New York and London 2018, pp. 152-161.

<sup>5</sup> R. Aron, *Peace and War. A Theory of International Relations*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London (U.K.) 2003, p. 47.

**Table 1. Cooperation, warfare and rivalry in the system of social action**

REAL SPHERE		SPHERE OF REGULATION
COOPERATION	WARFARE	RIVALRY
Logic of cooperation Theory of cooperation Economy Positive sum game Ethics of cooperation Aesthetics of cooperation	Logic of warfare Theory of warfare The art of war Negative-sum game Ethics of warfare Aesthetics of warfare	Logic of rivalry Theory of rivalry Geopolitics Zero-sum game Ethics of rivalry Aesthetics of rivalry
CIVIL POWER	MILITARY POWER	GEOPOLITICAL POWER
ECONOMIC POWER		

Source: This is a slight extension of the model contained in: M. Sułek, *Praxiology. A New Approach...*, op. cit., p. 154.

The three types of activities listed above form a unified social system of action, consisting of the real sphere and the sphere of regulation. This is visible in every social group, especially within the

state where we have a clearly defined subsystem of cooperation (economy); subsystem of warfare (armed forces) and subsystem of regulation (state authority).

### 1.2. Dimensional analysis

A major weakness of all attempts to measure the power category of political units was the omission of the dimensional analysis. As a result, it was not known what exactly was measured. The measurement requires knowledge of the dimensions of the measured quantities. Without this, the simplest operations of addition or subtraction cannot be done in natural sciences. Kilograms are added to kilograms, seconds to seconds, watts to watts. There is no similar clarity in social science. Nevertheless, some form of dimensional analysis is needed in order to discipline the research and reasoning process.

Economics have extensive experience in dimensional analysis. They use two basic dimensions: the stock dimension and the flow dimension. The stock dimension refers to all resources which are available at a given time (e.g. national property or potential of the armed forces on the day T). This dimension can be called potential (in terms of potential energy). The

second dimension, the flow one, refers to resources flowing in time. In relation to political units, such flows may be, for example, gross domestic product generated during the year or the volume of cargo transported per unit of time. A specific flow is the power of a political unit which is a flow of energy over time. In turn, carrying out permitted operations involving stocks and flows leads to many derivative dimensions. Dimensional analysis could further explain the terms used frequently in political or military texts: power, strength, capabilities, geopolitical potential, warfare potential, etc.

The issue of units of measurement is related to measurement and dimensions. Natural sciences can be a reference here, as in social sciences this topic is largely ignored (except for economics). In the report, we use units of power measurement expressed in terms of might, derived from the basic unit - we assumed that it will be

1 mir as an expression of the world power.<sup>6</sup> The above implies that the power of individual states is a fraction of this magnitude. For the sake of clarity of the presented results, the fractions obtained (decimal values) may be multiplied by any number. If we multiply them by 100, we get the results in percent of the power of the world (then the power of the world = 100). In our case, it will be more convenient to multiply them by 1000 (then the power of the world = 1000), which means that we will express it in millimirs (abbreviation - mM), i.e. thousandths of the power of the world. In the case of small and very small countries, it may be convenient to express their power in micromirs (abbreviation - μM), i.e. millionths of the power of the world (then the power of the world = 1,000,000). We refer all three types of power to the world as a whole, which means that each of these powers has the value of = 1 (100, 1000).

### 1.3. Systematics of national power

We based the results of the calculations on the Sulek model, which - according to the author's assurances - has the a priori-deductive, not empirically-inductive character. In our opinion, it is easy to understand and to use, also for non-specialists. It is based on the necessary and sufficient number of permanent factors in the course of history, inextricably linked to the existence and functioning of human groups, including political units. The author of the model recognized such factors as: people operating in a specific space and at a specific time, representing specific organizational and production skills, or the ability to act collectively, and thus to the social processing of materials, energy and information. Because of this, people actions have specific results. From

In "normal" situations, there is a fairly close connection between potential and power. In situations of "geopolitical shocks" or "collisions of tectonic plates", there may occur quite a large discrepancy. A modern example is Russia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, it entered a long period of social, economic and political crisis. As a result, its power deteriorated considerably. However, its potential decreased to a much lesser extent (in the form of accumulated weapons or the production apparatus). It is the power that is mainly used every day. Power is what is real, functioning and current and the potential is what is possible, hidden, future. The competitive nature of the international environment means that political units strive to maximize their power. In this regard, foreign policy as such is always *power politics*. And this is not about maximizing military power, but about the greatest possible "weight" of a state in international relations.

the political unit's point of view, GDP (Gross Domestic Product) can be considered a good synthetic result. Other possible measures may be considered, such as GNP (Gross National Product), but this is not relevant at this stage of consideration. It cannot be ruled out that a better indicator will appear in the future which would be more suited to measuring human effects. Thus, the variables that we will consider are: people, space, time and results of people's collective actions.

This model allows for calculating three types of state power: *economic power*, *military power* and *geopolitical power* as a resultant of the previous two. *Economic power* consists of economic results (gross domestic product), demographic factors (population) and spatial

<sup>6</sup> We adopted the name "mir" from the Russian word "мир", meaning "world".

factors (area). *Military power* consists of *military and economic factors* (military expenditure, which constitutes a part of GDP), *demographic and military factors* (number of active duty soldiers) and *spatial factors* (area). *Geopolitical power* is the resultant of economic power and military power - it is calculated as the arithmetic average of economic power and doubled military power (we have appreciated the role of the military factor in shaping current distribution of power).

The presented methodology has its sources in the theory of international relations and geopolitics. It draws on the

### 1.4. Main formula of power

The Sulek model expresses three types of power: economic, military and geopolitical (see the box). Let's remind - economic power reflects the ability to act; civil power - the ability to create; military power - the ability to destroy; geopolitical power - the ability to control the environment (depending on the international situation - relying more on peaceful means or more on coercion). We show the civil power indirectly, through the level of militarization - high military power arises at the expense of civil power and vice versa.<sup>8</sup>

achievements of economics, art of war, cybernetics and praxeology as well. The formula used is based on dimensional analysis neglected in previous approaches and relies solely on fixed factors absolutely necessary for the completeness of the description.<sup>7</sup> A *sine qua non* condition for the functioning of each state, as a basic political unit, are *people* operating in a given *space* at a given *time*, representing specific *organizational and production skills* or the *capacity for collective actions*. This means the ability to process materials, energy and information.

$$EP = GDP^{0,652} \times L^{0,217} \times a^{0,109}$$

$$MP = MEX^{0,652} \times S^{0,217} \times a^{0,109}$$

$$GP = \frac{EP + (2 \times MP)}{3}$$

Symbols:

- EP - economic power,
- MP - military power,
- GP - geopolitical power,
- GDP - Gross Domestic Product,
- L - population,
- a - area,
- MEX - military expenditures,
- S - active service soldiers

Let's note that while the population (L) is a quantitative indicator, the volume of GDP (more precisely GDP per capita) is

<sup>7</sup> See more: M. Sulek, Measurement of national power - a powermetric model, *Przegląd Geopolityczny* 2020, vol. 32, pp. 35-57 (<https://przeglad.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/XXXII-02-Sulek.pdf>). A broad review of approaches and models for calculating the power of states is particularly included in the following works: M. Sulek, *Potęga państw. Modele i zastosowania (The Power of Nations. Models and Applications)*, Rambler Publishing House, Warsaw 2013; K. Höhn,

*Geopolitics and the Measurement of National Power*, PhD dissertation, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg 2011.

<sup>8</sup> For those interested, we recommend the following calculation technique: we divide all collected data by appropriate global quantities, and enter the obtained fractional quantities into the formula. After completing the operation, we will receive the power of states as a fraction of world power.

a qualitative indicator of human resources. This reasoning is summarized in the main formula.

It must be admitted that GDP as the indicator of the capacity for collective action has been widely criticized for several decades. So far, however, we do not have an indicator that could replace it. The same applies to military expenditure (MEX), whose share in the aggregate indicator of the capacity for collective action was adopted as a measure of society's defence (military) effort.

We assume that all three types of power have a power dimension in the physical sense ( $\frac{kg \times m^2}{s^3}$ ). Power in this sense is an energy flow and means the amount of work done per unit of time. The formula also allows for calculating the power in terms of potential energy, treated as the size of the stock at a given moment of time, but this is a more difficult and laborious issue. All these types of

power, of course, have the same dimension, but different character.

Economic power, as well as the distribution of power created on its basis, is the result of a long process of historical development and in the time of peace it cannot be quickly increased by the decisions of politicians. In this sense it has an *objective* character. Situation is different in the case of military power, which is *subjective* because it depends directly on political decisions. Geopolitical power holds an indirect position, although political decisions also have a large impact on its size.

Awareness of these differences is of great importance when assessing international relations in terms of power relations. In the long run, economic power is decisive, which is why it is the main subject of power rivalry. In the short-term assessment, especially in the context of armed conflict, priority is given to military power and, to a slightly lesser extent, to geopolitical power.

### 1.5. Militarization indices

There are three types of militarization: economic militarization, GDP militarization and demographic militarization. Indicators of militarization are dimensionless quantities. Indicator of economic militarization is the ratio of military power to economic power, namely:

$$m_e = \frac{MP}{EP}$$

It can also be interpreted as an *indicator of mobilization*, as it shows how much resources were allocated (mobilized) for military (defence) purposes, as well as an indicator of *defence readiness*. It is the quotient of two indicators, as illustrated by the following formula:

$$m_e = \frac{MEX^{0.652} \times S^{0.217} \times a^{0.109}}{GDP^{0.652} \times L^{0.217} \times a^{0.109}}$$

After simplification, the formula will take the form:

$$m_e = \left( \frac{MEX^{0.652}}{GDP^{0.652}} \right) \times \left( \frac{S^{0.217}}{L^{0.217}} \right)$$

We can see that the economic militarization index is the product of two partial indicators. The first indicator ( $m_{GDP}$ ) expresses the GDP militarization, while the second indicator ( $m_d$ ) expresses demographic militarization, as demonstrated by the following formulas:

$$m_{GDP} = \frac{MEX^{0.652}}{GDP^{0.652}}$$

$$m_d = \frac{S^{0.217}}{L^{0.217}}$$

The above indicators constitute important means of describing the defence policy of states. We can distinguish two

extreme cases here. The first, when the GDP militarization index is high, and the demographic militarization rate is low and the second, reverse one. In addition, there are numerous intermediate situations. These indicators inform us about the type of military strategy of states and the will to implement it.

### 1.6. *Dialectics of absolute and relative increase/decrease*

The key to describing geopolitical rivalry as a zero-sum game is to understand absolute and relative increases/decreases. Typical absolute increases include, for example, population growth (expressed in thousands or millions of people), growth of GDP or military expenditure (in millions or billions of zlotys, dollars etc.). However, for example the high rate of GDP growth as a synthetic indicator of performance of the economic system does not guarantee power growth; it all

depends on what is happening in the entire world system. When the rest of the world develops even faster, then the power of the country falls, not increases. It can also be the opposite - a country's GDP may fall, yet its power will grow when the GDP of other countries decreases even more. As a result of the combination of increases and decreases in absolute and relative terms, we get 4 possible situations. This is illustrated in table 2.

Table 2. Systematics of increase and decrease in absolute and relative terms

	Relative increase	Relative decrease
Absolute increase	(1) Absolute increase - relative increase	(2) Absolute increase - relative decrease
Absolute decrease	(3) Absolute decrease - relative increase	(4) Absolute decrease - relative decrease

From the point of view of international rivalry, two situations are favourable - (1) and (3); the other two are unfavourable. From the observer's point of view, in situation (2) absolute increase is difficult to reconcile with relative decrease; in situation (4) an easily noticeable absolute decrease meets more difficult

to notice relative increase. Absolute and relative changes often carry contradictory information, which confuses politicians and researchers. It should be remembered that from the point of view of warfare for power, i.e. from the perspective of geopolitics, only relative increases/decreases are important.

## 1.7. Statistical database

Statistical data used in the Report come from several sources. We tried to limit their number to the necessary minimum. Data regarding population, GDP according to the exchange rate and area of the countries come firstly from the World Bank (WB) database. The exception constitutes the data for Taiwan, where the data regarding GDP according to the exchange rate come from the database of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while the data on the population and area from the database of the United Nations (UN).

Data on the number of soldiers in active service and military expenditure in US dollars were taken from “The Military Balance” yearbook by the London International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).

Missing data from the above sources were supplemented by data from the following sources according to the

hierarchy: International Monetary Fund (IMF), Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The catalogue of examined countries includes 193 UN member states, as well as: Taiwan, which until 1971 represented China in the UN together with Kosovo as a protectorate administered by the UN and at the same time a state partially recognized internationally as a result of the breakup of Yugoslavia. Lack of available data to calculate the formula is marked as “n/a”.

The regional division of the world was adopted according to the division by the World Bank. The European Union is understood as the summative result of its member countries at the end of the audited year. The authors adopted their own division of countries into the East and the West.

## 2 RESULTS

The chapter contains four groups of states’ rankings. The first includes the classification by economic, military and geopolitical power (Table 4) together with the assessment of the international system in terms of polarity. The second group presents the ranking of states according to militarization indicators

(Table 5), the third according to the power criteria (Tables 8-10), and the fourth according to the increases and decreases in economic power (Table 11). In the latter case, we limit ourselves to economic power because of its most objective character.

### 2.1. Ranking of countries by the economic power, the military power and the geopolitical power

The magnitude of power determines the position of countries in the ranking. Most often, an increase in power leads to

an increase in position, and a decrease in power leads to a decrease in position. But this is not always the case - there may be

an increase in power and a decrease in position or a decrease in power and an increase in position. Therefore, four situations are possible, as illustrated in Table 3.

It should be emphasized that we are talking here about a nominal, formal (determined by power) position, and not about the actual and real position. To speak about the real position, one should take into account additional corrective factors. They can be strengthening (good

geographical location, long state and military traditions, coherent society, good governance, belonging to proven alliances, attractive culture, etc.) or weakening (unfavourable geographical location, hostile neighbours, divided society, poor governance, unattractive culture, etc.). In most cases, the difference between the nominal and real position is not large, but in some cases it is significant.

Table 3. Systematics of increases and decreases in position of power in absolute and relative terms

	<b>Position increase</b>	<b>Position decrease</b>
<i>Power increase</i>	(1) <i>Power increase - position increase</i>	(2) <i>Power increase - position decrease</i>
<i>Power decrease</i>	(3) <i>Power decrease - position increase</i>	(4) <i>Power decrease - position decrease</i>

From the point of view of the power ratios analysis, the power and the direction of its changes are more important; the rank is rather of prestigious character, but in some situations it can be an important criterion for including a country in a given group. A lot depends on the kind of power constituting the point of reference. In periods of relaxation and extensive international cooperation, economic power is the most important. As political and military tensions increase, the importance of the military factor, and hence military power as well as geopolitical power, increases.

In terms of military power, three groups of countries may be distinguished. The first are countries that have similar economic and military power (in 2018 these were e.g. India, Great Britain and Poland). The second group consists of countries that have clearly more economic than military power; in other words, they are poorly militarized compared to the whole world (e.g. Japan, Germany and Netherlands). Finally, the third

group are countries with much higher military than economic power (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel). In this group, it is also important to identify the main reasons for the high level of militarization - whether they have their source in aggressive or defensive policy. A country with little power, but surrounded by enemies, usually undergoes militarization, but it is the expression of defensive, not aggressive, policy. A powerful country that strives to conquests is also militarized, but it is the expression of aggressive policy.

Table 4. Ranking of countries according to the economic power, the military power and the geopolitical power in the years 1992 and 2018 (in mM; world = 1000)

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
1	USA	159,216	USA	256,294	USA	223,935	China	156,804	USA	225,957	USA	200,347
2	Japan	68,574	Russia	90,490	Russia	69,248	USA	149,127	China	103,334	China	121,157
3	Germany	41,739	China	59,984	China	52,484	India	48,187	India	41,891	India	43,990
4	China	37,484	France	28,439	Japan	36,417	Japan	33,914	Russia	39,132	Russia	34,696
5	France	31,229	Germany	25,085	Germany	30,637	Brazil	28,126	Saudi Arabia	34,477	Saudi Arabia	26,068
6	Italy	27,793	UK	23,084	France	29,369	Germany	26,716	France	21,748	Japan	24,675
7	Russia	26,763	India	21,567	UK	23,860	Russia	25,823	Brazil	21,406	Brazil	23,646
8	UK	25,413	Japan	20,338	India	22,463	France	21,129	Japan	20,055	France	21,542
9	India	24,256	Saudi Arabia	20,290	Italy	19,897	UK	19,513	UK	19,249	Germany	21,045
10	Brazil	22,898	Italy	15,949	Canada	16,087	Canada	18,393	South Korea	18,812	UK	19,337
11	Canada	20,653	Canada	13,804	Saudi Arabia	15,561	Indonesia	17,159	Germany	18,209	South Korea	16,421
12	Spain	16,790	South Korea	12,370	Brazil	11,979	Mexico	16,311	Iran	15,648	Australia	14,273
13	Mexico	16,183	North Korea	11,474	South Korea	11,517	Italy	15,960	Australia	14,022	Canada	13,717
14	Australia	12,340	Turkey	9,313	Spain	10,700	Australia	14,774	Italy	11,963	Italy	13,295
15	Argentina	10,104	Pakistan	9,076	Australia	10,001	Spain	12,527	Canada	11,379	Iran	12,208
16	South Korea	9,809	Egypt	8,957	Turkey	8,786	South Korea	11,639	Pakistan	10,517	Indonesia	10,948
17	Indonesia	9,614	Australia	8,831	Mexico	7,799	Turkey	9,905	Colombia	8,890	Spain	9,813
18	Turkey	7,733	Ukraine	8,662	Pakistan	7,445	Saudi Arabia	9,250	Spain	8,456	Mexico	9,352
19	Netherlands	7,120	Taiwan	8,272	Taiwan	7,376	Nigeria	7,933	Iraq	7,907	Pakistan	9,271
20	Sweden	6,998	Spain	7,655	Indonesia	7,349	Iran	7,922	Indonesia	7,842	Turkey	8,189
21	South Africa	6,747	Brazil	6,520	Ukraine	7,273	Argentina	7,713	Algeria	7,741	Colombia	7,704

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
22	Saudi Arabia	6,103	Indonesia	6,216	Egypt	7,097	Thailand	6,954	Israel	7,450	Iraq	6,457
23	Thailand	5,926	Vietnam	6,004	Argentina	5,893	Pakistan	6,779	Turkey	7,331	Thailand	6,453
24	Taiwan	5,584	Serbia	5,736	Netherlands	5,555	Poland	6,356	Poland	6,248	Algeria	6,420
25	Switzerland	5,051	Croatia	5,672	Sweden	5,515	South Africa	5,956	Thailand	6,203	Poland	6,284
26	Belgium	4,859	Poland	5,627	Thailand	5,507	Netherlands	5,622	Mexico	5,872	Israel	5,824
27	Iran	4,639	Iran	5,442	Poland	5,285	Philippines	5,464	Taiwan	5,859	Taiwan	5,426
28	Poland	4,599	Kuwait	5,432	Iran	5,175	Colombia	5,334	Vietnam	5,149	Argentina	5,231
29	Austria	4,536	Israel	5,412	South Africa	4,854	Egypt	5,113	Oman	4,555	Vietnam	4,900
30	Ukraine	4,496	Thailand	5,298	Vietnam	4,407	Bangladesh	4,829	Egypt	4,109	Netherlands	4,529
31	Pakistan	4,181	Iraq	5,288	Algeria	4,303	Sweden	4,735	Argentina	3,990	Egypt	4,443
32	Nigeria	4,094	ARE	4,987	Israel	4,249	Taiwan	4,561	Netherlands	3,982	South Africa	4,152
33	Colombia	3,782	Sweden	4,773	Malaysia	4,159	Malaysia	4,432	Morocco	3,661	Nigeria	4,110
34	Greece	3,612	Netherlands	4,772	Greece	3,856	Vietnam	4,404	Greece	3,616	Sweden	3,862
35	Norway	3,606	Malaysia	4,770	ARE	3,808	Switzerland	4,150	Ukraine	3,548	Malaysia	3,643
36	Philippines	3,529	Algeria	4,739	Colombia	3,621	Chile	3,867	Chile	3,500	Chile	3,622
37	Algeria	3,431	Syria	4,611	Belgium	3,549	Peru	3,804	Sweden	3,426	Philippines	3,606
38	Egypt	3,376	Greece	3,979	Venezuela	3,528	Algeria	3,778	Norway	3,416	Bangladesh	3,466
39	Venezuela	3,370	South Africa	3,907	Syria	3,398	Belgium	3,573	South Africa	3,249	Norway	3,438
40	Finland	3,321	Kazakhstan	3,847	Norway	3,395	Iraq	3,557	Malaysia	3,248	Oman	3,405
41	Denmark	3,288	Argentina	3,788	Kazakhstan	3,243	Norway	3,481	Romania	3,181	Ukraine	3,251
42	Portugal	3,278	Belarus	3,609	Nigeria	3,095	Austria	3,410	Singapore	3,014	Morocco	3,210
43	Malaysia	2,935	Venezuela	3,606	Switzerland	3,081	ARE	3,210	Myanmar	2,980	Greece	3,180

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
44	Bangladesh	2,576	Colombia	3,541	Belarus	2,767	Kazakhstan	3,075	Bangladesh	2,784	Romania	3,112
45	Peru	2,572	Mexico	3,472	Philippines	2,728	Romania	2,975	Philippines	2,676	Peru	2,946
46	Chile	2,536	Norway	3,289	Finland	2,587	Ukraine	2,655	Angola	2,600	Switzerland	2,799
47	Morocco	2,246	Cuba	3,061	Austria	2,568	Ireland	2,589	Afghanistan	2,572	Belgium	2,669
48	Kazakhstan	2,036	Belgium	2,894	Romania	2,453	Israel	2,573	Peru	2,517	Myanmar	2,614
49	Israel	1,925	Romania	2,840	Cuba	2,443	Ethiopia	2,571	Belgium	2,216	Singapore	2,539
50	Libya	1,806	Bulgaria	2,814	Morocco	2,390	Finland	2,556	Nigeria	2,198	Angola	2,506
51	Hungary	1,695	Oman	2,707	Peru	2,351	Denmark	2,439	Switzerland	2,124	Austria	2,343
52	Romania	1,680	Nigeria	2,596	Denmark	2,336	Czech Rep.	2,345	Kuwait	2,115	Finland	2,248
53	Ireland	1,660	Morocco	2,463	Portugal	2,330	Portugal	2,333	Finland	2,094	Kazakhstan	2,246
54	New Zealand	1,582	Hungary	2,417	Chile	2,290	Angola	2,318	Sri Lanka	1,916	Denmark	2,025
55	Czech Rep.	1,547	Philippines	2,327	Hungary	2,177	Morocco	2,310	Kazakhstan	1,831	Afghanistan	1,963
56	ARE	1,448	Peru	2,240	Bulgaria	2,110	Greece	2,308	Denmark	1,818	Portugal	1,879
57	Ethiopia	1,332	Libya	2,235	Libya	2,049	Kenya	2,109	Austria	1,809	Czech Rep.	1,837
58	Vietnam	1,214	Finland	2,220	Oman	2,020	New Zealand	2,021	Venezuela	1,704	Kuwait	1,791
59	Cuba	1,208	Chile	2,168	Sudan	1,698	Myanmar	1,884	Portugal	1,652	Sri Lanka	1,739
60	Ecuador	1,175	Switzerland	2,096	Czech Rep.	1,562	COD	1,819	Czech Rep.	1,583	Ecuador	1,567
61	COD	1,159	Sudan	2,076	Yemen	1,521	Hungary	1,747	Jordan	1,580	New Zealand	1,566
62	Uzbekistan	1,151	Yemen	1,946	Angola	1,516	Ecuador	1,739	Ecuador	1,481	Ethiopia	1,507
63	Belarus	1,081	Angola	1,936	Bangladesh	1,480	Tanzania	1,710	Azerbaijan	1,420	Kenya	1,506
64	Syria	0,960	Denmark	1,860	Singapore	1,383	Singapore	1,591	New Zealand	1,339	Hungary	1,382
65	Cameroon	0,953	Portugal	1,855	Ecuador	1,229	Cuba	1,400	Lebanon	1,321	Ireland	1,337

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
66	Tunisia	0,951	Singapore	1,606	Jordan	1,191	Ghana	1,400	Cambodia	1,250	Jordan	1,303
67	Sudan	0,940	Jordan	1,599	Tanzania	1,077	Sudan	1,392	Kenya	1,204	Azerbaijan	1,212
68	Singapore	0,937	Austria	1,585	COD	1,027	Sri Lanka	1,385	Hungary	1,199	Tanzania	1,185
69	Kenya	0,915	BIH	1,571	New Zealand	1,002	Uzbekistan	1,292	Ethiopia	0,975	COD	1,121
70	CIV	0,905	Myanmar	1,506	Sri Lanka	0,992	Guatemala	1,288	CIV	0,931	Lebanon	1,101
71	Angola	0,864	Czech Rep.	1,495	Uzbekistan	0,974	Qatar	1,219	Tanzania	0,923	Cambodia	1,043
72	Slovakia	0,751	Tanzania	1,282	Tunisia	0,969	Kuwait	1,142	Tunisia	0,919	CIV	0,975
73	Sri Lanka	0,743	Ecuador	1,256	Ireland	0,969	Slovakia	1,121	Slovakia	0,846	Slovakia	0,938
74	Guatemala	0,725	Turkmenistan	1,248	Turkmenistan	0,940	Oman	1,104	Lithuania	0,787	Tunisia	0,876
75	Bulgaria	0,703	Sri Lanka	1,116	Kenya	0,837	Dominican Rep.	1,088	COD	0,772	Belarus	0,843
76	Uruguay	0,687	Mozambique	1,048	Mozambique	0,819	CIV	1,063	Bolivia	0,760	Bolivia	0,833
77	Yemen	0,672	Tunisia	0,978	Ethiopia	0,796	Libya	1,037	Belarus	0,758	Dominican Rep.	0,815
78	Tanzania	0,667	COD	0,962	Zimbabwe	0,770	Cameroon	1,034	Mali	0,753	Bulgaria	0,803
79	Dominican Rep.	0,662	Bangladesh	0,932	Slovakia	0,656	Belarus	1,014	Bulgaria	0,735	Lithuania	0,736
80	Oman	0,647	Uzbekistan	0,887	Mongolia	0,630	Bolivia	0,980	Ireland	0,711	Serbia	0,720
81	Zimbabwe	0,643	Mongolia	0,853	Guatemala	0,608	Bulgaria	0,940	Nepal	0,692	Nepal	0,717
82	Ghana	0,635	Zimbabwe	0,834	Slovenia	0,588	Yemen	0,851	Serbia	0,691	Mali	0,715
83	Senegal	0,602	Kenya	0,798	Uruguay	0,583	Uganda	0,847	Dominican Rep.	0,679	Cameroon	0,690
84	Bolivia	0,585	New Zealand	0,713	Uganda	0,574	Panama	0,805	Croatia	0,610	Ghana	0,672
85	Paraguay	0,552	Uganda	0,669	Bolivia	0,572	Uruguay	0,801	Zimbabwe	0,583	Uganda	0,658
86	Slovenia	0,496	Slovenia	0,634	Azerbaijan	0,529	Paraguay	0,797	Botswana	0,577	Croatia	0,655
87	Costa Rica	0,463	Ireland	0,623	Cameroon	0,489	Azerbaijan	0,795	Uruguay	0,570	Guatemala	0,650

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
88	Kuwait	0,458	Ethiopia	0,603	Paraguay	0,466	Tunisia	0,791	Uganda	0,563	Zimbabwe	0,648
89	Panama	0,440	Slovakia	0,597	Georgia	0,437	Zambia	0,789	Armenia	0,545	Uruguay	0,647
90	Nepal	0,421	Azerbaijan	0,588	CIV	0,420	Turkmenistan	0,781	Namibia	0,531	Zambia	0,566
91	PNG	0,414	Bolivia	0,566	Ghana	0,387	Zimbabwe	0,778	Cameroon	0,518	Paraguay	0,526
92	Azerbaijan	0,411	Guatemala	0,550	El Salvador	0,386	Serbia	0,777	Bahrain	0,509	Botswana	0,514
93	Madagascar	0,409	Uruguay	0,531	Senegal	0,384	Nepal	0,769	Zambia	0,455	Senegal	0,480
94	Zambia	0,400	Georgia	0,504	Nicaragua	0,384	Costa Rica	0,763	Latvia	0,448	Namibia	0,471
95	Mali	0,395	Armenia	0,494	Dominican Rep.	0,382	Jordan	0,748	Estonia	0,430	Latvia	0,447
96	Honduras	0,391	Moldova	0,490	Cyprus	0,380	Afghanistan	0,744	Senegal	0,408	Armenia	0,440
97	Uganda	0,384	Nicaragua	0,478	Tajikistan	0,378	Croatia	0,743	TTO	0,395	Bahrain	0,432
98	Jordan	0,376	Laos	0,458	Armenia	0,372	Lebanon	0,660	Chad	0,391	Honduras	0,425
99	El Salvador	0,364	Tajikistan	0,458	Qatar	0,358	Mali	0,638	Paraguay	0,391	Slovenia	0,419
100	Mozambique	0,362	Cyprus	0,446	Laos	0,358	Lithuania	0,635	Georgia	0,379	Chad	0,416
101	Niger	0,349	Paraguay	0,424	Zambia	0,357	Cambodia	0,630	Burkina Faso	0,377	Burkina Faso	0,414
102	Guinea	0,345	Qatar	0,421	Panama	0,317	Senegal	0,625	Honduras	0,377	Estonia	0,406
103	Gabon	0,324	Cambodia	0,408	Cambodia	0,308	Mozambique	0,597	Congo	0,363	Mozambique	0,358
104	Turkmenistan	0,323	El Salvador	0,397	Honduras	0,304	PNG	0,589	Slovenia	0,362	Georgia	0,358
105	Luxembourg	0,317	Brunei	0,353	Burkina Faso	0,288	Slovenia	0,532	Cyprus	0,335	Niger	0,352
106	Botswana	0,311	Zambia	0,335	Nepal	0,286	Honduras	0,523	Guatemala	0,331	Congo	0,348
107	Georgia	0,302	Bahrain	0,288	Madagascar	0,285	Madagascar	0,501	South Sudan	0,318	TTO	0,344
108	Cambodia	0,302	Burkina Faso	0,286	Brunei	0,279	Burkina Faso	0,487	Ghana	0,309	Cyprus	0,309
109	Lebanon	0,299	Senegal	0,275	Gabon	0,272	Chad	0,465	Niger	0,307	Gabon	0,298

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
110	Namibia	0,292	Gabon	0,271	Botswana	0,267	Latvia	0,444	Mauritania	0,301	Guinea	0,281
111	Burkina Faso	0,291	Congo	0,265	Congo	0,266	Laos	0,444	Gabon	0,281	Madagascar	0,280
112	Chad	0,283	Ghana	0,263	Mali	0,260	Niger	0,442	Tajikistan	0,263	El Salvador	0,275
113	Congo	0,267	Honduras	0,261	PNG	0,247	El Salvador	0,423	Brunei	0,246	Mauritania	0,272
114	Iceland	0,255	Cameroon	0,257	Namibia	0,243	Botswana	0,389	Guinea	0,240	PNG	0,271
115	Cyprus	0,247	Panama	0,256	Bahrain	0,236	Luxembourg	0,381	Mozambique	0,239	Mongolia	0,269
116	Kyrgyzstan	0,245	Botswana	0,244	Costa Rica	0,235	Mongolia	0,370	Mongolia	0,218	Tajikistan	0,259
117	Qatar	0,243	Dominican Rep.	0,242	Rwanda	0,221	Guinea	0,364	BIH	0,212	BIH	0,254
118	Malawi	0,227	Rwanda	0,233	Guinea	0,217	Estonia	0,359	El Salvador	0,201	Luxembourg	0,232
119	Estonia	0,226	Madagascar	0,223	Chad	0,215	Namibia	0,351	Rwanda	0,182	Brunei	0,208
120	Tajikistan	0,218	Namibia	0,218	Kyrgyzstan	0,211	BIH	0,339	Jamaica	0,173	Rwanda	0,207
121	TTO	0,218	Nepal	0,218	Niger	0,179	Gabon	0,332	Madagascar	0,169	Nicaragua	0,207
122	Haiti	0,217	Kyrgyzstan	0,194	TTO	0,170	Nicaragua	0,328	Luxembourg	0,158	Benin	0,198
123	Jamaica	0,207	Mali	0,193	Lebanon	0,170	Somalia	0,327	Albania	0,155	Jamaica	0,195
124	Rwanda	0,196	Lithuania	0,185	Mauritania	0,169	Congo	0,318	North Macedonia	0,149	Albania	0,188
125	Nicaragua	0,196	Albania	0,184	Estonia	0,168	Benin	0,317	Togo	0,148	North Macedonia	0,170
126	Benin	0,196	Chad	0,181	Luxembourg	0,161	Georgia	0,315	Nicaragua	0,146	Togo	0,157
127	Mauritania	0,186	CIV	0,177	Haiti	0,157	Bahrain	0,278	Benin	0,138	Malawi	0,127
128	CAF	0,184	PNG	0,163	Albania	0,150	Malawi	0,267	Burundi	0,129	Burundi	0,127
129	Mongolia	0,183	Mauritania	0,161	Malawi	0,149	Iceland	0,267	PNG	0,112	Moldova	0,117
130	North Macedonia	0,170	Guinea	0,154	North Macedonia	0,124	Cyprus	0,258	Guyana	0,089	CAF	0,097
131	Togo	0,169	TTO	0,146	CAF	0,123	Haiti	0,258	CAF	0,086	Bahamas	0,096

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
132	Laos	0,156	Haiti	0,128	Benin	0,118	Rwanda	0,258	Montenegro	0,076	Guyana	0,091
133	Mauritius	0,136	Latvia	0,121	Togo	0,111	Albania	0,256	Bahamas	0,070	Montenegro	0,080
134	Bahrain	0,133	Djibouti	0,110	Jamaica	0,109	Kyrgyzstan	0,251	Fiji	0,068	Fiji	0,078
135	Brunei	0,133	Malawi	0,110	Burundi	0,101	Tajikistan	0,250	Lesotho	0,063	Sierra Leone	0,076
136	Armenia	0,127	Liberia	0,105	Bahamas	0,096	TTO	0,243	Moldova	0,062	Lesotho	0,069
137	Burundi	0,126	Costa Rica	0,105	Fiji	0,093	Jamaica	0,239	Malawi	0,057	Malta	0,066
138	Bahamas	0,116	Lebanon	0,105	Djibouti	0,088	Armenia	0,229	Malta	0,047	Liberia	0,063
139	Sierra Leone	0,098	Estonia	0,104	Sierra Leone	0,083	Moldova	0,227	Sierra Leone	0,039	East Timor	0,043
140	Fiji	0,098	Togo	0,098	Lesotho	0,070	Mauritania	0,213	Belize	0,036	Belize	0,038
141	Eswatini	0,090	North Macedonia	0,097	Mauritius	0,060	North Macedonia	0,212	Liberia	0,033	Barbados	0,035
142	Malta	0,084	Burundi	0,095	Suriname	0,055	Equatorial Guinea	0,200	East Timor	0,032	Cape Verde	0,023
143	Lesotho	0,084	Niger	0,094	Malta	0,053	Togo	0,174	Barbados	0,028	Andorra	n/a
144	Albania	0,081	CAF	0,093	Belize	0,031	Mauritius	0,156	Cape Verde	0,016	ARE	n/a
145	Eritrea	0,070	Fiji	0,090	Seychelles	0,021	Sierra Leone	0,149	ATG	0,000	ATG	n/a
146	Barbados	0,061	Bahamas	0,085	Cape Verde	0,016	Kosovo	0,138	Costa Rica	0,000	Bhutan	n/a
147	Gambia	0,060	Luxembourg	0,083	Equatorial Guinea	0,016	Bahamas	0,134	Haiti	0,000	Comoros	n/a
148	Guyana	0,051	Benin	0,080	Afghanistan	n/a	Brunei	0,132	Iceland	0,000	Costa Rica	n/a
149	Suriname	0,046	Sierra Leone	0,072	Andorra	n/a	Burundi	0,121	Mauritius	0,000	Cuba	n/a
150	Djibouti	0,045	Lesotho	0,063	ATG	n/a	Liberia	0,121	Panama	0,000	Djibouti	n/a
151	Belize	0,037	Jamaica	0,061	BIH	n/a	CAF	0,120	Andorra	n/a	Dominica	n/a
152	Solomon Islands	0,035	Suriname	0,059	Barbados	n/a	Malta	0,105	ARE	n/a	Eritrea	n/a
153	Andorra	0,032	Malta	0,037	Bhutan	n/a	Fiji	0,098	Bhutan	n/a	Micronesia	n/a

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
154	Guinea-Bissau	0,032	Belize	0,029	Comoros	n/a	Guyana	0,094	Comoros	n/a	Gambia	n/a
155	Bhutan	0,031	Seychelles	0,023	Dominica	n/a	Eswatini	0,093	Cuba	n/a	Guinea-Bissau	n/a
156	Comoros	0,031	Mauritius	0,023	Eritrea	n/a	Montenegro	0,088	Djibouti	n/a	Equatorial Guinea	n/a
157	Liechtenstein	0,030	Equatorial Guinea	0,014	Micronesia	n/a	Suriname	0,083	Dominica	n/a	Grenada	n/a
158	Cape Verde	0,027	Cape Verde	0,011	Gambia	n/a	Lesotho	0,081	Eritrea	n/a	Haiti	n/a
159	Monaco	0,026	Afghanistan	n/a	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	East Timor	0,064	Micronesia	n/a	Iceland	n/a
160	St. Lucia	0,026	Andorra	n/a	Grenada	n/a	Bhutan	0,062	Gambia	n/a	Kyrgyzstan	n/a
161	Equatorial Guinea	0,019	ATG	n/a	Guyana	n/a	Maldives	0,054	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	Kiribati	n/a
162	ATG	0,018	Barbados	n/a	Croatia	n/a	Djibouti	0,053	Equatorial Guinea	n/a	KNA	n/a
163	Vanuatu	0,017	Bhutan	n/a	Iraq	n/a	Gambia	0,051	Grenada	n/a	Laos	n/a
164	Seychelles	0,017	Comoros	n/a	Iceland	n/a	Guinea-Bissau	0,051	Kyrgyzstan	n/a	Libya	n/a
165	Maldives	0,016	Dominica	n/a	Kiribati	n/a	Barbados	0,048	Kiribati	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a
166	Grenada	0,014	Eritrea	n/a	KNA	n/a	Belize	0,042	KNA	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a
167	VCT	0,014	Micronesia	n/a	Kuwait	n/a	Solomon Islands	0,040	Laos	n/a	Monaco	n/a
168	Dominica	0,012	Gambia	n/a	Liberia	n/a	Cape Verde	0,039	Libya	n/a	Maldives	n/a
169	Samoa	0,012	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a	Comoros	0,028	St. Lucia	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a
170	Micronesia	0,011	Grenada	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	Andorra	0,028	Liechtenstein	n/a	Mauritius	n/a
171	KNA	0,010	Guyana	n/a	Lithuania	n/a	St. Lucia	0,024	Monaco	n/a	Nauru	n/a
172	Tonga	0,009	Iceland	n/a	Latvia	n/a	Vanuatu	0,023	Maldives	n/a	Panama	n/a
173	Marshall Islands	0,005	Kiribati	n/a	Monaco	n/a	Monaco	0,021	Marshall Islands	n/a	Palau	n/a
174	Kiribati	0,004	KNA	n/a	Moldova	n/a	ATG	0,018	Nauru	n/a	North Korea	n/a
175	Tuvalu	0,001	St. Lucia	n/a	Maldives	n/a	Seychelles	0,018	Palau	n/a	Qatar	n/a

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	Mm	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
176	Afghanistan	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a	Samoa	0,017	North Korea	n/a	Sudan	n/a
177	BIH	n/a	Monaco	n/a	Myanmar	n/a	Grenada	0,015	Qatar	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a
178	Croatia	n/a	Maldives	n/a	Montenegro	n/a	San Marino	0,012	Sudan	n/a	San Marino	n/a
179	Iraq	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a	Nauru	n/a	VCT	0,012	Solomon Islands	n/a	Somalia	n/a
180	Liberia	n/a	Montenegro	n/a	Palau	n/a	KNA	0,011	San Marino	n/a	South Sudan	n/a
181	Lithuania	n/a	Nauru	n/a	North Korea	n/a	STP	0,010	Somalia	n/a	STP	n/a
182	Latvia	n/a	Palau	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a	Tonga	0,009	STP	n/a	Suriname	n/a
183	Moldova	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a	San Marino	n/a	Dominica	0,008	Suriname	n/a	Eswatini	n/a
184	Myanmar	n/a	San Marino	n/a	Somalia	n/a	Micronesia	0,007	Eswatini	n/a	Seychelles	n/a
185	Montenegro	n/a	Somalia	n/a	Serbia	n/a	Kiribati	0,005	Seychelles	n/a	Syria	n/a
186	Nauru	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	Palau	0,004	Syria	n/a	Turkmenistan	n/a
187	Palau	n/a	STP	n/a	STP	n/a	Marshall Islands	0,004	Turkmenistan	n/a	Tonga	n/a
188	North Korea	n/a	Eswatini	n/a	Eswatini	n/a	Nauru	0,001	Tonga	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a
189	San Marino	n/a	East Timor	n/a	East Timor	n/a	Tuvalu	0,001	Tuvalu	n/a	Uzbekistan	n/a
190	Somalia	n/a	Tonga	n/a	Tonga	n/a	Eritrea	n/a	Uzbekistan	n/a	VCT	n/a
191	Serbia	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	VCT	n/a	Venezuela	n/a
192	South Sudan	n/a	VCT	n/a	VCT	n/a	North Korea	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a
193	STP	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Samoa	n/a
194	East Timor	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Syria	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Kosovo	n/a
195	Kosovo	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Venezuela	n/a	Yemen	n/a	Yemen	n/a

Legend:



## *2.2. Ranking of countries by militarization indices*

We calculate militarization of power in three forms: economic militarization, as the share of military power in economic power, GDP militarization, as the share of military expenditure in GDP and demographic militarization, as the share of the number of active service soldiers in the whole population (with appropriate exponents - according to the model). In all three cases, the index of world militarization has the value of 1. We treat countries with militarization higher than 1 as highly militarized, and lower than 1 as poorly militarized against the background of the world as a whole (Table 5).

Three model situations are possible here. The first one, when the state position determined by all three types of militarization is similar (balanced position).

However, it must be remembered that it can be achieved at different levels of militarization - high or low. The second one, when the position resulting from the GDP militarization is clearly higher than that from demographic militarization (unbalanced position). And the third one, when the position resulting from demographic militarization is clearly higher than the position resulting from the GDP militarization (unbalanced position). The high level of GDP militarization in relation to demographic militarization suggests that it is a country with few and rather professional armed forces, however, very well armed and equipped. In the reverse situation, it will be a large army, rather consisting of conscripts, poorly armed and poorly equipped.

Table 5. Ranking of countries according to the economic militarization index, the GDP militarization index and the demographic militarization index in the years 1992 and 2018

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
1	Vietnam	4,947	Kuwait	7,921	North Korea	1,727	Oman	4,125	Oman	3,150	North Korea	1,905
2	Syria	4,740	Mongolia	4,217	Israel	1,563	Saudi Arabia	3,727	Afghanistan	3,035	Israel	1,560
3	Mongolia	4,661	Vietnam	3,964	Syria	1,530	Afghanistan	3,457	Saudi Arabia	3,024	South Sudan	1,504
4	Jordan	4,249	Turkmenistan	3,322	ARE	1,480	Israel	2,895	Iraq	2,442	Brunei	1,494
5	Oman	4,187	Bulgaria	3,181	Jordan	1,461	Armenia	2,384	Algeria	1,970	Armenia	1,472
6	Bulgaria	4,001	Oman	3,077	Croatia	1,434	Iraq	2,223	Israel	1,856	Greece	1,425
7	Armenia	3,892	Syria	3,029	Iraq	1,404	Jordan	2,111	Kuwait	1,695	Singapore	1,420
8	Turkmenistan	3,862	Mozambique	3,014	Taiwan	1,374	Algeria	2,049	Mali	1,667	Cyprus	1,412
9	ARE	3,444	Armenia	2,997	Seychelles	1,367	Lebanon	2,003	Armenia	1,620	South Korea	1,400
10	Russia	3,381	Jordan	2,909	Russia	1,365	Cambodia	1,985	TTO	1,583	Sri Lanka	1,377
11	Belarus	3,339	Tajikistan	2,839	Libya	1,365	Singapore	1,895	Bahrain	1,581	Djibouti	1,355
12	Saudi Arabia	3,324	Saudi Arabia	2,834	Oman	1,361	Brunei	1,854	Cambodia	1,568	Jordan	1,347
13	Laos	2,933	Yemen	2,825	Serbia	1,355	Kuwait	1,852	Jordan	1,567	Syria	1,323
14	Yemen	2,899	Belarus	2,669	Singapore	1,347	Bahrain	1,835	Lebanon	1,535	Taiwan	1,315
15	Mozambique	2,898	Nicaragua	2,584	Brunei	1,334	Iran	1,811	Pakistan	1,491	Oman	1,310
16	Angola	2,862	Angola	2,570	Cuba	1,332	Azerbaijan	1,787	Iran	1,485	Lebanon	1,305
17	Israel	2,812	Laos	2,555	Greece	1,314	Colombia	1,666	Azerbaijan	1,450	Cambodia	1,266
18	Brunei	2,662	Georgia	2,551	Qatar	1,310	TTO	1,623	Colombia	1,391	Myanmar	1,264
19	Egypt	2,653	Russia	2,476	Armenia	1,299	South Korea	1,616	Namibia	1,370	Uruguay	1,252
20	Cuba	2,535	Egypt	2,395	South Korea	1,298	Morocco	1,585	USA	1,368	Azerbaijan	1,233
21	Nicaragua	2,444	Djibouti	2,349	Cambodia	1,289	Myanmar	1,582	Botswana	1,349	Saudi Arabia	1,233
22	Djibouti	2,441	Tanzania	2,346	Bulgaria	1,258	Greece	1,567	Morocco	1,347	ARE	1,225
23	Albania	2,278	ARE	2,327	Albania	1,253	Pakistan	1,551	Singapore	1,334	Lithuania	1,221

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Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
24	Sudan	2,208	Ethiopia	2,306	Belarus	1,251	Russia	1,515	Mauritania	1,312	Iran	1,219
25	Pakistan	2,171	Sudan	2,274	Vietnam	1,248	USA	1,515	Tajikistan	1,294	Turkmenistan	1,216
26	Bahrain	2,160	Pakistan	2,098	Lebanon	1,245	Namibia	1,515	Myanmar	1,252	Russia	1,212
27	Tajikistan	2,102	Brunei	1,996	Bahrain	1,243	Botswana	1,484	Russia	1,250	Qatar	1,207
28	Ukraine	1,927	Kazakhstan	1,943	Angola	1,200	Mauritania	1,414	Brunei	1,241	Colombia	1,198
29	Tanzania	1,921	Ukraine	1,922	Slovakia	1,199	Sri Lanka	1,383	Congo	1,215	Georgia	1,186
30	Kazakhstan	1,890	Cuba	1,904	North Macedonia	1,199	Ukraine	1,336	Ukraine	1,179	Morocco	1,177
31	Qatar	1,828	Albania	1,818	Turkey	1,199	Cyprus	1,297	Niger	1,179	Dominican Rep.	1,169
32	Cyprus	1,808	Uganda	1,800	Cyprus	1,197	Taiwan	1,284	South Korea	1,155	Belize	1,166
33	Uganda	1,744	Israel	1,798	BIH	1,183	Lithuania	1,239	Tunisia	1,115	Thailand	1,165
34	Singapore	1,714	China	1,790	Saudi Arabia	1,173	Georgia	1,203	Greece	1,099	Bahrain	1,160
35	Romania	1,690	Bahrain	1,738	Iran	1,170	Estonia	1,197	Burkina Faso	1,079	Vietnam	1,158
36	Georgia	1,669	Rwanda	1,731	Romania	1,164	Mali	1,180	CIV	1,076	Belarus	1,142
37	Malaysia	1,625	Cyprus	1,510	Turkmenistan	1,162	Vietnam	1,169	India	1,060	Afghanistan	1,139
38	USA	1,610	Malaysia	1,480	Laos	1,148	Tunisia	1,163	Estonia	1,058	Ukraine	1,133
39	China	1,600	Azerbaijan	1,453	El Salvador	1,143	Congo	1,139	Burundi	1,056	Estonia	1,132
40	Sri Lanka	1,503	Romania	1,452	Belgium	1,142	Angola	1,122	Angola	1,051	Fiji	1,131
41	Taiwan	1,481	USA	1,432	Uruguay	1,136	Romania	1,069	Georgia	1,015	Norway	1,130
42	Azerbaijan	1,432	Burkina Faso	1,428	Hungary	1,135	Burundi	1,066	UK	1,015	Egypt	1,127
43	Hungary	1,426	Sri Lanka	1,403	Poland	1,132	Tajikistan	1,052	Lithuania	1,014	Bulgaria	1,125
44	Algeria	1,381	Algeria	1,332	Norway	1,129	France	1,029	Togo	1,013	Cuba	1,119
45	Seychelles	1,337	Suriname	1,301	Morocco	1,128	Latvia	1,009	Vietnam	1,010	Turkey	1,119
46	Libya	1,333	Zimbabwe	1,290	Slovenia	1,126	UK	0,986	Latvia	1,007	Venezuela	1,116
47	Suriname	1,296	Qatar	1,274	USA	1,124	Poland	0,983	Sri Lanka	1,005	Malta	1,109
48	Zimbabwe	1,296	Singapore	1,273	France	1,120	Norway	0,981	Romania	0,997	USA	1,108
49	Slovenia	1,280	Hungary	1,257	Guinea-Bissau	1,110	Australia	0,949	France	0,993	Chile	1,107

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Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
50	South Korea	1,261	Kenya	1,210	Egypt	1,108	Guyana	0,943	Taiwan	0,977	Laos	1,107
51	Poland	1,224	COD	1,205	Sweden	1,108	Chile	0,905	Australia	0,970	Namibia	1,106
52	Turkey	1,204	India	1,139	Mongolia	1,105	Nepal	0,899	Poland	0,967	Serbia	1,101
53	Rwanda	1,190	Slovenia	1,137	Myanmar	1,100	Thailand	0,892	Lesotho	0,961	Botswana	1,100
54	Iran	1,173	Venezuela	1,112	Fiji	1,099	Serbia	0,890	Cyprus	0,918	Finland	1,100
55	Greece	1,102	Poland	1,080	Malaysia	1,098	CIV	0,877	Chad	0,895	Croatia	1,096
56	Morocco	1,096	Taiwan	1,078	Chile	1,098	India	0,869	Ecuador	0,869	El Salvador	1,094
57	El Salvador	1,090	Tunisia	1,044	Austria	1,096	Montenegro	0,867	Norway	0,868	Kuwait	1,093
58	Venezuela	1,070	Ecuador	1,021	Finland	1,091	Ecuador	0,852	Mauritius	0,865	Guyana	1,092
59	Ecuador	1,069	Lesotho	1,006	Italy	1,081	Belize	0,850	Guyana	0,864	North Macedonia	1,091
60	Cambodia	1,033	Turkey	1,004	Sri Lanka	1,071	Togo	0,849	Gabon	0,862	Mauritania	1,078
61	Tunisia	1,028	Libya	0,995	Netherlands	1,067	Gabon	0,846	Guinea	0,846	Romania	1,072
62	Congo	0,991	Congo	0,990	Portugal	1,066	Chad	0,841	Nepal	0,844	Barbados	1,069
63	Gabon	0,989	Iran	0,984	Denmark	1,058	Croatia	0,821	Brazil	0,844	Angola	1,068
64	Burkina Faso	0,982	Seychelles	0,979	Germany	1,054	Finland	0,819	Jamaica	0,827	Suriname	1,068
65	Bolivia	0,969	South Korea	0,972	Spain	1,054	Egypt	0,804	Kenya	0,827	Malaysia	1,067
66	Colombia	0,936	Morocco	0,972	Ecuador	1,046	Bulgaria	0,782	Montenegro	0,826	Nepal	1,066
67	Fiji	0,919	Bolivia	0,967	Djibouti	1,039	Bolivia	0,775	Senegal	0,824	Slovenia	1,062
68	Norway	0,912	Kyrgyzstan	0,964	Algeria	1,037	Burkina Faso	0,774	Chile	0,817	BIH	1,056
69	France	0,911	El Salvador	0,954	UK	1,035	Lesotho	0,774	Serbia	0,808	Montenegro	1,050
70	UK	0,908	Colombia	0,952	Pakistan	1,034	Brazil	0,761	Uganda	0,807	Mongolia	1,046
71	Thailand	0,894	Gabon	0,951	Namibia	1,028	Slovakia	0,754	CAF	0,803	Tunisia	1,043
72	India	0,889	Nigeria	0,926	Yemen	1,026	Zimbabwe	0,750	Honduras	0,801	Pakistan	1,040
73	Czech Rep.	0,882	Zambia	0,919	Thailand	1,026	Italy	0,750	Zimbabwe	0,791	Algeria	1,040
74	Kenya	0,872	Burundi	0,914	Peru	1,025	Belarus	0,747	Tanzania	0,777	France	1,036

NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES 2020

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
75	Peru	0,871	Uzbekistan	0,883	Gabon	1,021	Denmark	0,746	Thailand	0,765	Portugal	1,035
76	Mauritania	0,867	UK	0,878	Malta	1,013	Turkey	0,740	Bolivia	0,750	Bolivia	1,034
77	Chile	0,855	Thailand	0,872	Guatemala	1,012	Malaysia	0,733	Croatia	0,749	Sweden	1,030
78	Zambia	0,838	Mauritania	0,862	Panama	1,009	Sweden	0,724	Netherlands	0,745	Slovakia	1,030
79	Burundi	0,835	Cambodia	0,861	Mauritania	1,006	Jamaica	0,721	China	0,745	Italy	1,026
80	COD	0,830	Togo	0,858	Botswana	1,006	Honduras	0,719	Finland	0,745	TTO	1,025
81	Kyrgyzstan	0,793	Peru	0,850	Zimbabwe	1,005	CAF	0,714	Denmark	0,734	Hungary	1,024
82	Botswana	0,786	Sierra Leone	0,848	Ukraine	1,003	Uruguay	0,711	Slovakia	0,733	Albania	1,018
83	Belize	0,774	Greece	0,838	Bolivia	1,002	Netherlands	0,708	Italy	0,730	Poland	1,016
84	Uruguay	0,773	Fiji	0,837	Congo	1,001	Portugal	0,708	Zambia	0,730	Denmark	1,016
85	Slovakia	0,772	Philippines	0,815	Suriname	0,996	Rwanda	0,707	Belize	0,729	Burundi	1,010
86	Uzbekistan	0,771	Indonesia	0,814	Azerbaijan	0,985	North Macedonia	0,702	Egypt	0,713	Rwanda	1,009
87	Paraguay	0,768	France	0,813	Tunisia	0,985	Niger	0,694	New Zealand	0,712	Latvia	1,002
88	Guatemala	0,758	Haiti	0,809	Colombia	0,984	Fiji	0,691	Bangladesh	0,712	Bahamas	1,002
89	Lesotho	0,750	Norway	0,808	Chad	0,980	Hungary	0,686	Germany	0,708	Spain	1,002
90	Namibia	0,747	Belize	0,807	Australia	0,975	Germany	0,682	Panama	0,704	Belgium	0,997
91	Equatorial Guinea	0,739	Paraguay	0,795	Kazakhstan	0,973	Slovenia	0,680	Sweden	0,702	Peru	0,997
92	Bahamas	0,732	Equatorial Guinea	0,788	Sudan	0,971	Czech Rep.	0,675	Czech Rep.	0,701	Sudan	0,993
93	Togo	0,722	Botswana	0,782	Uganda	0,969	Spain	0,675	Rwanda	0,701	Austria	0,993
94	Australia	0,716	TTO	0,782	Paraguay	0,966	Uganda	0,665	Cameroon	0,699	Switzerland	0,991
95	Sierra Leone	0,685	Chile	0,779	Cape Verde	0,963	New Zealand	0,662	Bulgaria	0,695	Gabon	0,982
96	Sweden	0,682	Bahamas	0,774	Ireland	0,963	Peru	0,662	Malaysia	0,687	Ecuador	0,980
97	TTO	0,673	Guatemala	0,750	Venezuela	0,962	China	0,659	Portugal	0,684	Australia	0,978
98	Netherlands	0,670	Australia	0,734	Mozambique	0,962	Guinea	0,657	Canada	0,677	UK	0,972
99	Finland	0,668	Estonia	0,733	Belize	0,960	Senegal	0,653	Spain	0,674	Mexico	0,966
100	Canada	0,668	Czech Rep.	0,732	Bahamas	0,947	BIH	0,626	Hungary	0,670	Czech Rep.	0,964

NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES 2020

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
101	Honduras	0,666	Canada	0,727	Nicaragua	0,946	Dominican Rep.	0,624	Peru	0,664	Germany	0,963
102	Philippines	0,659	Namibia	0,726	Moldova	0,938	Belgium	0,620	Turkey	0,661	Guinea-Bissau	0,961
103	Indonesia	0,647	Honduras	0,712	Honduras	0,935	Canada	0,619	Belarus	0,654	Kazakhstan	0,961
104	Chad	0,640	Mali	0,698	Afghanistan	0,929	Barbados	0,608	East Timor	0,652	Netherlands	0,950
105	Nigeria	0,634	South Africa	0,696	New Zealand	0,928	Albania	0,603	South Africa	0,650	Zimbabwe	0,948
106	Estonia	0,613	Uruguay	0,680	Dominican Rep.	0,922	Kazakhstan	0,595	North Macedonia	0,643	Japan	0,942
107	Germany	0,601	Ghana	0,673	Canada	0,920	Japan	0,591	Slovenia	0,641	Chad	0,941
108	Belgium	0,596	Madagascar	0,669	Equatorial Guinea	0,916	Mongolia	0,590	Japan	0,628	Congo	0,937
109	Haiti	0,589	CAF	0,660	Liberia	0,914	Bangladesh	0,577	Belgium	0,622	Nicaragua	0,932
110	Panama	0,581	Chad	0,653	Switzerland	0,912	Zambia	0,576	Kazakhstan	0,620	Ireland	0,932
111	South Africa	0,579	Malawi	0,651	Zambia	0,911	Bahamas	0,572	Fiji	0,611	New Zealand	0,930
112	Italy	0,574	Slovakia	0,643	Guyana	0,899	Kenya	0,571	Mozambique	0,608	Cape Verde	0,930
113	Portugal	0,566	Nepal	0,631	China	0,894	South Africa	0,546	Benin	0,596	Kyrgyzstan	0,919
114	Denmark	0,566	Netherlands	0,628	Ethiopia	0,892	Tanzania	0,540	Albania	0,592	Canada	0,914
115	Madagascar	0,546	Sweden	0,616	Costa Rica	0,889	Austria	0,531	BIH	0,592	Iraq	0,910
116	North Macedonia	0,542	Finland	0,613	TTO	0,861	Argentina	0,517	Philippines	0,581	Argentina	0,910
117	Nepal	0,518	Senegal	0,603	Luxembourg	0,848	Switzerland	0,512	Bahamas	0,571	Luxembourg	0,908
118	Ethiopia	0,509	Benin	0,585	Mexico	0,845	East Timor	0,504	Barbados	0,570	Brazil	0,902
119	CAF	0,506	Panama	0,576	Japan	0,843	Cameroon	0,502	Argentina	0,568	COD	0,902
120	Mali	0,488	PNG	0,573	Argentina	0,839	Paraguay	0,491	Uruguay	0,568	Paraguay	0,900
121	Malawi	0,485	Germany	0,570	Brazil	0,837	Philippines	0,490	Mongolia	0,564	Honduras	0,898
122	Senegal	0,457	Guinea	0,561	Lithuania	0,834	El Salvador	0,476	Paraguay	0,545	CAF	0,890
123	Spain	0,456	Denmark	0,535	South Africa	0,833	Indonesia	0,457	Costa Rica	0,540	Indonesia	0,887
124	Guinea	0,452	Italy	0,531	Kyrgyzstan	0,823	Malta	0,447	Austria	0,534	China	0,885
125	New Zealand	0,451	Portugal	0,531	Nepal	0,821	Nicaragua	0,445	Dominican Rep.	0,534	Uzbekistan	0,884
126	Malta	0,439	Belgium	0,522	Tanzania	0,819	Benin	0,436	Switzerland	0,516	Moldova	0,878

NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES 2020

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
127	Switzerland	0,415	North Macedonia	0,506	Madagascar	0,816	COD	0,425	Indonesia	0,515	Jamaica	0,871
128	Ghana	0,413	Bangladesh	0,499	Philippines	0,809	Luxembourg	0,414	Nicaragua	0,478	Somalia	0,867
129	Benin	0,408	New Zealand	0,486	Indonesia	0,794	Cape Verde	0,410	Madagascar	0,475	Ethiopia	0,857
130	Cape Verde	0,401	Switzerland	0,455	Guinea	0,787	Mozambique	0,400	COD	0,471	Sierra Leone	0,844
131	PNG	0,395	Niger	0,454	Sierra Leone	0,785	Ethiopia	0,379	Luxembourg	0,456	Philippines	0,843
132	Ireland	0,375	Argentina	0,447	India	0,781	Mexico	0,360	Ethiopia	0,442	South Africa	0,839
133	Argentina	0,375	Malta	0,434	Jamaica	0,779	Madagascar	0,338	Cape Verde	0,441	Togo	0,838
134	Dominican Rep.	0,366	Spain	0,433	Mauritius	0,776	Nigeria	0,277	El Salvador	0,435	Uganda	0,824
135	Bangladesh	0,362	Cape Verde	0,417	Togo	0,775	Liberia	0,275	Liberia	0,409	Guatemala	0,822
136	Lebanon	0,351	Cameroon	0,413	Estonia	0,770	Moldova	0,275	Malta	0,403	India	0,820
137	Austria	0,349	Costa Rica	0,412	CAF	0,767	Ireland	0,275	Nigeria	0,380	CIV	0,814
138	Japan	0,297	Dominican Rep.	0,397	Senegal	0,758	Sierra Leone	0,263	ATG	0,375	Tajikistan	0,813
139	Jamaica	0,294	Ireland	0,390	Lesotho	0,745	Guatemala	0,257	Mexico	0,373	Bangladesh	0,810
140	Brazil	0,285	Jamaica	0,377	Malawi	0,744	Ghana	0,221	Moldova	0,313	Lesotho	0,806
141	Cameroon	0,270	Japan	0,352	Tajikistan	0,740	Malawi	0,215	Guatemala	0,313	Senegal	0,793
142	Niger	0,268	Brazil	0,340	Haiti	0,728	PNG	0,190	Sierra Leone	0,312	Zambia	0,790
143	Luxembourg	0,262	Austria	0,319	Burundi	0,727	ATG	0,000	Ghana	0,310	Guinea	0,777
144	Mexico	0,215	Luxembourg	0,309	Latvia	0,726	Costa Rica	0,000	Ireland	0,295	East Timor	0,774
145	Costa Rica	0,214	CIV	0,306	Bangladesh	0,725	Haiti	0,000	Malawi	0,294	Equatorial Guinea	0,769
146	CIV	0,196	Lebanon	0,282	Kenya	0,721	Iceland	0,000	PNG	0,275	Yemen	0,755
147	Mauritius	0,169	Mexico	0,254	Mali	0,699	Mauritius	0,000	Iceland	0,195	Benin	0,732
148	Afghanistan	n/a	Mauritius	0,225	Benin	0,697	Panama	0,000	Haiti	0,128	Malawi	0,731
149	Andorra	n/a	Afghanistan	n/a	PNG	0,690	Andorra	n/a	Andorra	n/a	Nigeria	0,730
150	ATG	n/a	Andorra	n/a	COD	0,688	ARE	n/a	ARE	n/a	Burkina Faso	0,718
151	BIH	n/a	ATG	n/a	Gambia	0,688	Bhutan	n/a	Bhutan	n/a	Cameroon	0,717
152	Barbados	n/a	BIH	n/a	Rwanda	0,688	Comoros	n/a	Comoros	n/a	Ghana	0,712

NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES 2020

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
153	Bhutan	n/a	Barbados	n/a	Burkina Faso	0,687	Cuba	n/a	Cuba	n/a	Madagascar	0,711
154	Comoros	n/a	Bhutan	n/a	Nigeria	0,684	Djibouti	n/a	Djibouti	n/a	Mali	0,708
155	Dominica	n/a	Comoros	n/a	Uzbekistan	0,672	Dominica	n/a	Dominica	n/a	Tanzania	0,695
156	Eritrea	n/a	Dominica	n/a	Cameroon	0,654	Eritrea	n/a	Eritrea	n/a	Kenya	0,691
157	Micronesia	n/a	Eritrea	n/a	Georgia	0,654	Micronesia	n/a	Micronesia	n/a	PNG	0,690
158	Gambia	n/a	Micronesia	n/a	CIV	0,639	Gambia	n/a	Gambia	n/a	Gambia	0,681
159	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	Gambia	n/a	Ghana	0,614	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	Liberia	0,673
160	Grenada	n/a	Guinea-Bissau	n/a	Niger	0,591	Equatorial Guinea	n/a	Equatorial Guinea	n/a	Mozambique	0,658
161	Guyana	n/a	Grenada	n/a	ATG	0,000	Grenada	n/a	Grenada	n/a	Niger	0,588
162	Croatia	n/a	Guyana	n/a	Barbados	0,000	Kyrgyzstan	n/a	Kyrgyzstan	n/a	ATG	0,000
163	Iraq	n/a	Croatia	n/a	Czech Rep.	0,000	Kiribati	n/a	Kiribati	n/a	Costa Rica	0,000
164	Iceland	n/a	Iraq	n/a	Eritrea	0,000	KNA	n/a	KNA	n/a	Haiti	0,000
165	Kiribati	n/a	Iceland	n/a	Iceland	0,000	Laos	n/a	Laos	n/a	Iceland	0,000
166	KNA	n/a	Kiribati	n/a	East Timor	0,000	Libya	n/a	Libya	n/a	Mauritius	0,000
167	Kuwait	n/a	KNA	n/a	Andorra	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a	Panama	0,000
168	Liberia	n/a	Liberia	n/a	Bhutan	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	Seychelles	0,000
169	St. Lucia	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a	Comoros	n/a	Monaco	n/a	Monaco	n/a	Andorra	n/a
170	Liechtenstein	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	Dominica	n/a	Maldives	n/a	Maldives	n/a	Bhutan	n/a
171	Lithuania	n/a	Lithuania	n/a	Micronesia	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a	Comoros	n/a
172	Latvia	n/a	Latvia	n/a	Grenada	n/a	Nauru	n/a	Nauru	n/a	Dominica	n/a
173	Monaco	n/a	Monaco	n/a	Kiribati	n/a	Palau	n/a	Palau	n/a	Eritrea	n/a
174	Moldova	n/a	Moldova	n/a	KNA	n/a	North Korea	n/a	North Korea	n/a	Micronesia	n/a
175	Maldives	n/a	Maldives	n/a	Kuwait	n/a	Qatar	n/a	Qatar	n/a	Grenada	n/a
176	Marshall Islands	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a	Sudan	n/a	Sudan	n/a	Kiribati	n/a
177	Myanmar	n/a	Myanmar	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a	KNA	n/a
178	Montenegro	n/a	Montenegro	n/a	Monaco	n/a	San Marino	n/a	San Marino	n/a	Libya	n/a

Position	1992						2018					
	Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index		Economic militarization index		GDP militarization index		Demographic militarization index	
	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$	Country	$m_e$	Country	$m_{GDP}$	Country	$m_d$
179	Nauru	n/a	Nauru	n/a	Maldives	n/a	Somalia	n/a	Somalia	n/a	St. Lucia	n/a
180	Palau	n/a	Palau	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	Liechtenstein	n/a
181	North Korea	n/a	North Korea	n/a	Montenegro	n/a	STP	n/a	STP	n/a	Monaco	n/a
182	Solomon Islands	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a	Nauru	n/a	Suriname	n/a	Suriname	n/a	Maldives	n/a
183	San Marino	n/a	San Marino	n/a	Palau	n/a	Eswatini	n/a	Eswatini	n/a	Marshall Islands	n/a
184	Somalia	n/a	Somalia	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a	Seychelles	n/a	Seychelles	n/a	Nauru	n/a
185	Serbia	n/a	Serbia	n/a	San Marino	n/a	Syria	n/a	Syria	n/a	Palau	n/a
186	South Sudan	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	Somalia	n/a	Turkmenistan	n/a	Turkmenistan	n/a	Solomon Islands	n/a
187	STP	n/a	STP	n/a	South Sudan	n/a	Tonga	n/a	Tonga	n/a	San Marino	n/a
188	Eswatini	n/a	Eswatini	n/a	STP	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a	STP	n/a
189	East Timor	n/a	East Timor	n/a	Eswatini	n/a	Uzbekistan	n/a	Uzbekistan	n/a	Eswatini	n/a
190	Tonga	n/a	Tonga	n/a	Tonga	n/a	VCT	n/a	VCT	n/a	Tonga	n/a
191	Tuvalu	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a	Venezuela	n/a	Venezuela	n/a	Tuvalu	n/a
192	VCT	n/a	VCT	n/a	VCT	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	VCT	n/a
193	Vanuatu	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Vanuatu	n/a
194	Samoa	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Samoa	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Samoa	n/a
195	Kosovo	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Kosovo	n/a	Yemen	n/a	Yemen	n/a	Kosovo	n/a

Legend:



### 2.3. Countries in the power cycle

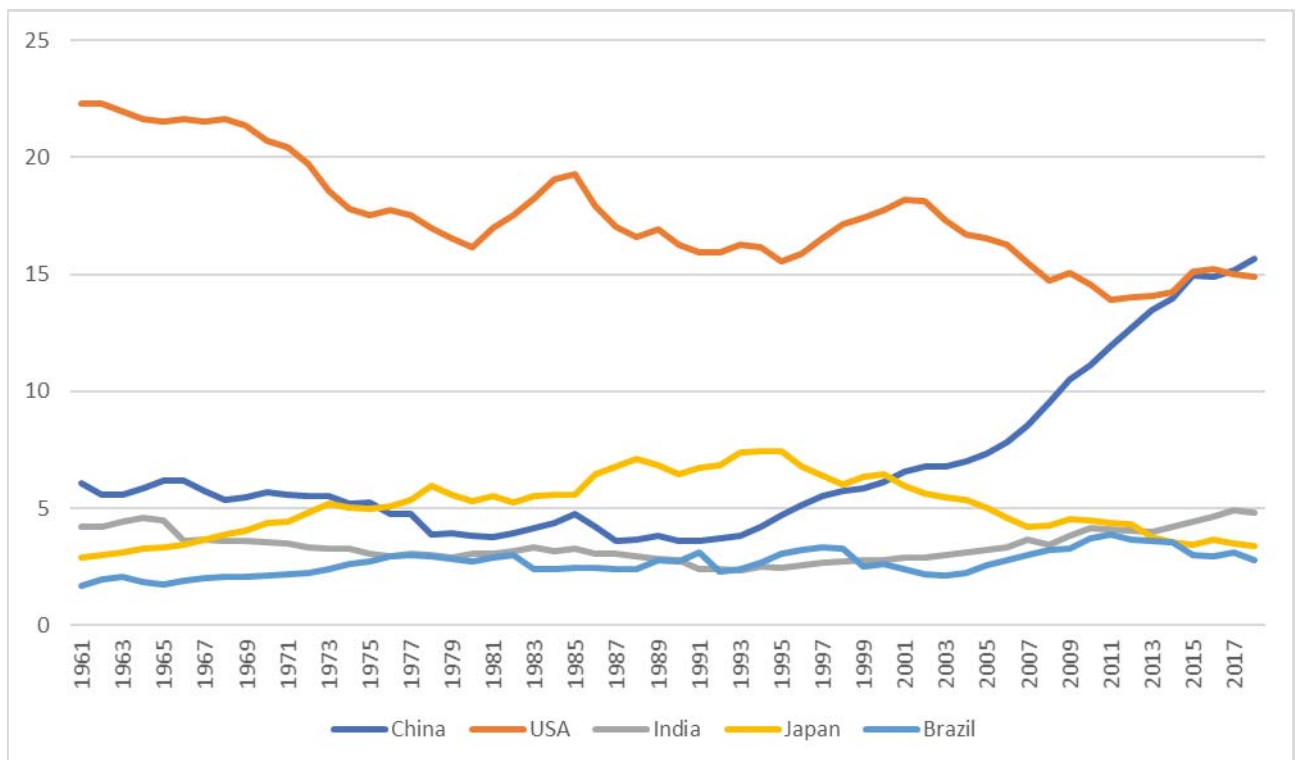
States, like all living organisms, go through a specific life cycle, in this case - the cycle of power. What is the cycle of power? It is a process of transformation of the state expressed by shaping its power in the international system; it has several phases - their shortest expression is as follows: the phase of growth, the phase of peak and the phase of decline. A thorough study of the cycle of power requires a fairly long period (at least 50-60 years), but even much shorter periods can provide valuable information.

Studies of centuries-long periods show that different countries have different power cycles and it is difficult to notice any regularity here. They can be relatively short, but with a large amplitude (e.g. the Prussian/German cycle at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries or the post-war

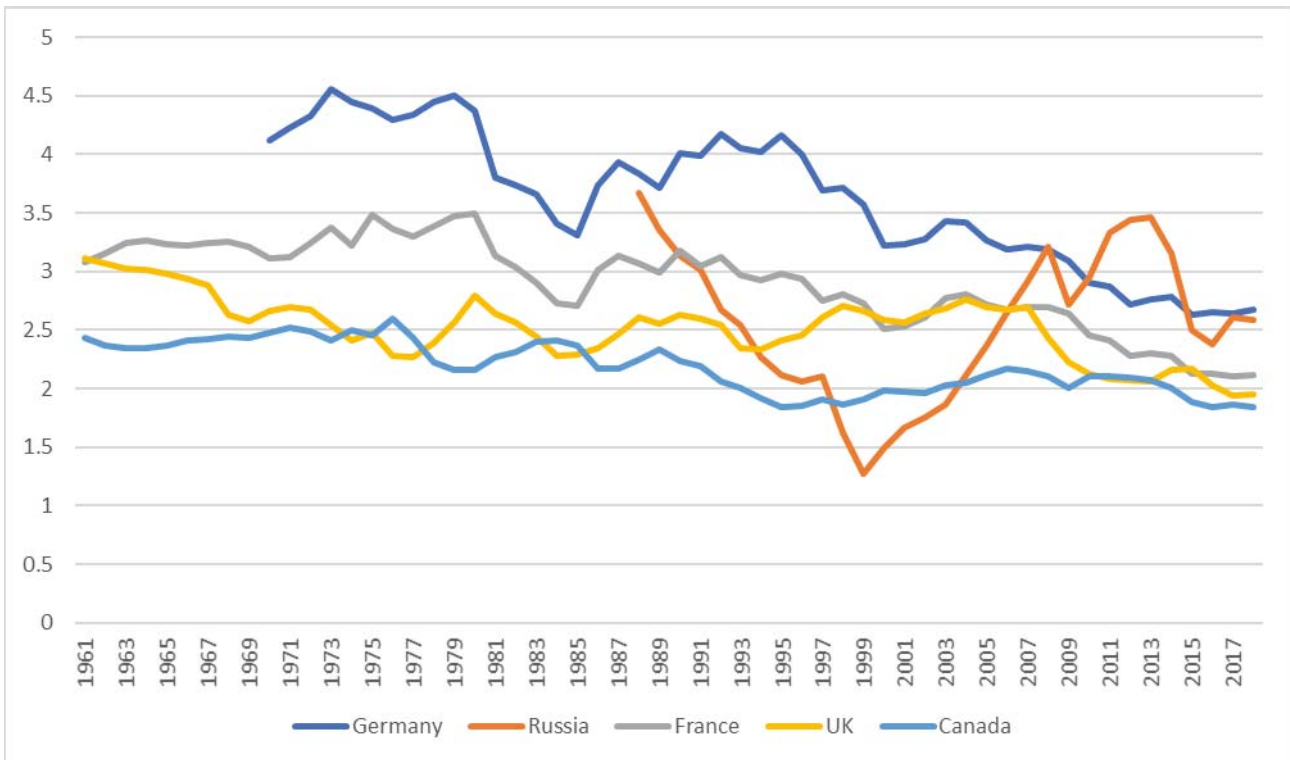
cycle of Japan). However, Russia goes through a very long cycle, which reached the peak of power at the end of the 18th century and has since experienced a slight decline. It is highly probable that the Soviet Union changed this trend, but the Soviet period is not fully recognized in this respect, as its recognition is hindered by the non-market nature of the economy and the low credibility of its statistics.

Charts 1-6 present power cycles of the top 30 countries in the world, ordered by economic power. Although they are mainly illustrative, they can be helpful in some in-depth research, especially that neglected, such as foreign policy of states in the power cycle or perception of their position in particular stages of the cycle by the ruling elites and society.

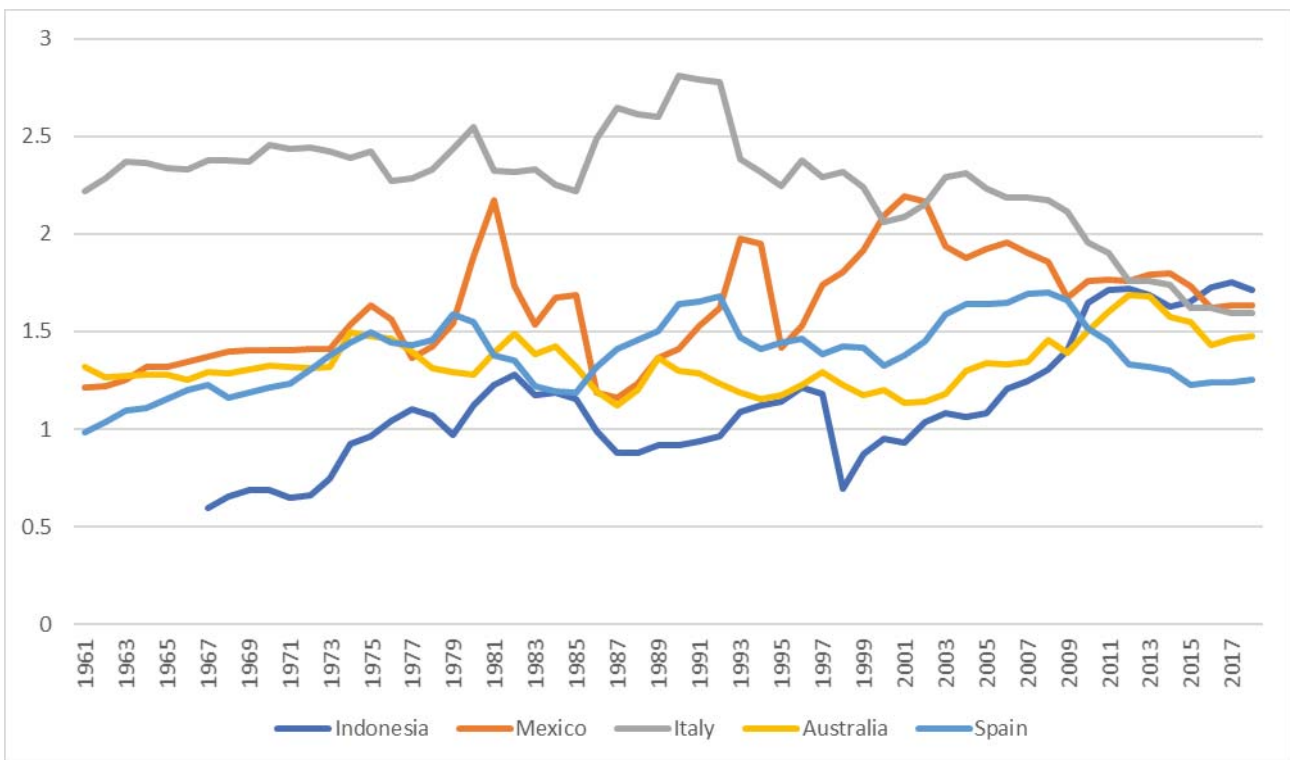
Chart 1. States with the greatest economic power in the years 1961–2018 (in percent of the world’s power; order according to the economic power from 2018; ranks 1-5)



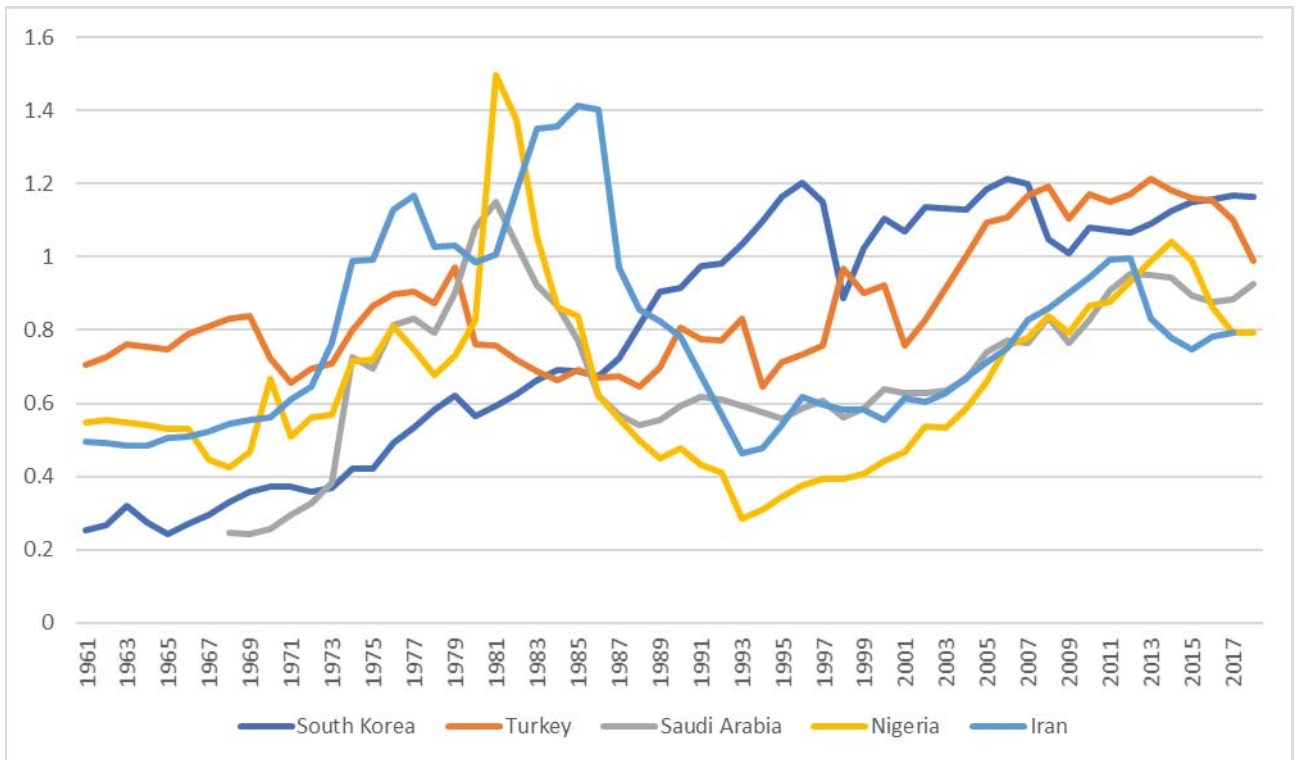
**Chart 2. States with the greatest economic power in the years 1961–2018 (in percent of the world’s power; order according to the economic power from 2018; ranks 6-10)**



**Chart 3. States with the greatest economic power in the years 1961–2018 (in percent of the world’s power; order according to the economic power from 2018; ranks 11-15)**



**Chart 4. States with the greatest economic power in the years 1961–2018 (in percent of the world’s power; order according to the economic power from 2018; ranks 16-20)**



**Chart 5. States with the greatest economic power in the years 1961–2018 (in percent of the world’s power; order according to the economic power from 2018; ranks 21–25)**

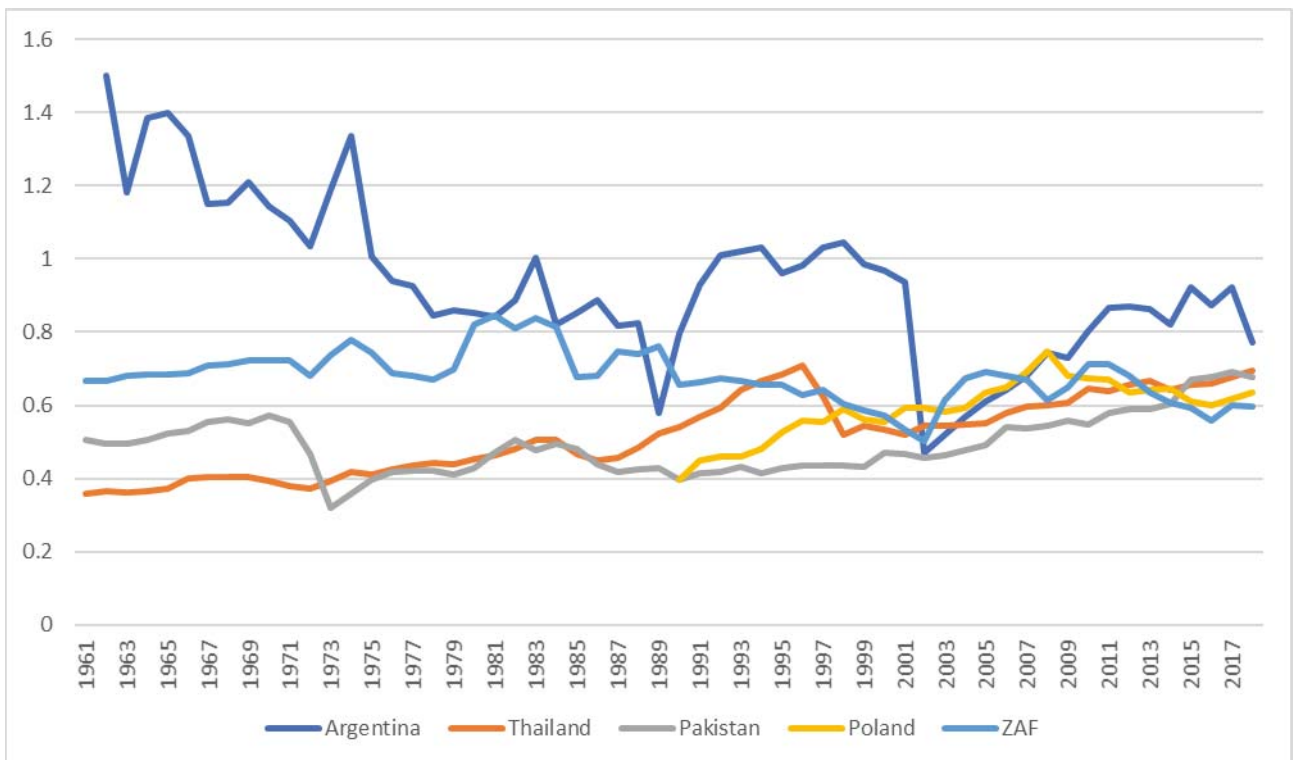
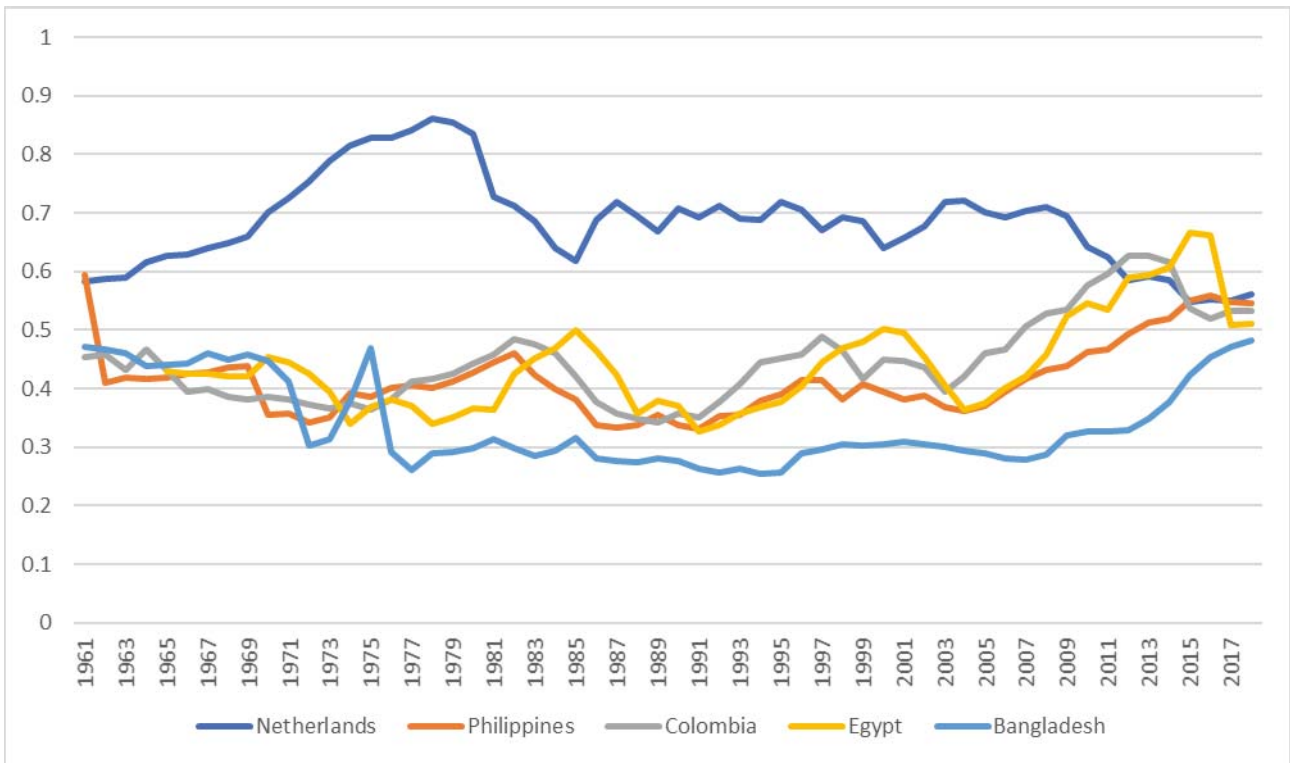


Chart 6. States with the greatest economic power in the years 1961–2018 (in percent of the world’s power; order according to the economic power from 2018; ranks 26–30)



**2.4. Ranking of countries by the power status**

Power criteria can be described in two main ways - sectorally and synthetically. In the first case we are talking about military, economic, raw materials -energy, cultural, etc. powers. In the second case

we rely on synthetic measures of power, assigning states to appropriate ranges.

In table 6 we present the classification of powers with the use of synthetic power measures based on the adopted criteria.

**Table 6. Classification of the power status based on synthetic power measures**

Power status	Symbol	Criterion in percentage of the world power
Superpower	XP	above 18
World Power	WP	12-18
Great Power	GP	7-12
Regional Power	RP	3-7
Local Power	LP	1-3
Small Power	SP	0,1-1
Micro Power	MP	below 0,1

Table 7 lists states meeting the criteria of superpower based on the economic power, military power and geopolitical power in 1992 and 2018 with the share of

more than 1% of the world’s power. In the Report, we disregard states with the status of a small power and micro power.

**Table 7. Countries according to the power status in the years 1992 and 2018**

Power status	1992			2018		
	EP	MP	GP	EP	MP	GP
Superpower	-	USA	USA	-	USA	USA
World Power	USA	-	-	China USA	-	-
Great Power	-	Russia	-	-	China	China
Regional Power	China Japan Germany France	China	China Russia Japan Germany	India Japan	India Russia Saudi Arabia	India Russia
Local Power	Brazil India Russia UK Canada Mexico Italy Australia Spain	India Saudi Arabia France Brazil Japan UK South Korea Germany Italy Canada	India Saudi Arabia Brazil France UK South Korea Canada Italy	Brazil Germany Russia France UK Canada Indonesia Mexico Italy Australia Spain	France Japan Brazil UK South Korea Germany Iran Australia Italy Canada Pakistan	Saudi Arabia Japan Brazil France Germany UK South Korea Australia Canada Italy Iran Indonesia

Tables 8-10 present the power of states in the order of their ranks based on the economic power, military power and geopolitical power in 2018. The presented classification of powers is based on criteria related to the whole world, which thus acquire an absolute character. This means that in the event of large fragmentation, the world may be deprived not only of

superpowers, but also of world powers or even great powers. In such a situation, the states in the top ranks would simply be the strongest, but they would not meet the adopted criteria. For this reason, for example, the strongest country in the region should not be treated as a "regional power" if it does not meet the relevant criteria (3-7% of the world's power).

Table 8. States according to the power status based on the economic power in the years 1992-2018 (ordered according to the position as of 2018)

Country	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018		
China	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	
USA	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	XP	XP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	GP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	
India	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Japan	RP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Brazil	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Germany	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Russia	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
France	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
UK	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Canada	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Indonesia	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Mexico	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Italy	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Australia	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Spain	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
South Korea	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Turkey	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Nigeria	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Argentina	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

**Legend:**





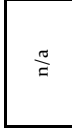
-  - Superpower
-  - World Power
-  - Great Power
-  - Regional Power
-  - Local Power
-  - below 1% of the world power
-  - no available

Table 9. States according to the power status based on the military power in the years 1992-2018 (ordered according to the position as of 2018)

Państwo	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	
USA	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP
China	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
India	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Russia	GP	WP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Saudi Arabia	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
France	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Brazil		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Japan	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
UK	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
South Korea	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Germany	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Iran	n/a						LP	LP							LP													
Australia			LP	LP	LP	LP					LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Italy	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Canada	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Pakistan																												
Colombia																						LP						
Spain				LP									LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Iraq	n/a									n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Turkey		LP		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Taiwan		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP																			
North Korea	LP	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

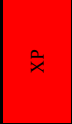



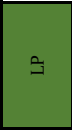

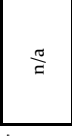

**Legend:**

- XP
- RP
- WP
- GP
- LP
- Local Power
- Regional Power
- below 1% of the world power
- no available

Table 10. States according to the power status based on the geopolitical power in the years 1992-2018 (ordered according to the position as of 2018)

Country	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
USA	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP	XP
China	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP
India	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Russia	RP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Saudi Arabia	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Japan	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Brazil	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
France	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Germany	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
UK	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
South Korea	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Australia	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Canada	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Italy	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Indonesia											LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Spain	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Mexico						LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Turkey		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Taiwan							LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Iran	n/a																		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	n/a

Legend:

-  - Superpower
-  - World Power
-  - Great Power
-  - Regional Power
-  - Local Power
-  - below 1% of the world power
-  - n/a
-  - no available

## *2.5. Winners and losers in the international distribution of power*

Let us remind that the warfare for power is a zero-sum game, which means that the increase in the power of one state is accompanied by a decrease in the power of other states. The sum of increases and decreases expressed in adopted units (here: in mM) equals zero. This remark obviously does not apply to percentage increases/decreases.

Table 11 presents the ranking of states divided into two groups. The first group consists of the states which gained power in the period under discussion; the other consists of the states which lost power in the same period.

Table 11. States with the highest increase and decrease in economic power in 2018 relative to 1992

INCREASE (2018 relative to 1992)				DECREASE (2018 relative to 1992)			
Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position	Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position
Equatorial Guinea	0.18	962.64	+19	Japan	-34.66	-50.54	-2
Qatar	0.98	400.91	+46	Libya	-0.77	-42.58	-27
China	119.32	318.32	+3	Italy	-11.83	-42.57	-7
Vietnam	3.19	262.85	+24	Ukraine	-1.84	-40.94	-16
Maldives	0.04	234.44	+4	Greece	-1.30	-36.10	-22
Albania	0.18	217.42	+11	Germany	-15.02	-35.99	-3
Laos	0.29	184.00	+21	CAF	-0.06	-34.66	-23
Angola	1.45	168.28	+17	Micronesia	0.00	-33.75	-14
Tanzania	1.04	156.23	+15	France	-10.10	-32.34	-3
Kuwait	0.68	149.12	+16	Sweden	-2.26	-32.34	-11
Turkmenistan	0.46	141.62	+14	Dominica	0.00	-30.36	-15
Kenya	1.19	130.41	+12	Portugal	-0.94	-28.83	-11
ARE	1.76	121.68	+13	Belgium	-1.29	-26.46	-13
Uganda	0.46	120.83	+14	Denmark	-0.85	-25.83	-10
Ghana	0.76	120.39	+16	Spain	-4.26	-25.39	-3
Lebanon	0.36	120.30	+11	Austria	-1.13	-24.83	-13
Cambodia	0.33	108.82	+7	Marshall Islands	0.00	-24.29	-14
Bahrain	0.14	108.52	+7	Argentina	-2.39	-23.66	-6
Mongolia	0.19	102.03	+13	UK	-5.90	-23.21	-1
Bhutan	0.03	100.60	-5	Finland	-0.77	-23.03	-10
Jordan	0.37	98.91	+3	Netherlands	-1.50	-21.04	-7
India	23.93	98.66	+6	Barbados	-0.01	-21.02	-19
Zambia	0.39	97.14	+5	Monaco	-0.01	-19.39	-14
Nigeria	3.84	93.77	+13	Taiwan	-1.02	-18.32	-8
Azerbaijan	0.38	93.54	+5	Switzerland	-0.90	-17.84	-10
Ethiopia	1.24	93.03	+8	Tunisia	-0.16	-16.88	-22
Bangladesh	2.25	87.48	+14	Andorra	0.00	-15.22	-17
Sri Lanka	0.64	86.43	+5	VCT	0.00	-14.82	-12
Guyana	0.04	86.43	-6	Gambia	-0.01	-14.45	-16
Panama	0.36	82.78	+5	South Africa	-0.79	-11.72	-4
Nepal	0.35	82.75	-3	Canada	-2.26	-10.94	+1
Suriname	0.04	81.57	-8	Comoros	0.00	-8.99	-13
Armenia	0.10	80.03	-2	Tonga	0.00	-6.96	-10
Indonesia	7.55	78.48	+6	St. Lucia	0.00	-6.81	-11
Guatemala	0.56	77.70	+4	USA	-10.09	-6.34	-1
Romania	1.30	77.11	+7	Belarus	-0.07	-6.17	-16
Oman	0.46	70.81	+6	Lesotho	0.00	-3.76	-15
Iran	3.28	70.76	+7	Burundi	0.00	-3.64	-12
Singapore	0.65	69.83	+4	Russia	-0.94	-3.51	0
Nicaragua	0.13	67.88	+3	Norway	-0.12	-3.46	-6

INCREASE (2018 relative to 1992)				DECREASE (2018 relative to 1992)			
Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position	Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position
Bolivia	0.40	<b>67.65</b>	+4	ATG	0.00	<b>-0.88</b>	-12
Burkina Faso	0.20	<b>67.15</b>	+3	Brunei	0.00	<b>-0.04</b>	-13
Mozambique	0.24	<b>65.04</b>	-3				
Costa Rica	0.30	<b>64.81</b>	-7				
Chad	0.18	<b>64.41</b>	+3				
Dominican Rep.	0.43	<b>64.36</b>	+4				
Pakistan	2.60	<b>62.13</b>	+8				
Guinea-Bissau	0.02	<b>61.91</b>	-10				
Benin	0.12	<b>61.90</b>	+1				
Mali	0.24	61.32	-4				
Estonia	0.13	<b>58.73</b>	+1				
COD	0.66	<b>56.95</b>	+1				
Ireland	0.93	<b>55.91</b>	+6				
Philippines	1.93	<b>54.81</b>	+9				
Chile	1.33	<b>52.50</b>	+10				
Saudi Arabia	3.15	<b>51.56</b>	+4				
Czech Rep.	0.80	<b>51.52</b>	+3				
Egypt	1.74	<b>51.45</b>	+9				
Sierra Leone	0.05	<b>51.16</b>	-6				
Kazakhstan	1.04	<b>51.06</b>	+4				
Malaysia	1.50	<b>51.00</b>	+10				
Slovakia	0.37	<b>49.22</b>	-1				
Samoa	0.01	48.24	-7				
Sudan	0.45	48.01	0				
Ecuador	0.56	<b>47.97</b>	-2				
Peru	1.23	<b>47.90</b>	+8				
Paraguay	0.25	<b>44.47</b>	-1				
PNG	0.18	<b>42.48</b>	-13				
Cape Verde	0.01	<b>41.37</b>	-10				
Colombia	1.55	41.06	+5				
Poland	1.76	<b>38.21</b>	+4				
Honduras	0.13	<b>33.76</b>	-10				
Israel	0.65	33.70	+1				
Bulgaria	0.24	<b>33.65</b>	-6				
Rwanda	0.06	<b>31.54</b>	-8				
Vanuatu	0.01	<b>29.35</b>	-9				
Turkey	2.17	<b>28.09</b>	+1				
New Zealand	0.44	<b>27.74</b>	-4				
Niger	0.09	<b>26.90</b>	-11				
Yemen	0.18	26.66	-5				
Botswana	0.08	<b>25.04</b>	-8				

INCREASE (2018 relative to 1992)				DECREASE (2018 relative to 1992)			
Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position	Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position
North Macedonia	0.04	<b>24.52</b>	-11				
Malta	0.02	<b>24.49</b>	-10				
Brazil	5.23	<b>22.84</b>	+5				
Madagascar	0.09	<b>22.61</b>	-14				
Zimbabwe	0.13	20.93	-10				
Luxembourg	0.06	20.33	-10				
Namibia	0.06	<b>19.84</b>	-9				
Australia	2.43	<b>19.72</b>	0				
Congo	0.05	19.02	-11				
Haiti	0.04	<b>18.99</b>	-9				
South Korea	1.83	<b>18.65</b>	0				
Malawi	0.04	17.72	-10				
CIV	0.16	17.45	-6				
Thailand	1.03	<b>17.36</b>	+1				
Djibouti	0.01	<b>16.59</b>	-12				
Uruguay	0.11	<b>16.59</b>	-9				
El Salvador	0.06	16.21	-14				
Cuba	0.19	<b>15.97</b>	-6				
Tuvalu	0.00	<b>15.90</b>	-14				
Jamaica	0.03	<b>15.84</b>	-14				
Bahamas	0.02	<b>15.45</b>	-9				
Solomon Islands	0.01	15.16	-15				
KNA	0.00	15.08	-9				
Mauritania	0.03	<b>14.82</b>	-13				
Belize	0.01	<b>14.81</b>	-15				
Tajikistan	0.03	<b>14.74</b>	-15				
Mauritius	0.02	<b>14.59</b>	-11				
Kiribati	0.00	<b>13.31</b>	-11				
Uzbekistan	0.14	<b>12.31</b>	-7				
TTO	0.03	<b>11.87</b>	-15				
Algeria	0.35	<b>10.11</b>	-1				
Cameroon	0.08	8.46	-13				
Slovenia	0.04	<b>7.41</b>	-19				
Guinea	0.02	<b>5.75</b>	-15				
Grenada	0.00	<b>5.25</b>	-11				
Seychelles	0.00	5.16	-11				
Cyprus	0.01	<b>4.64</b>	-15				
Iceland	0.01	<b>4.61</b>	-15				
Georgia	0.01	<b>4.30</b>	-19				
Eswatini	0.00	<b>4.09</b>	-14				
Senegal	0.02	<b>3.77</b>	-19				

INCREASE (2018 relative to 1992)				DECREASE (2018 relative to 1992)			
Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position	Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position
Hungary	0.05	3.08	-10				
Togo	0.01	3.01	-12				
Morocco	0.06	2.84	-8				
Kyrgyzstan	0.01	2.39	-18				
Gabon	0.01	2.35	-18				
Mexico	0.13	0.79	+1				
Fiji	0.00	0.34	-13				

## 2.6. Regional distribution of power

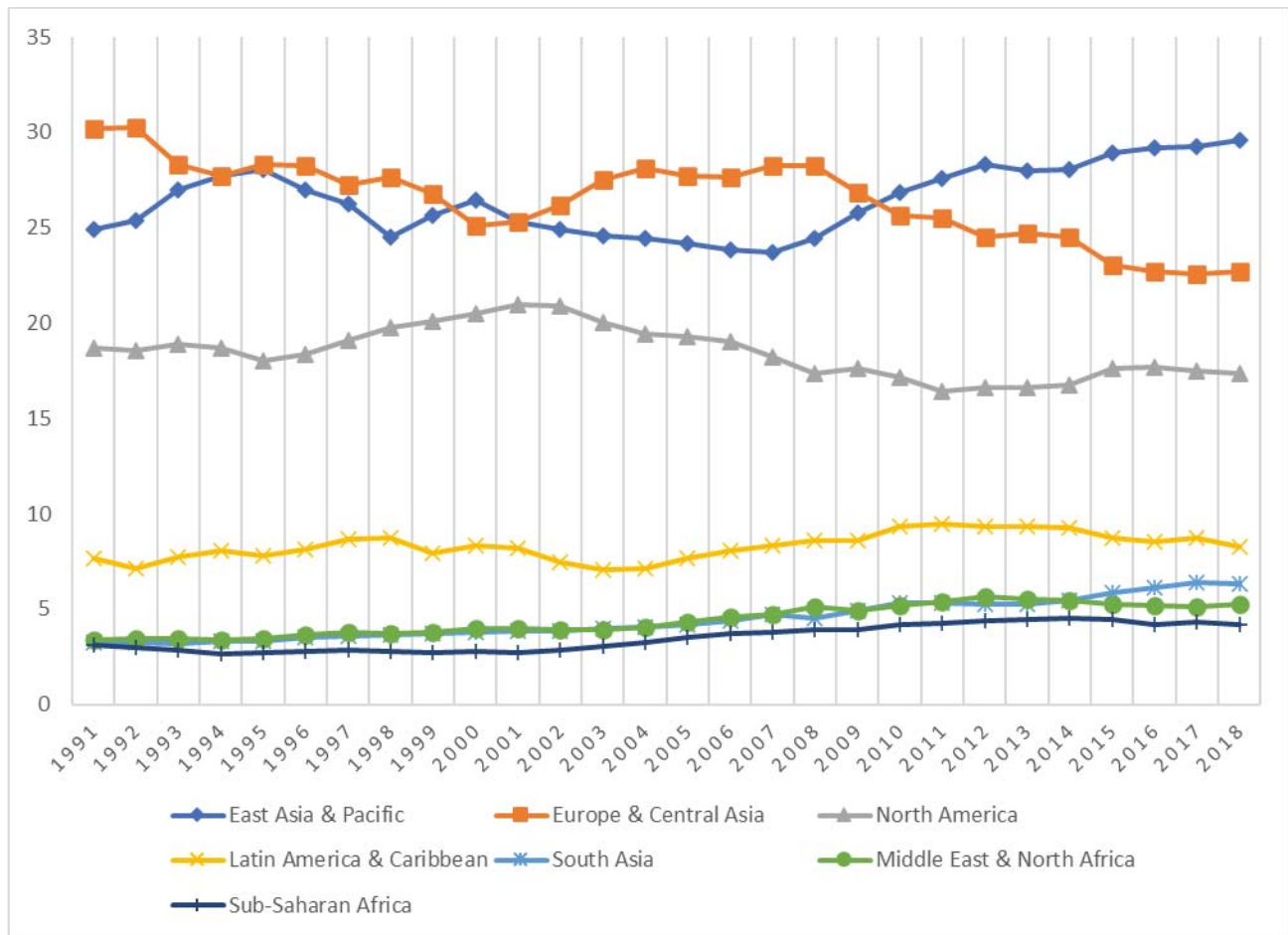
The division into regions - due to the multitude of criteria - is always an arbitrary issue based on more or less justified premises. In this regard, we have followed the

practice of the World Bank. Changes in the distribution of power between regions in the period 1991-2018 are presented in Table 12 and Chart 7.

Table 12. Economic power of regions in the years 1992 and 2018

Region	Economic power of regions (in percentage of world power)		Increase/Decrease 2018/1992 (in percentage)
	1992	2018	
Europe & Central Asia	30,25	22,70	-24,96
East Asia & Pacific	25,32	29,61	+16,94
North America	18,59	17,34	-6,72
Latin America & Caribbean	7,07	8,24	+16,55
Middle East & North Africa	3,47	5,27	+51,87
South Asia	3,23	6,31	+95,36
Sub-Saharan Africa	2,87	4,18	+45,64

Chart 7. Economic power of regions in the years 1992-2018 (world = 100%)

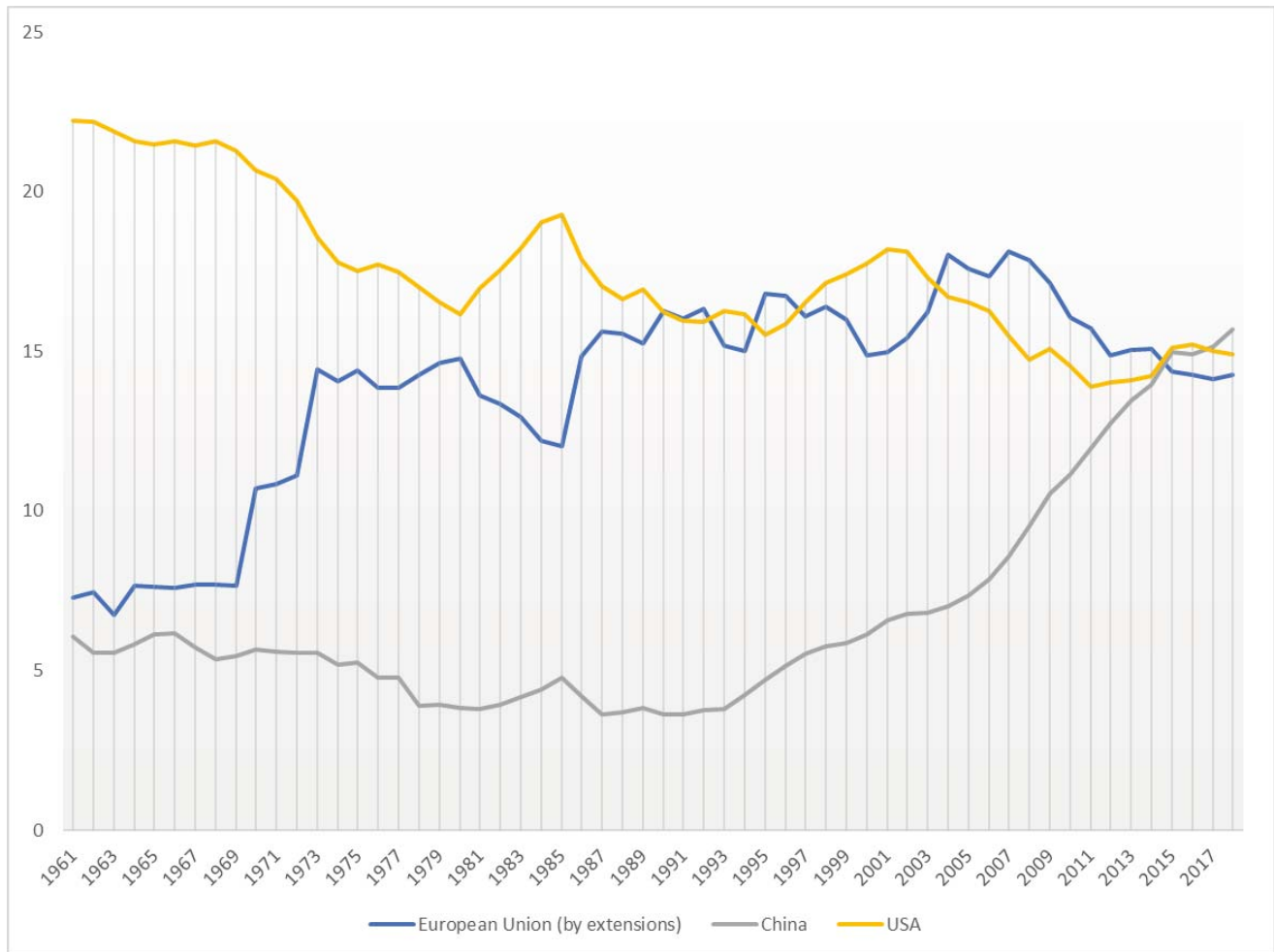


### 2.7. Economic power of the EU in comparison to the USA and China

According to data from the World Bank, the European Union member states in 2018 covered the area of 4,238.69 thousand km<sup>2</sup> and their population amounted to 513.21 million people. We present the data analysis for the EU in the growing variant, i.e. in line with the stages of its enlargement in the

period 1961-2018. Until 1973, this variant does not include the data for Germany. Data for Estonia and Lithuania have been available since 1995. The shaping of power relations between the EU, the US and China is shown in Chart 8.

Chart 8. The economic power of the European Union in the years 1961–2018, the growing variant in line with the stages of its enlargement, as well as the USA and China (in %, the world = 100)



### 2.8. The East – West distribution of power based on the economic power

There has been the talk of the twilight of the West for years. Do power indicators confirm this?

Let's start with the definition. According to the division adopted by us the West includes: the European Union, Norway, Switzerland, the United States, Canada as well as Australia and New Zealand, and the East consists of: Asia (without Russia), Russia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Oceania without New Zealand.

The division into the West and the East is illustrated by map 1. The cycles of economic power of the East and the West in 1961–2018 are presented in Chart 9. It turns out that in 2011 a very important development took place - the West lost its dominance in favour of the East. From this moment, a slight downward trend of the West's economic power and a slight upward trend of the East's economic power are noticeable.

Map 1. The East and the West

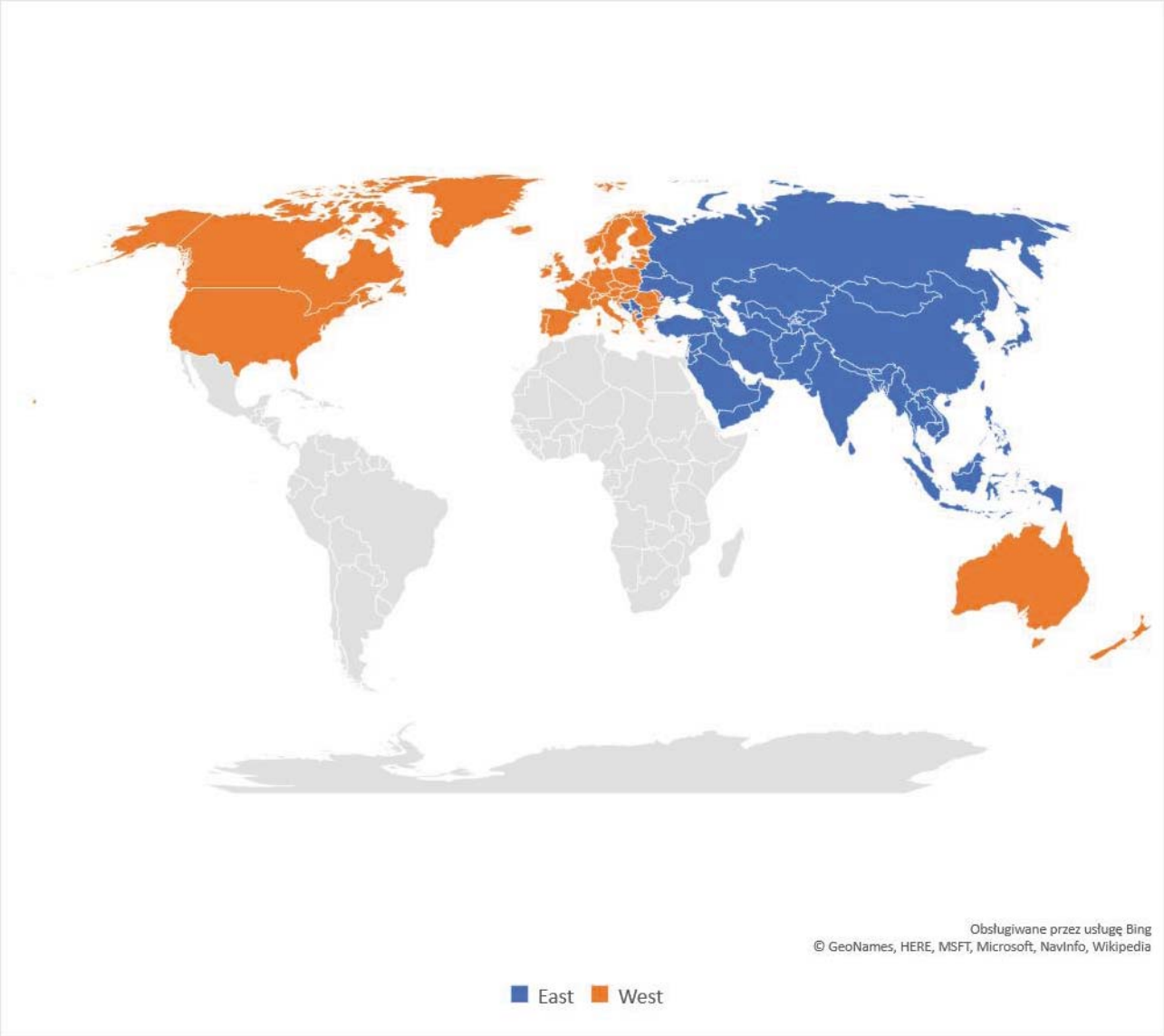
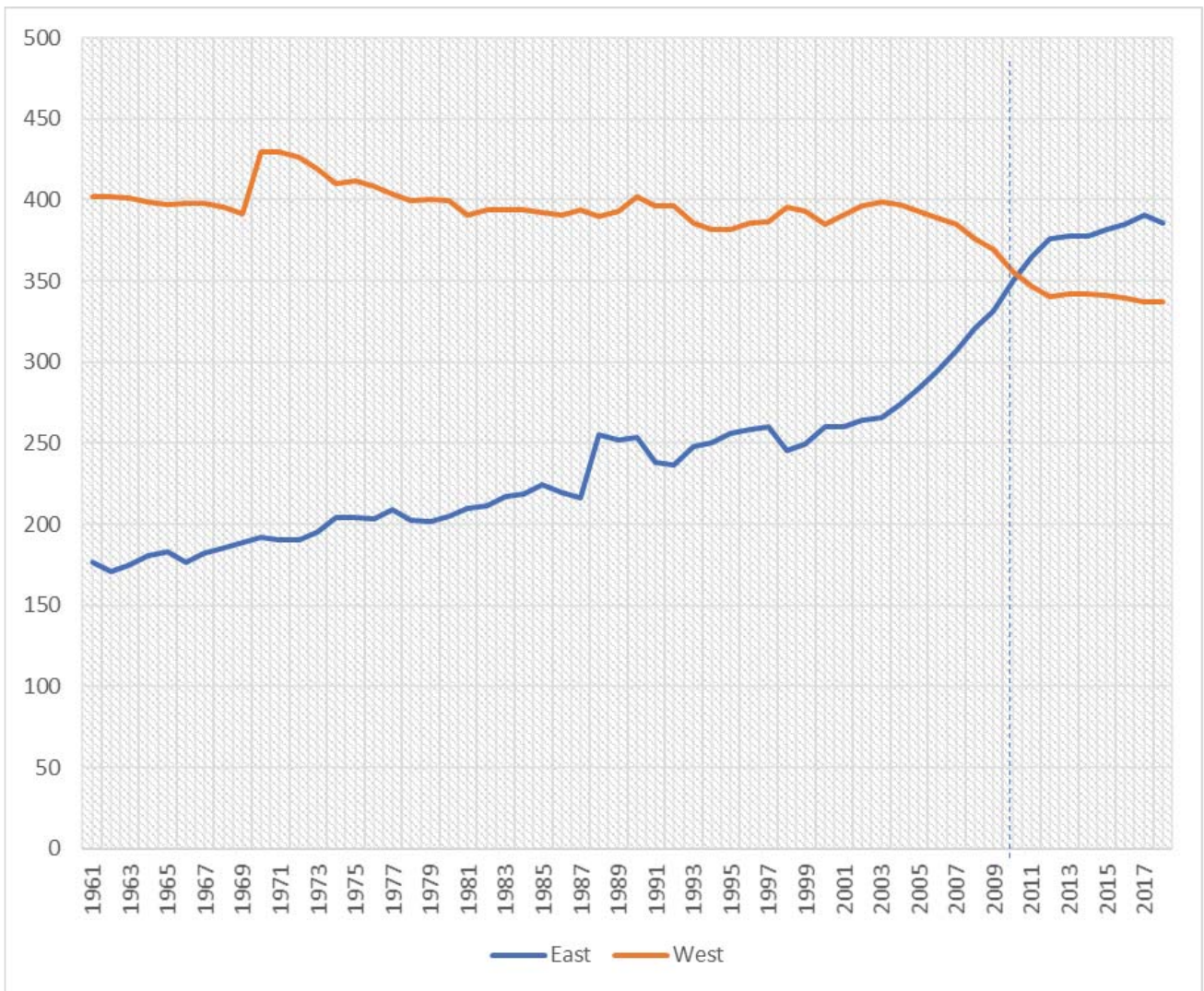


Chart 9. Economic power of the East and the West in the years 1961-2018



## 3 FORECASTS

The purpose of the prognostic part of the Report is to examine the international distribution of power in the 2050 perspective. We have calculated the power indicators in the following way: forecasting GDP and

population (we have taken area as a constant) into the model adopted in the work. The distribution of power will be imaged by indicators of economic power. The forecast has been developed in four variants.

### *3.1. International distribution of power in the 2050 perspective*

#### **Variant I – Forecast of economic power based on the PwC (2017) report**

1. GDP of the states included in the forecast for years 2016, 2030, 2050 (USD, constant prices from 2016) according to the report "*The Long View. How will the global economic order change by 2050?*", PwC, February 2017. PwC refers to *International Monetary Fund's World Economic Outlook* (October 2016) as output for further forecasts after 2016. In order to calculate the economic power we used PwC forecasts according to GDP at MER - GDP at market exchange rates in US dollar terms.
2. The PwC report indicates that the forecast sum of the GDP of the 31 countries constitutes 85% of the global product of the world (as the sum of GDP of all states in the world). On this basis, we have calculated the value of the global world product.
3. The existing area of the countries and the world indicated in the PwC Report was assumed to be constant in the periods discussed (2025, 2030, 2040, 2050). We have used for calculations the data for 2016 according to the World Bank.
4. PwC assumed the average annual GDP growth for the world between 2016 and 2050 as 2.6%.

The results of the forecast calculated in this way are presented in Table 13 and Charts 10-11.

Table 13. Forecast of the distribution of power in 2030 and 2050 based on the economic power

Position	2016		2030		2050		Change of position 2016 relative to:	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	2030	2050
1	USA	151,134	China	201,94	China	209,84	China +1	China +1
2	China	150,891	USA	137,99	India	133,66	USA -1	India +1
3	India	46,464	India	81,60	USA	124,65	India 0	USA -2
4	Japan	35,358	Brazil	32,44	Brazil	37,66	Brazil +1	Brazil +1
5	Brazil	29,698	Japan	29,77	Indonesia	36,72	Japan -1	Indonesia +6
6	Germany	26,346	Indonesia	25,10	Russia	30,27	Indonesia +5	Russia +1
7	Russia	23,804	Russia	24,82	Mexico	26,88	Russia 0	Mexico +5
8	France	21,181	Germany	23,06	Japan	23,19	Germany -2	Japan -4
9	UK	20,401	Mexico	19,96	Nigeria	21,26	Mexico +3	Nigeria +9
10	Canada	18,191	France	19,32	Germany	19,86	France -2	Germany -4
11	Indonesia	16,773	UK	18,86	Pakistan	17,75	UK -2	Pakistan +11
12	Mexico	16,527	Canada	17,25	UK	17,67	Canada -2	UK -3
13	Italy	16,271	Australia	14,12	Turkey	17,65	Australia +1	Turkey +4
14	Australia	14,912	Italy	14,12	France	17,42	Italy -1	France -6
15	Spain	12,722	Turkey	14,03	Egypt	16,34	Turkey +2	Egypt +10
16	South Korea	11,395	Spain	12,50	Canada	16,27	Spain -1	Canada -6
17	Turkey	10,938	South Korea	12,20	Saudi Arabia	15,19	South Korea -1	Saudi Arabia +2
18	Nigeria	8,534	Nigeria	11,97	Iran	14,11	Nigeria 0	Iran +3
19	Saudi Arabia	8,334	Saudi Arabia	11,60	Australia	13,41	Saudi Arabia 0	Australia -5
20	Argentina	8,121	Iran	10,79	Philippines	12,67	Iran +1	Philippines +8
21	Iran	7,562	Pakistan	10,73	Italy	11,81	Pakistan +1	Italy -8
22	Pakistan	6,993	Egypt	10,15	Bangladesh	11,73	Egypt +3	Bangladesh +9
23	Thailand	6,436	Argentina	10,06	Argentina	11,63	Argentina -3	Argentina -3
24	Poland	6,223	Philippines	9,00	Vietnam	11,36	Philippines +4	Vietnam +8
25	Egypt	6,144	Thailand	7,77	South Korea	11,06	Thailand -2	South Korea -9

Position	2016		2030		2050		Change of position 2016 relative to:	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	2030	2050
26	South Africa	5,597	Bangladesh	7,63	Spain	10,87	Bangladesh +5	Spain -11
27	Netherlands	5,564	Poland	7,45	South Africa	10,34	Poland -3	South Africa -1
28	Philippines	5,495	South Africa	6,88	Thailand	9,63	South Africa -2	Thailand -5
29	Colombia	5,398	Vietnam	6,70	Colombia	8,81	Vietnam +3	Colombia 0
30	Malaysia	4,280	Colombia	6,64	Malaysia	8,63	Colombia -1	Malaysia 0
31	Bangladesh	4,264	Malaysia	5,91	Poland	8,19	Malaysia -1	Poland -7
32	Vietnam	4,163	Netherlands	4,98	Netherlands	4,51	Netherlands -5	Netherlands -5

The forecast of the international distribution of power in the perspective of 2050 based on the PwC data shows China's rapid rise to the first place in the world (from 2020). The United States fall to the second place and maintain it until year 2045, after which they are replaced by India. The results for China after 2030 seem to be clearly overstated (over 200 mM of economic power). Japan is the big loser - its power and position significantly deteriorate. From 2030, it ceases to be a regional power, moving to a group of local powers. Germany and Great Britain are experiencing a significant drop and France is even more affected.

Russia will hold the 7th position until 2035, after which it will take the sixth place. Indonesia is the big winner - its power and position are growing. In 2050, it is to be a regional power, stronger than Russia. Poland falls by 7 positions throughout the entire period (from 24 to 31).

According to the forecast, in 2050 there will be a three-pole system (China, India, United States) with a clear predominance of China (which alone will meet the super-power criteria). The fourth country (Brazil) will be more than three times less powerful than the United States (third place).

Chart 10. International distribution of power on the basis of economic power (in mM) in 2050 – variant I (first five states according to the order for 2050)

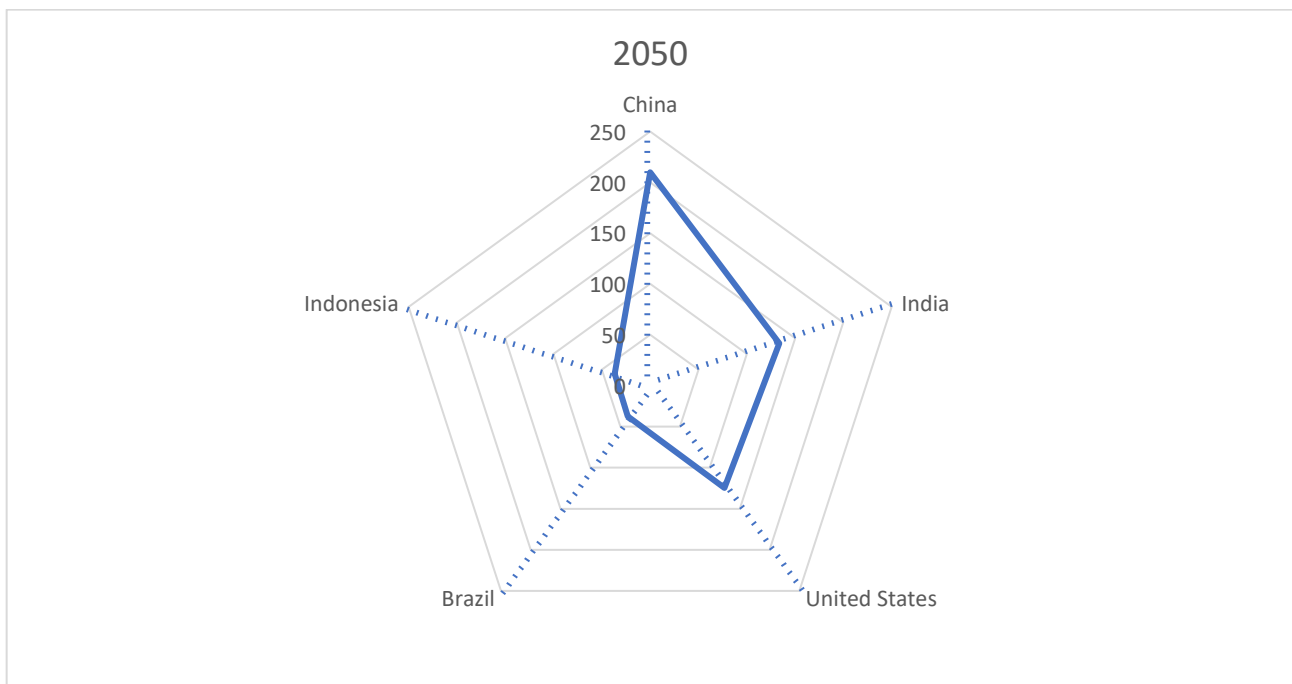
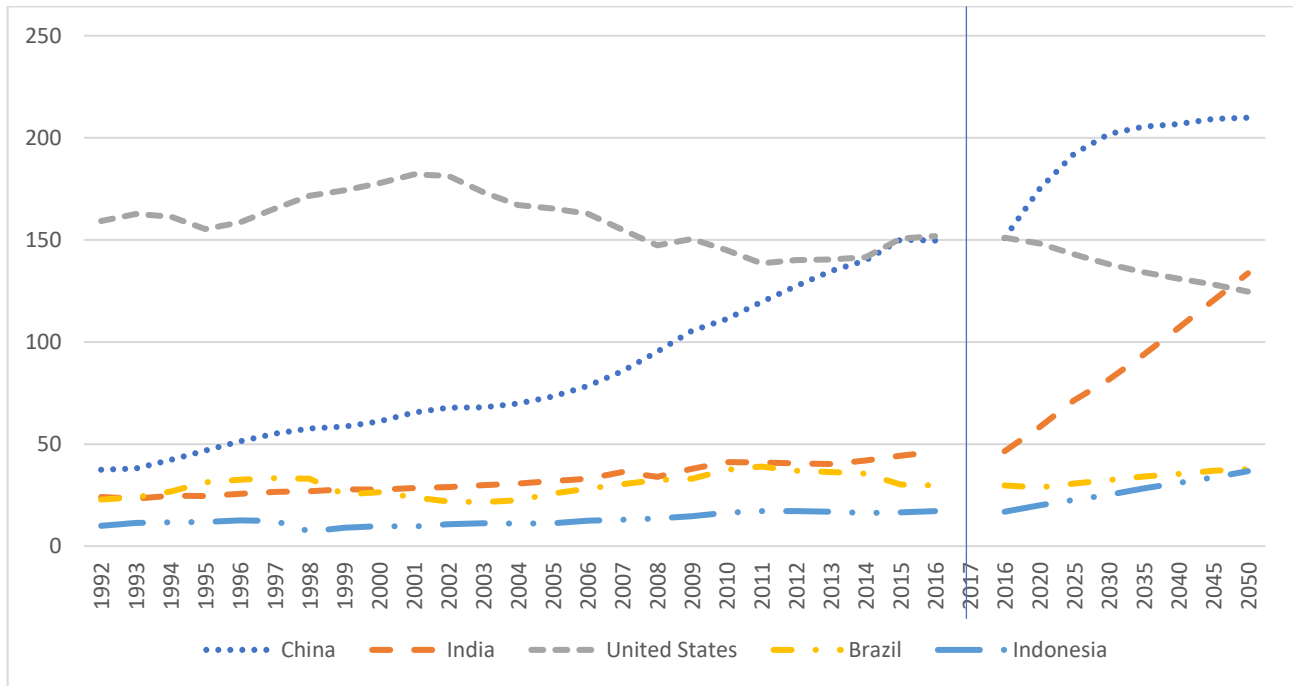


Chart 11. International distribution of power on the basis of economic power (in mM) in the 2050 perspective – variant I (according to the order for 2050)



**Variant II – Forecast of the economic power  
based on the CEPII (2012) report**

1. GDP forecast for years 2025, 2050 (USD, constant prices from 2005) for the world and selected states - CEPII (Center de Recherche Français dans le Domaine de L'économie Internationale) Research and Expertise on the World Economy: "The Great Shift: Macroeconomic projections for the world economy at the 2050 horizon" CEPII Working Paper 2012 - 03, February 2012.
2. The population was assumed as in variant I.
3. The existing area was assumed as in variant I.

The results of the forecast calculated in this way are included in Table 14 and Chart 12.

Table 14. International distribution of power in the 2050 perspective based on the economic power (in mM, the world = 1000) – variant II

Position	2010		2025		2050		Change of position 2010 relative to	
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	2025	2050
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	2025	2050
1	USA	160,952	USA	140,622	China	171,179	USA 0	China +1
2	China	96,052	China	139,642	USA	115,913	China 0	USA -1
3	Japan	47,162	India	56,680	India	81,554	India +1	India +1
4	India	40,615	Japan	40,335	Russia	31,755	Japan -1	Russia +4
5	Germany	31,444	Brazil	29,169	Japan	28,967	Brazil +1	Japan -2
6	Brazil	28,314	Russia	28,303	Brazil	27,885	Russia +2	Brazil 0
7	France	26,085	Germany	24,748	Mexico	21,558	Germany -2	Mexico +5
8	Russia	25,132	France	22,234	Iran	19,066	France -1	Iran +10
9	UK	24,436	UK	22,174	UK	18,262	UK 0	UK 0
10	Canada	21,032	Mexico	20,602	Canada	17,988	Mexico +2	Canada 0
11	Italy	20,642	Canada	20,001	France	17,766	Canada -1	France -4
12	Mexico	19,264	Iran	15,780	Germany	16,914	Iran +6	Germany -7
13	Spain	16,063	Italy	15,557	Nigeria	15,740	Italy -2	Nigeria +11
14	Australia	14,080	Australia	14,350	Turkey	15,194	Australia 0	Turkey +3
15	South Korea	13,123	Indonesia	14,093	Indonesia	14,572	Indonesia +1	Indonesia +1
16	Indonesia	12,555	Spain	13,980	Australia	13,559	Spain -3	Australia -2
17	Turkey	11,633	South Korea	13,567	South Korea	12,716	South Korea -2	South Korea -2
18	Iran	10,886	Turkey	13,364	Spain	12,069	Turkey -1	Spain -5
19	Saudi Arabia	7,811	Nigeria	8,609	Italy	10,650	Nigeria +5	Italy -8
20	South Africa	7,049	Saudi Arabia	8,112	Pakistan	9,855	Saudi Arabia -1	Pakistan +5
21	Poland	6,974	Argentina	7,366	Philippines	9,694	Argentina +1	Philippines +14
22	Argentina	6,893	South Africa	7,355	Egypt	9,468	South Africa -2	Egypt +7
23	Netherlands	6,769	Poland	7,023	South Africa	7,468	Poland -2	South Africa -3
24	Nigeria	5,941	Pakistan	6,872	Argentina	7,351	Pakistan +1	Argentina -2
25	Pakistan	5,482	Egypt	5,989	Saudi Arabia	6,750	Egypt +4	Saudi Arabia -6
26	Thailand	5,446	Philippines	5,778	Poland	6,546	Philippines +8	Poland -5
27	Sweden	5,431	Thailand	5,659	Malaysia	5,840	Thailand -1	Malaysia +10
28	Colombia	5,116	Netherlands	5,601	Thailand	5,490	Netherlands -5	Thailand -2
29	Egypt	4,533	Colombia	5,053	Kazakhstan	5,379	Colombia -1	Kazakhstan +20
30	Venezuela	4,419	Sweden	4,929	Peru	5,377	Sweden -3	Peru +9
31	Belgium	4,242	Malaysia	4,715	Bangladesh	5,160	Malaysia+6	Bangladesh +11

Position	2010			2025			2050			Change of position 2010 relative to 2050		
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	1000	Country	Economic Power [mM]	1000	Country	Economic Power [mM]	1000	2025	2050	2050
	WORLD			WORLD			WORLD					
32	Switzerland	4,131	4,483	Venezuela	4,875	5,075	Tanzania	5,075	5,075	Venezuela -2	Tanzania +30	
33	Norway	4,092	4,328	Peru	4,897	4,897	Vietnam	4,897	4,897	Peru +6	Vietnam +13	
34	Philippines	4,085	4,217	Algeria	4,796	4,796	Colombia	4,796	4,796	Algeria +1	Colombia -6	
35	Algeria	3,971	3,991	Bangladesh	3,991	4,661	Angola	4,661	4,661	Bangladesh +7	Angola +22	
36	Austria	3,912	3,831	Vietnam	3,831	4,513	Ukraine	4,513	4,513	Vietnam +10	Ukraine +8	
37	Malaysia	3,889	3,813	Norway	3,813	4,472	Venezuela	4,472	4,472	Norway -4	Venezuela -7	
38	Greece	3,753	3,677	Ukraine	3,677	4,284	Algeria	4,284	4,284	Ukraine +6	Algeria -3	
39	Peru	3,452	3,600	Chile	3,600	4,223	Netherlands	4,223	4,223	Chile +2	Netherlands -16	
40	Syria	3,362	3,563	Syria	3,563	4,014	Sweden	4,014	4,014	Syria 0	Sweden -13	
41	Chile	3,234	3,514	Belgium	3,514	3,967	Syria	3,967	3,967	Belgium -10	Syria -1	
42	Bangladesh	3,085	3,503	Kazakhstan	3,503	3,782	Chile	3,782	3,782	Kazakhstan +7	Chile -1	
43	Finland	3,071	3,442	Switzerland	3,442	3,492	Ethiopia	3,492	3,492	Switzerland -11	Ethiopia +16	
44	Ukraine	3,055	3,326	Austria	3,326	3,417	Morocco	3,417	3,417	Austria -8	Morocco +8	
45	Portugal	2,920	3,272	Greece	3,272	3,252	Sudan	3,252	3,252	Greece -7	Sudan +11	
46	Vietnam	2,891	2,800	Morocco	2,800	3,188	Norway	3,188	3,188	Morocco +6	Norway -8	
47	Denmark	2,876	2,799	Angola	2,799	2,843	Greece	2,843	2,843	Angola +10	Greece -22	
48	Romania	2,667	2,749	Romania	2,749	2,835	Kenya	2,835	2,835	Romania 0	Kenya +13	
49	Kazakhstan	2,583	2,631	Finland	2,631	2,685	Romania	2,685	2,685	Finland -6	Romania -1	
50	ARE	2,490	2,482	ARE	2,482	2,668	Belgium	2,668	2,668	ARE 0	Belgium -19	
51	Ireland	2,488	2,409	Denmark	2,409	2,549	Israel	2,549	2,549	Denmark -4	Israel +3	
52	Morocco	2,436	2,316	Portugal	2,316	2,509	Uganda	2,509	2,509	Portugal -7	Uganda +24	
53	Czech Rep.	2,389	2,276	Sudan	2,276	2,504	Mozambique	2,504	2,504	Sudan +3	Mozambique +27	
54	Israel	2,100	2,269	Czech Rep.	2,269	2,428	Austria	2,428	2,428	Czech Rep. -1	Austria -18	
55	Hungary	2,029	2,261	Israel	2,261	2,390	Switzerland	2,390	2,390	Israel -1	Switzerland -23	
56	Sudan	2,016	2,258	Ethiopia	2,258	2,221	Czech Rep.	2,221	2,221	Ethiopia +3	Czech Rep. -4	
57	Angola	1,968	2,222	Ireland	2,222	2,019	ARE	2,019	2,019	Ireland -6	ARE -7	
58	New Zealand	1,935	2,055	Tanzania	2,055	2,010	New Zealand	2,010	2,010	Tanzania +4	New Zealand 0	
59	Ethiopia	1,400	1,936	Hungary	1,936	2,002	Belarus	2,002	2,002	Hungary -4	Belarus +4	
60	Singapore	1,327	1,906	New Zealand	1,906	1,985	Finland	1,985	1,985	New Zealand -2	Finland -17	
61	Kenya	1,242	1,708	Kenya	1,708	1,953	Yemen	1,953	1,953	Kenya 0	Yemen +10	
62	Tanzania	1,195	1,500	Belarus	1,500	1,904	Dominican Rep.	1,904	1,904	Belarus 1	Dominican Rep. +4	
63	Belarus	1,186	1,485	Singapore	1,485	1,891	Ireland	1,891	1,891	Singapore -3	Ireland -12	
64	Kuwait	1,166	1,409	Qatar	1,409	1,865	Portugal	1,865	1,865	Qatar 6	Portugal -19	

Position	2010			2025			2050			Change of position 2010 relative to 2050		
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	2025	2050	2050	
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	2025	2050	2050	
65	Slovakia	1,115	Dominican Rep.	1,374	Denmark	1,840	Denmark	1,840	Dominican Rep. +1	Denmark -18		
66	Dominican Rep.	1,083	Sri Lanka	1,255	Zambia	1,828	Zambia	1,828	Sri Lanka +2	Zambia +18		
67	Tunisia	1,055	Kuwait	1,232	Hungary	1,822	Hungary	1,822	Kuwait -3	Hungary -12		
68	Sri Lanka	1,043	Tunisia	1,203	Cameroon	1,758	Cameroon	1,758	Tunisia -1	Cameroon +5		
69	Guatemala	1,024	Yemen	1,200	Guatemala	1,638	Guatemala	1,638	Yemen +2	Guatemala 0		
70	Qatar	1,022	Slovakia	1,179	Ghana	1,436	Ghana	1,436	Slovakia -5	Ghana +7		
71	Yemen	1,003	Guatemala	1,175	Tunisia	1,427	Tunisia	1,427	Guatemala -2	Tunisia -5		
72	Oman	0,947	Uganda	1,161	Sri Lanka	1,423	Sri Lanka	1,423	Uganda +4	Sri Lanka -4		
73	Cameroon	0,902	Cameroon	1,156	Burkina Faso	1,409	Burkina Faso	1,409	Cameroon 0	Burkina Faso +22		
74	Bulgaria	0,848	Oman	1,094	CIV	1,386	CIV	1,386	Oman -2	CIV +1		
75	CIV	0,831	Mozambique	1,085	Mali	1,330	Mali	1,330	Mozambique +5	Mali +13		
76	Uganda	0,725	Ghana	0,993	Qatar	1,271	Qatar	1,271	Ghana +1	Qatar -6		
77	Ghana	0,711	CIV	0,972	Singapore	1,270	Singapore	1,270	CIV -2	Singapore -17		
78	Uruguay	0,637	Zambia	0,860	Niger	1,194	Niger	1,194	Zambia +6	Niger +22		
79	Costa Rica	0,609	Bulgaria	0,814	Slovakia	1,154	Slovakia	1,154	Bulgaria -5	Slovakia -14		
80	Mozambique	0,608	Bolivia	0,772	Bolivia	1,143	Bolivia	1,143	Bolivia +2	Bolivia +2		
81	Lithuania	0,607	Jordan	0,748	Jordan	1,119	Jordan	1,119	Jordan +6	Jordan +6		
82	Bolivia	0,590	Nepal	0,739	Nepal	1,095	Nepal	1,095	Nepal +3	Nepal +3		
83	Panama	0,573	Panama	0,738	Cambodia	1,043	Cambodia	1,043	Panama 0	Cambodia +10		
84	Zambia	0,573	Lithuania	0,715	Kuwait	1,028	Kuwait	1,028	Lithuania -3	Kuwait -20		
85	Nepal	0,561	Mali	0,673	Oman	1,024	Oman	1,024	Mali 3	Oman -13		
86	Lebanon	0,559	Costa Rica	0,673	Panama	0,966	Panama	0,966	Costa Rica -7	Panama -3		
87	Jordan	0,545	Burkina Faso	0,662	Madagascar	0,922	Madagascar	0,922	Burkina Faso +8	Madagascar +7		
88	Mali	0,489	Cambodia	0,655	Senegal	0,898	Senegal	0,898	Cambodia +5	Senegal +1		
89	Senegal	0,488	Uruguay	0,634	Malawi	0,854	Malawi	0,854	Uruguay -11	Malawi +21		
90	Chad	0,465	Lebanon	0,626	Honduras	0,801	Honduras	0,801	Lebanon -4	Honduras +1		
91	Honduras	0,459	Senegal	0,594	Lithuania	0,799	Lithuania	0,799	Senegal -2	Lithuania -10		
92	Paraguay	0,450	Niger	0,555	Costa Rica	0,732	Costa Rica	0,732	Niger +8	Costa Rica -13		
93	Cambodia	0,441	Honduras	0,550	Bulgaria	0,722	Bulgaria	0,722	Honduras -2	Bulgaria -19		
94	Madagascar	0,437	Madagascar	0,548	Guinea	0,721	Guinea	0,721	Madagascar 0	Guinea +15		
95	Burkina Faso	0,417	Botswana	0,515	PNG	0,705	PNG	0,705	Botswana +1	PNG +8		
96	Botswana	0,391	Chad	0,505	Benin	0,671	Benin	0,671	Chad -6	Benin +12		
97	Latvia	0,379	Paraguay	0,501	Lebanon	0,624	Lebanon	0,624	Paraguay -5	Lebanon -11		

Position	2010			2025			2050			Change of position 2010 relative to 2050		
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000
98	Luxembourg	0,378	Latvia	0,442	Botswana	0,617	Latvia -1	Botswana -2				
99	Congo	0,348	PNG	0,430	Paraguay	0,613	PNG +2	Paraguay -7				
100	Niger	0,345	Georgia	0,410	Rwanda	0,607	Georgia +4	Rwanda +18				
101	PNG	0,334	Malawi	0,406	Georgia	0,599	Malawi +9	Georgia +3				
102	Gabon	0,318	Benin	0,384	Chad	0,596	Benin +6	Chad -12				
103	Estonia	0,316	Guinea	0,383	Uruguay	0,590	Guinea +6	Uruguay -15				
104	Georgia	0,296	Congo	0,379	Latvia	0,550	Congo -5	Latvia -7				
105	TTO	0,293	Estonia	0,375	Mongolia	0,531	Estonia -2	Mongolia +10				
106	Nicaragua	0,280	Luxembourg	0,364	Tajikistan	0,502	Luxembourg -8	Tajikistan +10				
107	Iceland	0,276	Laos	0,335	Laos	0,489	Laos 5	Laos +6				
108	Benin	0,274	Mongolia	0,333	Armenia	0,477	Mongolia 7	Armenia +5				
109	Guinea	0,265	TTO	0,333	Kyrgyzstan	0,454	TTO -4	Kyrgyzstan +8				
110	Malawi	0,261	Gabon	0,323	Estonia	0,430	Gabon -8	Estonia -7				
111	Bahrain	0,235	Nicaragua	0,314	Nicaragua	0,429	Nicaragua -5	Nicaragua -5				
112	Laos	0,234	Tajikistan	0,305	Congo	0,377	Tajikistan +4	Congo -13				
113	Armenia	0,206	Armenia	0,299	Sierra Leone	0,367	Armenia 0	Sierra Leone +12				
114	Haiti	0,205	Rwanda	0,292	TTO	0,338	Rwanda +4	TTO -9				
115	Mongolia	0,199	Kyrgyzstan	0,268	Mauritania	0,324	Kyrgyzstan +2	Mauritania +4				
116	Tajikistan	0,191	Iceland	0,254	Luxembourg	0,309	Iceland -9	Luxembourg -18				
117	Kyrgyzstan	0,185	Haiti	0,244	Gabon	0,298	Haiti -3	Gabon -15				
118	Rwanda	0,170	Bahrain	0,235	Togo	0,284	Bahrain -7	Togo +6				
119	Mauritania	0,170	Mauritania	0,222	Haiti	0,257	Mauritania 0	Haiti -5				
120	Brunei	0,154	Sierra Leone	0,214	Moldova	0,252	Sierra Leone +5	Moldova +4				
121	Mauritius	0,154	Moldova	0,212	RSA	0,251	Moldova +3	RSA +1				
122	RSA	0,153	Togo	0,184	Iceland	0,214	Togo +1	Iceland -15				
123	Togo	0,144	RSA	0,169	Bahrain	0,204	RSA -1	Bahrain -12				
124	Moldova	0,143	Mauritius	0,164	Mauritius	0,151	Mauritius -3	Mauritius -3				
125	Sierra Leone	0,128	Bahamas	0,119	Lesotho	0,148	Bahamas +1	Lesotho +5				
126	Bahamas	0,120	Brunei	0,115	Eswatini	0,137	Brunei -6	Eswatini +1				
127	Eswatini	0,102	Lesotho	0,110	Burundi	0,137	Lesotho +2	Burundi +4				
128	Fiji	0,095	Eswatini	0,108	Suriname	0,119	Eswatini -1	Suriname +2				
129	Lesotho	0,093	Suriname	0,098	Gambia	0,114	Suriname +1	Gambia +11				
130	Suriname	0,083	Burundi	0,097	Bahamas	0,106	Burundi 1	Bahamas -4				

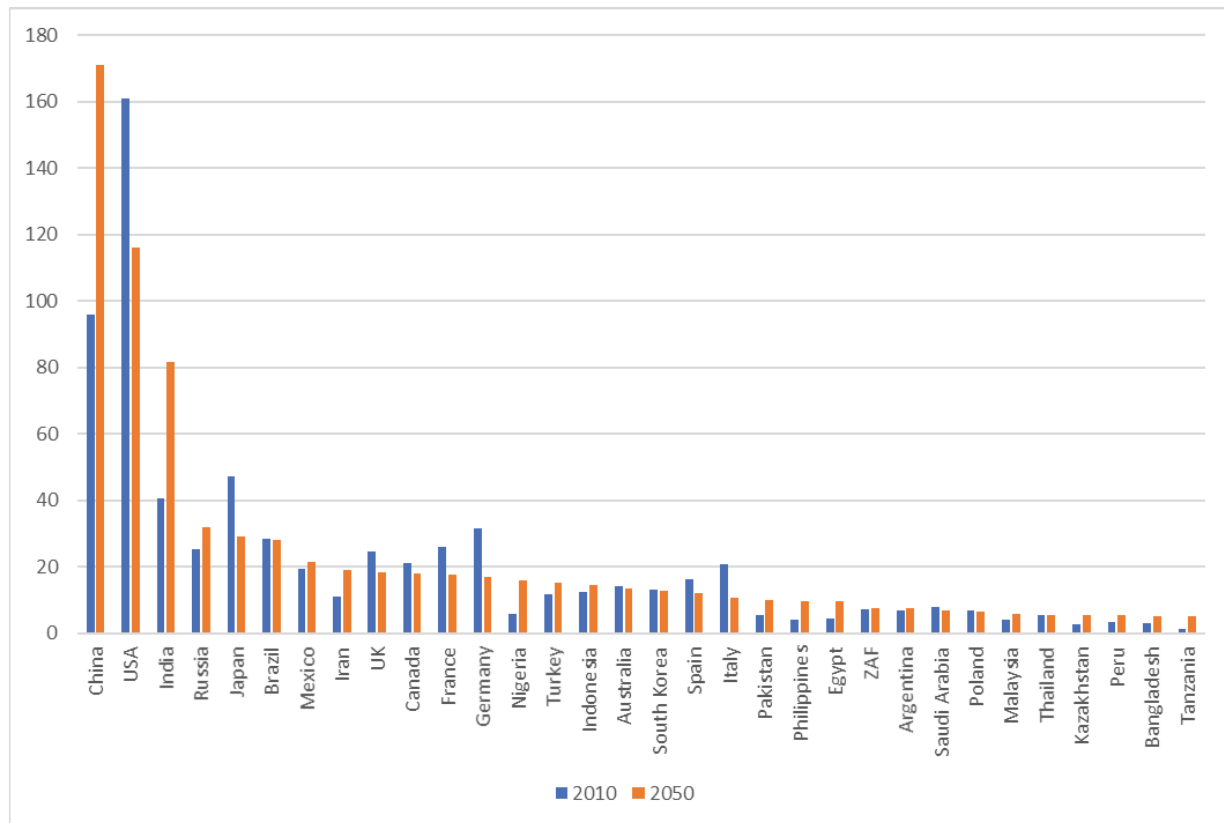
Position	2010		2025		2050		Change of position 2010 relative to	
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	2025	2050
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	2025	2050
131	Burundi	0,082	Fiji	0,085	Fiji	0,096	Fiji -3	Fiji -3
132	Guyana	0,059	Bhutan	0,075	Bhutan	0,093	Bhutan +1	Bhutan +1
133	Bhutan	0,055	Guyana	0,069	Brunei	0,073	Guyana -1	Brunei -13
134	Malta	0,052	Gambia	0,058	Belize	0,071	Gambia +6	Belize +6
135	Barbados	0,050	Cape Verde	0,054	Cape Verde	0,066	Cape Verde +3	Cape Verde +3
136	Djibouti	0,044	Belize	0,053	Guyana	0,056	Belize +3	Guyana -5
137	WS	0,044	Djibouti	0,047	Djibouti	0,051	Djibouti -1	Djibouti -1
138	Cape Verde	0,044	Malta	0,046	WS	0,047	Malta -4	WS -1
139	Belize	0,039	Barbados	0,044	Malta	0,045	Barbados -4	Malta -5
140	Gambia	0,037	WS	0,034	Vanuatu	0,044	WS -3	Vanuatu +1
141	Vanuatu	0,034	GB	0,032	GB	0,044	GB +1	GB +1
142	GB	0,026	Maldives	0,028	Barbados	0,035	Maldives +1	Barbados -7
143	Maldives	0,024	Vanuatu	0,026	Maldives	0,032	Vanuatu -2	Maldives 0
144	St. Lucia	0,023	St. Lucia	0,017	St. Lucia	0,022	St. Lucia 0	St. Lucia 0

In Variant II, the United States also lose their lead to China, but only after 2025, with India in the third place in 2050, and not in the second place as in Variant I. Russia climbs to the fourth position, ahead of Japan, which falls to the position of a local power. Germany and France are falling hard; Great Britain maintains the same 9th position throughout the period. Compared to variant I, the situation of Indonesia is completely different - its power is growing slightly, which gives the rise by only one position. Brazil remains in the

sixth place (in variant I it advanced from 5th to 4th). Poland's position is falling (from 21 to 26), with a slight decline in power. The magnitude of the forecasted power seems more realistic than in variant I.

According to the forecast, until 2050 a bipolar system (China, USA) will be shaped, with a strong position of China, but a slight increase in India's power would transform it into a three-pole system. No of the states will meet the criteria for a superpower.

**Chart 12. International distribution of power based on the economic power (in mM) in the 2050 perspective – variant II (according to the order for 2050)**



### Variant III - Forecast of the economic power based on the HSBC (2012) report

1. GDP forecast for 2050 by HSBC (USD, constant prices from 2000); "The world in 2050: From the Top 30 to the Top 100", HSBC Global Research, Global Economics, January 2012 - The economic league table in 2050 (Source: World Bank, UN population projections and HSBC estimates). HSBC forecasts GDP for the 100 largest economies in 2050. We assumed that they constitute 90% of the global product of the world - 100% was calculated proportionally.
2. The population was assumed as in variant I.
3. The existing area was assumed as in variant I.

The results for the forecast calculated in this way are included in Table 15 and chart 13.

**Table 15. International distribution of power in the 2050 perspective based on the economic power**

Position	2010		2050		Change of position 2010 relative to 2050
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	
1	USA	158,720	China	162,964	China +1
2	China	100,069	USA	114,747	USA-1
3	Japan	53,208	India	72,959	India +1
4	India	37,537	Brazil	27,249	Brazil +1
5	Brazil	27,281	Japan	27,067	Japan -2
6	Germany	26,804	Mexico	20,694	Mexico +4
7	France	21,636	Russia	19,116	Russia +5
8	UK	21,595	Germany	17,375	Germany -2
9	Canada	18,550	UK	16,299	UK -1
10	Mexico	17,189	Canada	16,253	Canada -1
11	Italy	16,620	Indonesia	15,884	Indonesia +5
12	Russia	16,226	France	14,819	France -5
13	Spain	12,367	Turkey	13,992	Turkey +5
14	Australia	12,199	Philippines	11,836	Philippines +17
15	South Korea	12,049	Italy	11,396	Italy -4
16	Indonesia	10,972	Australia	11,211	Australia -2
17	Argentina	10,416	Argentina	11,171	Argentina 0
18	Turkey	9,566	Egypt	10,643	Egypt +5
19	Saudi Arabia	6,699	Spain	10,634	Spain -6
20	Iran	5,946	South Korea	9,458	South Korea -5
21	South Africa	5,826	Saudi Arabia	8,752	Saudi Arabia -2
22	Poland	5,698	Pakistan	8,497	Pakistan +4
23	Egypt	5,696	Nigeria	7,647	Nigeria 7
24	Thailand	5,605	Iran	7,503	Iran -4
25	Netherlands	5,499	Malaysia	7,077	Malaysia +7
26	Pakistan	5,127	Thailand	6,681	Thailand -2
27	Sweden	4,860	Bangladesh	6,438	Bangladesh +8
28	Colombia	4,713	Colombia	6,362	Colombia 0
29	Venezuela	4,463	Peru	6,131	Peru +10
30	Nigeria	4,083	Algeria	5,709	Algeria +7

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Position	2010		2050		Change of position 2010 relative to 2050
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	
31	Philippines	4,068	South Africa	5,421	South Africa -10
32	Malaysia	3,770	Poland	5,218	Poland -10
33	Switzerland	3,594	Venezuela	4,927	Venezuela -4
34	Belgium	3,494	Vietnam	4,768	Vietnam +8
35	Bangladesh	3,309	Chile	4,353	Chile +6
36	Austria	3,282	Tanzania	4,165	Tanzania +29
37	Algeria	3,223	Ukraine	4,015	Ukraine +11
38	Norway	3,209	Netherlands	3,686	Netherlands -13
39	Peru	3,101	Ethiopia	3,530	Ethiopia +12
40	Greece	2,976	Sweden	3,263	Sweden -13
41	Chile	2,874	Kazakhstan	3,148	Kazakhstan +13
42	Vietnam	2,677	Uzbekistan	3,058	Uzbekistan +21
43	Finland	2,626	Switzerland	3,024	Switzerland -10
44	Portugal	2,373	Morocco	2,932	Morocco +3
45	Denmark	2,362	Romania	2,650	Romania +8
46	Israel	2,303	Austria	2,593	Austria -10
47	Morocco	2,196	Kenya	2,518	Kenya +20
48	ARE	2,169	Greece	2,433	Greece -8
49	Ireland	2,161	Belgium	2,381	Belgium -15
50	Ukraine	2,076	Norway	2,232	Norway -12
51	Romania	1,815	Angola	2,219	Angola +11
52	Kazakhstan	1,753	ARE	2,209	ARE -4
53	Czech Rep.	1,701	Israel	2,047	Israel -7
54	Libya	1,641	Czech Rep.	2,011	Czech Rep. +1
55	Ecuador	1,532	Portugal	1,988	Portugal -11
56	Singapore	1,442	Syria	1,913	Syria +9
57	Hungary	1,437	Iraq	1,910	Iraq +7
58	New Zealand	1,436	Ireland	1,910	Ireland -9
59	Ethiopia	1,354	Uganda	1,807	Uganda +22
60	Angola	1,263	Finland	1,793	Finland -17
61	Cuba	1,250	Hungary	1,788	Hungary -3
62	Uzbekistan	1,229	Bolivia	1,697	Bolivia +18
63	Iraq	1,188	Libya	1,641	Libya -13
64	Syria	1,128	Guatemala	1,533	Guatemala +8
65	Tanzania	1,111	Ecuador	1,532	Ecuador -13
66	Kenya	1,107	Sri Lanka	1,495	Sri Lanka +7
67	Azerbaijan	1,023	New Zealand	1,494	New Zealand -8
68	Dominican Rep.	0,997	Dominican Rep.	1,486	Dominican Rep. 0
69	Tunisia	0,986	Ghana	1,445	Ghana +17
70	Slovakia	0,979	Denmark	1,443	Denmark -25
71	Kuwait	0,959	Tunisia	1,417	Tunisia -2
72	Guatemala	0,942	Kuwait	1,341	Kuwait -1
73	Sri Lanka	0,931	Cameroon	1,326	Cameroon +4
74	Belarus	0,896	Singapore	1,304	Singapore -17
75	Oman	0,817	Cuba	1,250	Cuba -19
76	Cameroon	0,795	Oman	1,151	Oman -1
77	Uruguay	0,792	Belarus	1,092	Belarus -3
78	Qatar	0,750	Paraguay	1,046	Paraguay +15

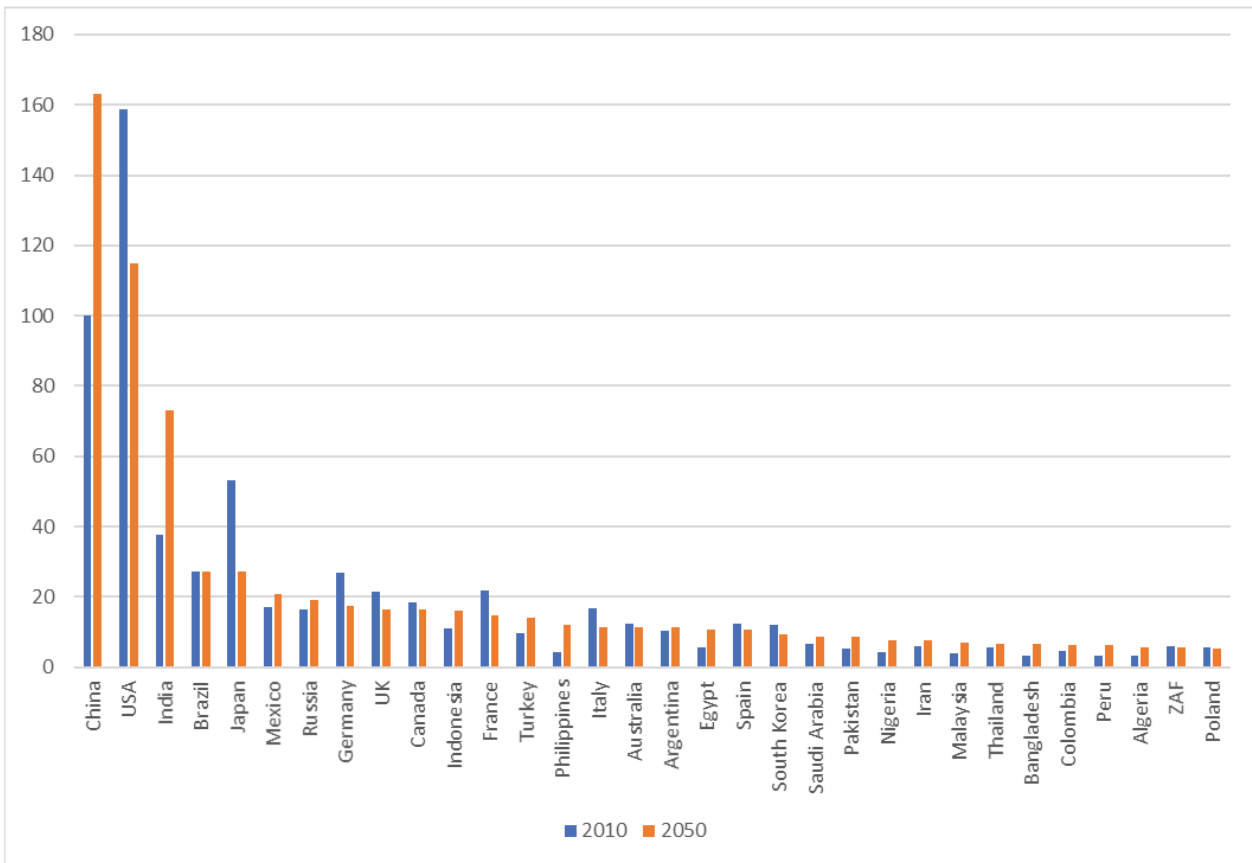
Position	2010		2050		Change of position 2010 relative to 2050
	Country	Economic Power [mM]	Country	Economic Power [mM]	
	WORLD	1000	WORLD	1000	
79	Yemen	0,749	Azerbaijan	1,023	Azerbaijan -18
80	Uganda	0,740	Jordan	1,020	Jordan +8
81	Croatia	0,709	Slovakia	0,935	Slovakia -11
82	Bolivia	0,672	Yemen	0,924	Yemen -2
83	Bulgaria	0,663	Costa Rica	0,879	Costa Rica +2
84	Turkmenistan	0,624	Honduras	0,845	Honduras +10
85	Costa Rica	0,621	Panama	0,843	Panama +2
86	Lebanon	0,574	Lebanon	0,825	Lebanon 0
87	Panama	0,563	Uruguay	0,756	Uruguay -9
88	Jordan	0,540	El Salvador	0,728	El Salvador +4
89	Ghana	0,531	Croatia	0,718	Croatia -7
90	Slovenia	0,512	Serbia	0,708	Serbia +5
91	Lithuania	0,482	Bulgaria	0,655	Bulgaria -7
92	El Salvador	0,473	Turkmenistan	0,624	Turkmenistan -16
93	Paraguay	0,452	Qatar	0,616	Qatar -14
94	Honduras	0,438	Lithuania	0,459	Lithuania -3
95	Serbia	0,415	BIH	0,457	BIH +3
96	Latvia	0,333	Slovenia	0,416	Slovenia -6
97	Luxembourg	0,302	Latvia	0,387	Latvia -1
98	BIH	0,301	Luxembourg	0,280	Luxembourg -1
99	Cyprus	0,248	Cyprus	0,277	Cyprus - 0
100	Bahrain	0,205	Bahrain	0,273	Bahrain - 0

In variant III, in 2050 the first three places coincide with those from variant II. Germany and France experience the biggest fall in position as well as, to a much lesser extent, Great Britain. Russia will advance from the 12th place in 2010 to the 7th place in 2050. Poland is falling by as much as 10 positions (from 22 to 32) with a small drop in power. Japan from the 3rd place in 2010 falls to the 5th place to the

group of local powers. Brazil will advance by one place while maintaining the same amount of power. Indonesia shifts from 16 to 11, getting half the power from variant I.

According to the forecast, a bipolar system is to be shaped in 2050, but a slight increase in India's power would transform it into a three-polar system. No state will meet the criteria for a superpower.

**Chart 13. International distribution of power based on the economic power (in mM) in the 2050 perspective – variant III (according to the order for 2050)**



**Variant IV - Forecast of the economic power based on the HSBC (2018) report**

1. GDP forecast in 2030 by HSBC: "The World in 2030. Our long-term projects for 75 countries", Economics Global, September 2018. HSBC forecasts GDP for 75 developed, emerging and peripheral economies (developed, emerging and frontier economies) in 2030.
2. The authors of the HSBC report adopted the following assumption: the average annual growth of global GDP between 2018 and 2030 for the world will be below 3%, which means that global GDP in 2030 will be by about 40% higher than in 2017.
3. Data for the world for 2018 was adopted according to World Bank data.
4. The population of the world in 2030 was assumed according to the forecast of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), (data as at: 03/03/2020).
5. The existing area of countries' area and the world was adopted as in variant I.

The results for the forecast calculated in this way are presented in Table 16.

Table 16. International distribution of power in the 2030 perspective based on the economic power

2018		2030		Change of position 2018 relative to 2030	
Country	Economic Power [mM]	Państwo	Economic Power [mM]		
1	China	160.861	China	186.988	China 0
2	USA	148.488	USA	133.893	USA 0
3	India	48.992	India	63.083	India 0
4	Japan	34.928	Brazil	30.698	Brazil +1
5	Brazil	30.364	Japan	28.062	Japan -1
6	Germany	27.520	Germany	23.611	Germany 0
7	Russia	26.206	Russia	22.535	Russia 0
8	France	21.582	Indonesia	20.112	Indonesia +3
9	UK	19.835	France	18.627	France -1
10	Canada	18.996	Mexico	18.372	Mexico +3
11	Indonesia	17.743	UK	17.575	UK -2
12	Italy	16.501	Canada	16.094	Canada -2
13	Mexico	16.212	Australia	14.101	Australia +1
14	Australia	15.185	Italy	13.508	Italy -2
15	Spain	12.913	Spain	11.250	Spain 0
16	South Korea	11.978	South Korea	10.969	South Korea 0
17	Turkey	10.975	Turkey	10.440	Turkey 0
18	Saudi Arabia	8.588	Argentina	8.793	Argentina +1
19	Argentina	8.483	Saudi Arabia	8.681	Saudi Arabia -1
20	Nigeria	7.960	Pakistan	8.403	Pakistan +2
21	Thailand	6.897	Nigeria	7.598	Nigeria -1
22	Pakistan	6.515	Bangladesh	7.041	Bangladesh +4
23	Poland	6.454	Thailand	6.674	Thailand -2
24	South Africa	6.292	Poland	6.465	Poland -1
25	Netherlands	5.555	Philippines	6.433	Philippines +2
26	Bangladesh	5.152	South Africa	5.807	South Africa -2
27	Philippines	5.119	Egypt	5.603	Egypt +4
28	Colombia	5.002	Vietnam	5.526	Vietnam +6
29	Sweden	4.980	Colombia	5.494	Colombia -1
30	Malaysia	4.807	Malaysia	4.977	Malaysia 0
31	Egypt	4.415	Netherlands	4.923	Netherlands -6
32	Switzerland	4.123	Peru	4.429	Peru +5
33	Belgium	3.867	Sweden	4.321	Sweden -4
34	Vietnam	3.863	Ethiopia	3.711	Ethiopia +8
35	Chile	3.854	Chile	3.652	Chile 0
36	Austria	3.614	Switzerland	3.541	Switzerland -4
37	Peru	3.563	Kazakhstan	3.529	Kazakhstan +2
38	Taiwan	3.539	Belgium	3.336	Belgium -5
39	Kazakhstan	3.413	ARE	3.232	ARE +2
40	Norway	3.305	Taiwan	3.178	Taiwan -2

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2018		2030		Change of position 2018 relative to 2030	
Country	Economic Power [mM]	Państwo	Economic Power [mM]		
41	ARE	3.126	Norway	3.015	Norway -1
42	Ethiopia	2.859	Kenya	2.947	Kenya +7
43	Finland	2.696	Austria	2.824	Austria -7
44	Ireland	2.686	Ukraine	2.657	Ukraine +6
45	Israel	2.680	Romania	2.629	Romania +3
46	Czech Rep.	2.678	Morocco	2.583	Morocco +7
47	Denmark	2.652	Czech Rep.	2.508	Czech Rep. -1
48	Romania	2.646	Israel	2.485	Israel -3
49	Kenya	2.287	Ireland	2.453	Ireland -5
50	Ukraine	2.219	Greece	2.161	Greece 1
51	Greece	2.196	Finland	2.094	Finland -8
52	Portugal	2.081	Portugal	2.082	Portugal 0
53	Morocco	2.068	Denmark	2.068	Denmark -6
54	Hungary	2.052	New Zealand	2.028	New Zealand +1
55	New Zealand	1.970	Sri Lanka	1.823	Sri Lanka +3
56	Hong Kong	1.870	Hong Kong	1.704	Hong Kong 0
57	Ghana	1.838	Hungary	1.575	Hungary -3
58	Sri Lanka	1.483	Singapore	1.548	Singapore +1
59	Singapore	1.409	CIV	1.519	CIV +3
60	Oman	1.282	Ghana	1.502	Ghana -3
61	Qatar	1.243	Kuwait	1.139	Kuwait +5
62	CIV	1.140	Tunisia	1.138	Tunisia +5
63	Croatia	1.033	Oman	1.039	Oman -3
64	Lithuania	0.965	Jordan	1.030	Jordan +6
65	Lebanon	0.931	Qatar	1.007	Qatar -4
66	Kuwait	0.912	Serbia	0.972	Serbia +3
67	Tunisia	0.798	Croatia	0.786	Croatia -4
68	Slovenia	0.795	Lebanon	0.723	Lebanon -3
69	Serbia	0.792	Lithuania	0.723	Lithuania -5
70	Jordan	0.750	Slovenia	0.613	Slovenia -2
71	Senegal	0.550	Senegal	0.595	Senegal 0
72	Burkina Faso	0.490	Burkina Faso	0.500	Burkina Faso 0
73	Estonia	0.362	Bahrain	0.428	Bahrain +1
74	Bahrain	0.279	Estonia	0.331	Estonia -1

According to the forecast, until 2030 a bipolar system will be shaped with a strong position of China, but a slight increase in the power of India would cause its transformation into a tri-polar system. China becomes a superpower. Japan falls into the category of local powers, while

Brazil falls into the group of regional powers (at the lower level of the scale).

## CONCLUSION

The calculations' results were based on the model developed by prof. Mirosław Sułek. The model is easy to understand and use. It allows for the calculation of three types of state power: economic power, military power and geopolitical power as a resultant of the previous two. Economic power consists of the following factors: economic - gross domestic product (GDP), demographic - population and geographical - area. Military power consists of the following factors: economic-military (military expenditure), demographic-military (number of active duty

### *4.1. Distribution of power based on the economic, military and geopolitical power*

Assuming economic power as a criterion, in 1992 a clear unipolar system was established, with the United States as the pole. Japan came second, followed by Germany, China, France, Italy, Russia, Great Britain and India. In 2018, the distribution of power changed significantly - a bipolar system was created between China and the United States, with China taking the first place for the second time in a row. Further places were taken by: India, Japan, Brazil, Germany, Russia, France, Great Britain and Canada.

Taking military power as a criterion, in 1992 a decidedly unipolar system was formed, with the United States at the forefront. Russia in the second place was almost three times weaker. Other places were taken by: China, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Japan, Saudi Arabia and Italy. In 2018, the system remained unipolar with the United States in the lead, which had more than double of China's power. The other places were

soldiers) and geographical (area). Geopolitical power is calculated as the arithmetic average of economic power and doubled military power.

The applied model allows also for the calculation of derivative quantities (militarization); describing countries in terms of their power status; constructing power cycles and indication of winners and losers in the race for power. The numerical form of power indicators gives broad forecasting possibilities.

taken by: India, Russia, Saudi Arabia, France, Brazil, Japan, Great Britain and South Korea.

Assuming geopolitical power as a criterion, in 1992 the system was unipolar, lead by the United States, which maintained a three-fold advantage over Russia. Further places were granted to: China, Japan, Germany, France, Great Britain, India, Italy and Canada. In 2018, the bipolar system created by the United States and China was maintained. It is a "weak" or "unbalanced" bipolar system, because the advantage of the United States is almost double.

It should be remembered that the most reliable comparisons of changes in the international distribution of power over long periods should be based on economic power. In short term - in ongoing policy-making, military power comes to the fore and hence geopolitical power.

### *4.2. Militarization*

We calculate the militarization of power in three forms as: economic militarization, which is the share of military power in economic power, GDP

militarization, which is the share of military expenditure in GDP, and demographic militarization, which is the share of the number of active service soldiers in the whole population (with appropriate exponents - according to with model).

In 1992, the most militarized states in economic terms were: Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, Jordan, Oman, Bulgaria, Armenia, Turkmenistan, ARE and Russia. The arrangement of countries was slightly different according to the GDP militarization. Here in the first places were: Kuwait, Mongolia, Vietnam, Turkmenistan, Bulgaria, Oman, Mozambique, Armenia and Jordan. Yet another ranking is based on the criterion of demographic militarization. The highest ranks were taken by: Israel, Syria, ARE, Jordan, Croatia, Iraq, Taiwan, Russia, Libya and Oman.

In 2018, the order of countries according to the above criterion changed significantly. The most militarized countries in economic terms included: Oman, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Israel, Armenia, Iraq, Jordan, Iran, Algeria, and Lebanon. The order of countries according to the GDP militarization was as follows: Oman, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Algeria, Israel, Kuwait, Iran, Mali and Armenia. The countries most demographically militarized in 2018 were: North Korea, Israel, South Sudan, Brunei, Armenia, Greece, Singapore, Cyprus, South Korea and Sri Lanka.

### *4.3. Status of power*

In terms of economic power, in the years 1992-2018 the United States maintained the status of a world power, with the exception of 2001-2002, when they were a superpower. China began as a regional power (in the years 1992-2003), then achieved the status of a great power (in the years 2004-2011) and subsequently in the years 2012-2018 reached the status of a global power (on a par with the USA). India was also promoted - in 1992-2002 it

was a local power, and in the following years - a regional power. Japan, being a regional power and a great power, has remained at the regional power level since 1996. Russia remained a local power for most of the time, with breaks in 2008 and 2011-2014, when it was a regional power. Germany fell from the level of the regional power in years 1992-2004 to the local power in years 2010-2018. France and Great Britain remained local powers.

In terms of military power, the United States maintained the position of the only superpower, while China was a regional power twice (in 1992-2000 and in 2005-2010) and twice a great power (in 2001-2004). Until 2008, India was at the level of a local power, and then - a regional power. Russia went through four levels - in 1992 and in years 1994-2000 it was a great power, in 1993 - a world power, in 2005 - a local power, while since 2006 it has remained a regional power.

### *4.4. Winners and losers*

We consider the biggest winners and the biggest losers only in terms of economic power. It is the most objective measure, because in the short term it does not depend on the decisions of politicians, in contrast to military power and indirectly - geopolitical power. We can see a very interesting picture here, partly surprising. In the analysed period 1992-2018 we had a lot of spectacular winners and several spectacular losers. States have been ranked according to percentage increases/decreases in power.

As the warfare for power is a zero-sum game, if someone wins, someone has to lose. The group of the biggest winners among the states in terms of economic power includes, among others, China, Vietnam, India, Nigeria, and Indonesia. Saudi Arabia, as well as most European post-communist countries, including Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. Winners include also some highly

developed countries, such as Israel and South Korea.

The biggest losers in terms of economic power include: Japan, Italy, Greece, Germany, France, Sweden and other Western European countries, as well as South Africa. The United States and Russia also belong to this group, but the decrease in their power was small.

It is easy to notice that in terms of power, the biggest winners are the moderately developed and underdeveloped states which have joined the globalization processes. Thanks to these processes the level of development is levelling, which means that population is becoming an increasingly accurate measure of the power of states. If the level of development were uniform throughout the world, the population would be a satisfactory measure of power. The biggest losers here - with few exceptions - are Western countries.

In the regional system, the winners include: South Asia (most of the region), Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia and the Pacific, South America and the Caribbean. The losers are: Europe and Central Asia as well as North America (to a small extent).

A "common wisdom" asserts that, as a result of globalization, the division into the poor and the rich is deepening. In the light of the research, this thesis turns out to be false. The presented changes in the international distribution of power lead to the conclusion that the international system existing in the last 27 years has contributed to the decisive improvement of the position of underdeveloped states, mainly in Africa and Asia.

This conclusion should not be a surprise. Globalization implies a far-reaching expansion of the scope of cooperation between nations, and cooperation (free movement) triggers equality tendencies (on the same principle, the level of water, temperature, pressure, etc. equalizes).

#### *4.5. Distribution of power between regions*

In the historically short period of time, in the years 1992-2018, there were significant shifts in the regional distribution of power. Power gains were noted by: South Asia (to the greatest extent); Middle East and North Africa as well as Sub-Saharan Africa. The winners also include East Asia and the Pacific (its growth was weakened by the outflow of power from Japan) as well as South America and the Caribbean. Europe and Central Asia as well as - to a lesser extent - North America suffered the most.

#### *4.6. The East - West*

In the period under consideration, i.e. in the years 1992-2018, the gap between the economic power of the West and the East was rapidly narrowing. In 2011, this gap closed. Two trends have led to this - a systematic decline in Western power and a rapid increase (especially since the beginning of the new century) of Eastern power. After 2011, the rate of decline of the West's power slowed down; the pace of East's power growth also deteriorated. This means that the East and the West remain in strategic balance and this condition may persist for quite a long time.

#### *4.7. Forecasts*

Four variants of forecasts were prepared in the paper - three in the 2050 perspective and one in the 2030 perspective.

In the 2050 perspective, according to the three variants of the forecasts of economic power, big changes are to come in the international distribution of power - all of them envisage a significant strengthening of China and India and a significant

decline of the United States and Japan. Variants II and III gave very similar results, with one important exception. It concerns Russia - its power in Variant II is up to 70% higher than in Variant III. A characteristic feature of Variant I is, in turn, that China clearly exceeds the criteria of a superpower, which seems very unlikely. Variant I presents the perspective of a three-polar system, while variants II and III - of a bipolar system, in all three cases with a clear predominance of China.

In the 2030 perspective (Variant IV), a clearly bipolar system will be formed - India will be over two times weaker than second in the ranking the US which will maintain its power at slightly lower level than currently.

The largest discrepancies in the assessment of the power of states relate to India and Russia, the latter one - in variants I and II - returns to the group of regional powers.

## 5 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

n/a	- no available
ARE	- United Arab Emirates
ATG	- Antigua and Barbuda
BIH	- Bosnia and Herzegovina
CAF	- Central African Republic
CIV	- Côte d'Ivoire
COD	- Democratic Republic of the Congo
KNA	- Saint Kitts and Nevis
PNG	- Papua New Guinea
STP	- Sao Tome and Principe
TTO	- Trinidad and Tobago
VCT	- Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

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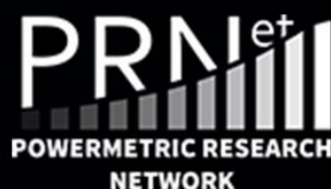
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*The fundamental concept in social science is Power in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics.*

*Bertrand Russel*

*The most important feature of every international system is the distribution of power.*

*Raymond Aron*



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