

Soft Power Vs Super Power– Whither India?Nasreen Ghani^{1*}, Dr. Premalatha. S²¹Research Scholar REVA University Bengaluru, India²Asst. Prof, REVA University, Bengaluru- India***Corresponding author**

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Abstract: Shashi Tharoor, one of the diehard Indologists, is a staunch supporter of the theory that India is one of the credible contenders in the race for 21st Century superpower; however, he is of the opinion that India has to face numerous domestic and international challenges before it can aspire to even participate in the race for hard power supremacy in the near future. He argues that India would do well if it can concentrate on improving its soft power and at the same time eradicating poverty and politico-economical backwardness and establish internal and external peace and security. Shashi Tharoor warns the Indian masses and the political leaders that any venture of India to play Big Brother in the Asiatic region or any attempt to communalize India will equivocally have disastrous consequences and such a turn of events would certainly make the chances of India becoming a superpower in the 21st Century even remote and almost fantastic unless India strives hard to use its natural soft power more effectively and become a smart power instead of a superpower.

Keywords: Concept of soft power – relevance of soft power – the Western and Eastern concept of power – the shift of power bloc in the 21st Century – the race for hard power supremacy in the Asiatic region between China and India – the unique potential of Indian soft power in the present world – the geopolitical role of India for the future.

INTRODUCTION

Shashi Tharoor's Vision for 21st Century India. Do not try to remake India in a way that undermines its soft power because our civilizational ethos has been the immeasurable asset for our country and it is bipolar. We do not allow specter of religious intolerance and political opportunism to undermine our soft power in the 21st century. I think, this country with all these qualities inherited from millennia of living as an example of this sort of culture has the soft power that would truly make it the influential leader in the 21st century. - Shashi Tharoor

What is power really? What is the meaning of 'power balance' in the international arena between the colonizer and the colonized, big and small, developed and developing, first, second and third world countries and of course the fourth also? Can there be something called eternal power and interminable dominance of the small by the big, the strong over the weak? Does it all finally filter down to the same old jungle law of the survival of the fittest, the meek lambs scared into silence by the teeth and claw of the ferocious, the impoverished eaten by the overfed? Is it the physical size in relation to each other a determining factor or the capability of cruelty that one is able to manifest to the other that makes one superior? Is it military might or economic prosperity? Is it the ability to exert force on others or the ability to lead others by example or having a fantastic success story to tell? In today's world of

changing power blocs, what type of image should India adopt to make her a promising country and retain her illustrious emblem of an ancient enticing land? What course of internal administration and foreign policymaking would empower India in the present and coming centuries and what are the basic premises she has to fulfill before such a stage is achieved, at the same time taking into account all the shortfalls of a long colonized third world country left utterly vandalized and shamefully bankrupt just a few decades ago?

DISCUSSION

The answers to all these questions are obviously various, complicated and always would remain debatable. Firstly, however, the definition of power itself has vastly changed since the last century when brutal force and military might determined the superiority of a country. The powerful colonizing countries raided the weak, disoriented and unsuspecting countries with modern weapons and stunned them into subjugation; for centuries, raping, looting and enslaving whole nations across continents. However, today the very word 'power' has become an archaic abomination and any exertion of physical power over the weak by the strong is universally looked down upon and invites immediate international criticism and condemnation. As Anne O'Hare McCormick puts it "*Today the real test of power is not capacity to make war but capacity to prevent it.*"

Secondly, we have entered a new digital era where the common man is empowered with the newfound gifts of internet, social media and the mass media where anyone can access firsthand actual facts and figures without the alterations and adaptations of the governments or censored public information. Thirdly, speed of travel and communication and ease of logistics has shrunk the world into a global village with a global market and global citizenry where not much important role is left for governments of countries to play except enforcing law and maintaining order within and the borders. Sadly, however, the scientists have usurped all the meanings of the word 'power' and dedicated it wholly to the militaries of their governments equipping them with nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, but the irony is that in the present networked global community, any small shift in the power balance is felt like a mega tectonic shock all over the world; for example, the tiny toy lands of North Korea and Iran openly challenging the mighty colossus America with proliferated thermonuclear weapons and though martially most powerful in the world, America cannot retaliate fearing global condemnation but be infinitely tolerant and abide its time and buy time to save its face. Fourthly, our world is fast moving towards a borderless universe without the need for passports and there is a modern trend towards love, peace and universalism among the third world Asiatic free nations who are just keen to get on with the business in hand, let bygone be bygone and move towards a more holistic epoch in the 21st century that would bring a new dawn to the poor and oppressed nations that have suffered silently all these centuries.

At last, since the dawn of this century, Asia's sleeping giants are finally awake and how they fit into the new multilateral system is therefore of extraordinary importance to themselves and to the world. In other words, the power balance has now shifted from the West to the East and a new Asiatic era is at hand and India and China are the two countries already at the helm of affairs in this region and there are every chance that India would outrace China in the next few decades and become a superpower, but only if it maintains its soft power outlook.

The concept of 'power' is indeed central to international relations. There are various perspectives from which academicians have considered the theory of power with the common general idea being that power reflects the ability of one entity influencing another entity. The theory of power over centuries from Thucydides following on to Machiavelli, Michel Foucault, Kautilya and Robert Dahl who propagated the theory of "*power of one causing the other to do something that the other would not have done otherwise*" is among the most widely accepted theories. Machiavelli in his work, *The Prince*[1], separating the idea of ethics and politics, asserts that a lawfully governed state is one which is well-armed and believes

that *it is better for a ruler to be feared rather than loved*. Considering this idea of power, there are various angles from which power can be viewed: who wields power, how does one wield power, what are the elements of power and what the purpose of power is. The dimensions of power include scope, domain, weight, costs and means which could include symbolic means, economic means, military means and diplomatic means. In world politics, considering the entity who wields power, there exists the idea of "superpower". Superpower is defined as "*an extremely powerful nation; an international governing body able to enforce its will upon the most powerful states*". The term "superpower" was coined by American professor William Fox where he considered United States, Britain and the Soviet Union as the three superpowers. Following that, the term was used during the Cold War where the United States and the Soviet Union were the superpowers at that time. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the current idea of superpower states is flexible and ranges from defining United States as the sole superpower to a number of potential or emerging superpowers like the European Union, India, China and Russia. Power, however, is not just something exercised by governments of superpowers. There are also a number of state actors, non-state institutions, nonprofit organizations and other powerful players that are further the cause in their own way and influence the total power of a nation.

One of the most discussed ways to wield power in today's global political scenario are hard and soft power. Hard power involves using military or economic coercion to influence another. Hard power has been used for a long time now by governments for wielding authority over another to forcefully gain what they desired. Historically, revolutions, wars, conquests and other such forces have resulted in successful empires. However, it has been proven that the image of the country in the wider world drops significantly and this could be a deterrent for the country's global political success in the long run. The United States' controversial wars on Vietnam and Iraq have been prime examples of how hard power had failed to achieve anything praiseworthy but only besmeared the global image of America. In contrast, the elements of soft power include values, policies, culture and institutions.

For several decades in the past, it was the Western political view of nations that defined how its citizens perceived them. During the Cold War period, the very mention of Asia conjured up images of underclothed, underfed and overpopulated nations preaching socialist dogma and political revolution and disconnected from the mainstream post two world wars consumerist Western mindset. During the 1960s, both India and China enjoyed a brief ascent in cultural imagination but faced cultural regression in the 1970s, mainly because their socialist utopias aimed at offering

the world an alternative to US capitalism that tragically failed. The ensuing political turmoil and economic stagnation, the Maoist years in China and pre-reform years in India, led to a creative drought and cultural catharsis. Censorship and lingering colonial cultural impositions stifled creativity, but now in the beginning of the 21st century, both India and China have opened up their minds and markets and a whole new generation with new levels of sophistication has come to the realm of things both nationally and internationally. In other words, globalization and declining ethnic prejudice has brought about a new mindset among the new generation Eastern and Western youth and this trend seems most likely to continue in the coming centuries.

The foremost proponent of the concept of soft power, Joseph S. Nye [2] described soft power as a tool used by countries to *“obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it.”* One of the leading modern Indologists Shashi Tharoor, a contemporary comrade of Nye, sought his permission to apply his theory of soft power to the Indian context and he makes a very good point about soft power working for India instead of the might of the country’s army. He states that showing people the true colors of the country and positive aspects of the country will be more likely to entice people to like India instead of showing their military strength. The soft power of a desirable country is just like the ideals outlined in the Constitution for Europe: *“Respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. Moreover, the societies of the Member States are characterized by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men.”* Mahatma Gandhi put it the best seventy-five ago when he said *‘I want my country to be a house with all its doors and windows open so the winds of the world can blow through the house, provided I am strong enough to stand on my feet and not be blown off my feet by these winds’.* In the same vein, Shashi Tharoor also says, *“The idea of India that I have often talked about is of one land embracing many, a land where you can overcome divisions of cast, creed, color, culture, custom, costume, conviction, consonant, cuisine. You name it but we still have to rally around the consensus and that consensus is on the principle that in a diverse democracy like ours, you don’t really need to agree all the time. So long as you will agree on the ground rules of how you will disagree. That has been the big strength of our society and our culture and that lies at the core of the appeal of our soft power in the world.”* Fortunately, this is what India’s experience of globalization has until now been and we have in many ways absorbed foreign influences and transformed them into Indian ones.

Soft power is certainly about an image that includes not just ancient cultural and civilizational ties but existing economic and societal success stories. The image of India impacts people by achieving technological milestones, uplifting its masses and promoting social equality and this image in turn creates a favorable scenario for furthering Indian interests in cooperation with other countries rather than coercion. However, in today’s world, hard power without soft power stirs up resentments and enmities but soft power without hard power is a confession of weakness. We like relying on soft power because that is what we are good at and we have to accept the fact that we are not so good on hard power.

The image of India just by achieving technological milestones, uplifting its masses and promoting social equality, impacts the opinion of the international countries about India and this image in turn creates a favorable scenario for furthering Indian interests in cooperation with other countries rather than resorting to coercion which India has never done in the past nor is there scope for adopting such an attitude in its foreign policy and international diplomacy.

Now, as India and China are acquiring their own brand of soft power and shaping their own image, they are turning the tables and capturing the mind of the West by their orientalism - a stage on which the whole East is confined in order to make the Eastern world less mysterious to the West and also the true realization that it is primarily the West which is the cause of colonialism and racism and they have done a great injustice *per se* to the world order today.

Globalization, universalism, religious tolerance, ethnic and cultural mingling of the East has led to a surge in Asia's soft power as a whole and out of the 48 countries in Asia, India and China have the most powerful commercial and geopolitical undercurrents in influencing the future of the world itself. Even before globalization, Asia's soft power had powerful commercial and geopolitical undercurrents, especially art and culture of Asia has always sought to achieve universalism of expression. So, one would expect nations to cheer this cultural mingling of the East and the West. This turn of events and trend of the future is encouraging for both China and India, who are now compelled to pursue a decent public diplomacy and maintain cordial overseas public relations and work hard towards promoting cultural exports and image campaigns.

In this situation, India's use of soft power as a foreign policy tool and maintaining internal political stability is the only way that India could pip China in the geopolitical race for commercial credibility and political stability. Indeed, India has been successful in projecting her image as the most desirable country to the foreigners to invest and prosper and a promising

land where, unlike China, one can already see the sprouts of democracy and the blooms of individual independence.

From a global perspective, India's soft power is already strong and it has been so long before such a concept was conceived by Joseph Nye in 1990. For centuries, India's soft power has already been recognized in many parts of the world, where people learned about and accessed the arts and culture of one of the world's oldest civilizations. It is in the past decade that India has increased its use of soft power and wielded its soft power in a more systematic way in the practice of diplomacy. Several initiatives have been launched to push India to the forefront of the international community, including the creation in 2006 of a separate division for public diplomacy within the Ministry of External Affairs, the worldwide expansion of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), the Ministry of Tourism's 'Incredible India' campaign, the wonderful work of the Ministry for Overseas Indians, and the humanitarian specialist medical help provided by India to Pakistan and Afghanistan patients. Also, it should be noted that after weeks of diplomatic negotiations India and China agreed to disengage from the standoff on the Doklam plateau. A consensus was arrived on a formula according to which China promised to make necessary adjustments to its troop deployments, after Indian troops withdrew back to their posts in Sikkim. The process of disengagement by border personnel had been almost completed under verification from both sides, indicating that no more troops were expected on the face off point at Doklam and both countries reverted back to status quo ante. The very fact that both countries have been able to issue statements, even if they were designed to satisfy their domestic audiences, suggests that in diplomatic negotiations, each took into account the other's constraints. In issuing statements that were contradicting with each other, both sides seem to have agreed to disagree.

India has in the last decade proved itself by improving in ease of doing business and other improved indicators like dealing with construction permits, paying taxes, enforcing contracts, getting credit, protecting minority investors and resolving insolvency. For instance, the Global Entrepreneurship Summit 2017 inaugurated by Ivanka Trump was attended by more than 1200 young entrepreneurs from 127 countries, a majority of whom were women. The main agenda of the summit is based on empowering women and celebrating their victory. The event witnessed more than 50% of women delegates. This initiative will open doors of possibilities for young women entrepreneurs who have the potential to contribute towards creating a new India by 2022. With its improved position, India is ready to attract global investments as well as domestic investments. It should also be noted that India has been able to achieve spectacular milestones within the past

few years and laying claim to a major role in space research equal to that of the superpowers. Again, it has been a praiseworthy achievement that India was admitted to Wassenaar Arrangement (and also MTCR) as a new member while China (which always stonewalled India's entry into the 48-nation NSG) was denied this honor. There is every hope that shortly India would be conferred the crucial membership in the NSG which is expected to raise India's stature further.

India's humanitarian aid programs in its neighborhood and in Africa have been characterized by a willingness to let the recipient set the terms, respect for the priorities and the culture of the recipients and a focus on projects that promote self-reliance, economic growth and political democracy including women's empowerment. Though some 75% of India's aid is tied to the provision of goods and services from Indian suppliers, it has by and large been welcomed as helpful, less intrusive and less disruptive than other the traditional donors' aid programs have tended to be. As such it now forms an essential part of India's projection to the world that echoes ancient Indian wisdom. However, it is an appreciable and tangible fact that the world's largest democracy is moving in the right direction.

However powerful a geopolitical tool soft power may be, yet in the Indian context, extensive use of soft power can still have limited effect in terms of nurturing stronger relations with other countries. Currently, India does not figure in the list of top 30 countries in terms of soft power. India remains a minor soft power in the contemporary world. India does not at this stage possess a coherent message or image. India is still having difficulties in changing its neighbors' behaviors by using soft power. Neighboring countries with weak democracies and frequent political transitions continue to be threatened by India's strong and stable democracy. There is also little proof as yet of Indian soft power shaping foreign policy of other countries towards India or India's policy towards others.

A conference was organized by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study in 2015 in Shimla on the topic The Main Forms of Soft Power: India and the World, which discussed Nye's perception of soft power and the case of India. Regarding soft power, some of the assumptions at stake are as follows — soft power is cultural power; economic strength is soft power; soft power is more human than hard power; hard power can be measured while soft power cannot; and soft power is difficult to use. Analysts say soft power has the potential to multiply the efforts of Indian diplomacy and in this regard should be pursued as an important objective. The promotion of India's soft power should be aimed at meeting the country's foreign policy objectives and showing its willingness to play a bigger role in global politics. It will help propel India to a

position of an emerging country with the potential of becoming a huge economic success story.

The passionate use of India's soft-power assets through both an effective media management strategy and an intelligent use of social media while has helped improve India's image before the international community, the effect in terms of stronger relations with other countries has remained rather limited. There are also numerous challenges that India needs to face before it can fully emerge as a global leader. For instance, India's 1971 intervention in Bangladesh set the country on the long and winding road to democracy, while its 1988 role in the Maldives helped to prolong the life of an authoritarian regime. More recently, New Delhi helped the military junta in Myanmar, but voted against Sri Lanka's human rights record in the UN's Human Rights Council. It also contributed to installing democracy in Afghanistan. Longstanding tensions, governance deficits and territorial disputes threaten to disrupt the rising nation's ambitions to emerge as the leading integrative power. A future marked by growing competition, disruptive military developments and rapidly calcifying security dilemmas will leave little time for the more vigorous and open engagement of these past two decades. More than nonalignment or the quest for autonomy, the governing principle of India's foreign policy since independence has been its extreme flexibility in the face of rapidly evolving, yet continuously challenging, strategic circumstances.

However, of late, the soft image of India, that of an ancient dignified land of wisdom where migrants of almost all the races in the world live together amicably and joyously, a country that is the most tolerant and tirelessly striving towards the single goal of universal peace and good of one and all, is undergoing a metamorphosis. At the present time, there is a dangerous trend developing internally within the country that is more harmful to the inherited positive image of India than the chain of terrorism all around India. With the latest unexpected political developments and religious unrest spreading across the country, there seems to be a new image of India of martial hard power, hardcore fundamentalism and mindless selectivism developing, which of course is damaging to the hitherto global perception of India, that in turn squarely affects the very development of the country and destroys the prospect of India becoming an influential global leader in the near future and also lead to nationwide religious and ethnic rifts that would in turn plunge the country into the darkness of regression.

It is this dangerous trend that many political thinkers, intellectuals and artists of the country are fighting hard against and among them Shashi Tharoor is the most prominent and persistent. "India is fast becoming a superpower", says Shashi Tharoor [3] "not just through trade and politics, but through "soft" power, its ability to share its culture with the world

through food, music, technology, Bollywood". He argues that in the long run it is not the size of the army that matters as much as a country's ability to influence the world's hearts and minds. Noting that India's soft power has a claim to the world, Tharoor said that the roots of India's soft power run deep. "Our civilization over millennia offered religious and cultural freedom as well as a refuge to all sorts of groups. India is a country in which all major religions peacefully coexist". In the present globalised world, everywhere there is so much of backlash against immigration, but India's diversity itself is a symbol of her soft power. Shashi Tharoor states the plain fact that, "We are all minorities in India and that is the whole strength of India..... Acceptance rather than tolerance is the Indian secret. That is why we are stronger in 21st century world".

However, he warns that "As a society, we have celebrated our diversity, our pluralism, our democracy, our freedom in a way that we imply to take them for granted. We have to solve our internal problems before we can truly aspire to play the role of leadership in the world. We are in the process of doing precisely that. We want to conquer the challenge of development. Not just jihadi terrorism but the problem of hunger and poverty is also part of our problem. I think that unfortunately given free rein to others which have promoted attitude of bigotry and intolerance that should have no place in the narrative. That is also inescapable part, sadly of today's Indian reality," Tharoor rues.

Shashi Tharoor has cautioned against remaking India in a way that undermines its soft power, saying this quality of Indian culture has the potential to make the country truly an "influential" leader in the 21st century. Tharoor [4] however opines that India has to solve its "internal problems" like terrorism and poverty first before it can aspire to play the role of leadership in the world. He says that there are aspects of Indian society and culture that the world found more attractive than just government initiative. He says "Today those aspects may not directly persuade them about India, but they go a long way to enhance India's standing in the world".

Tharoor condemns the very question of categorizing India into one particular religion and religious faith and says that the idea flies in the face of India's own vibrant culture. He says "It is not just the breadth but the depth of this cultural heritage that India's soft power lies. The fact that we are a land of such rich diversities and one that does not impose narrow conformities...The whole thing about India is that you can be many things and be one thing. It is an important lesson in a world in which we are all trying to grapple how to manage diversity".

Tharoor advises the people of the nation that it is important to resist the attempts that undermine the qualities of Indian culture. *"Resist them not in purely political bipartisan spirit but rather as proud Indians because we are conscious of what we are proud of in our civilization. We are conscious of the qualities which are so attractive about our culture, that give us soft power in the world. We do not want those qualities undermined recklessly by irresponsible often semi-educated people who have been given a free hand by those in power."*

Talking about India becoming the next superpower, Tharoor is actually wary of all the hype towards his country. While accepting the facts that India will be more populated than China by 2030 and India is near the top for military strength, nuclear power, and economic strength when the rest of the world is faltering, he says that the attraction India has toward other countries is mainly based on its soft power. He claims that India has soft power which allows other countries to like India's culture, political values and foreign policies. While asserting that India's biggest asset is its soft power, Shashi Tharoor does admit India actually does not have any meaningful government program to attract people of other nations. In spite of that, India's soft power is emerging on its own. For instance, Bollywood and Indian television serials have won acclaim and fans worldwide. Yoga clubs and Ayurveda units are proliferating abroad and even Indian cuisine has become very popular in various parts of the world. He opines that Indian culture could be a very good instrument to improve the resources of the nation but we are not focusing deeply on this tool of mass appeal efficiently.

"Soft power is made partly from governments but also partly despite governments," says Shashi Tharoor. He also goes on to say that a very important key to soft power is communications. He says that India has come a long way, becoming the most connected country by having the most news channels in the world and sell 15 million cell phones a month where 20 years ago even landline telephones were difficult to obtain. India also develops soft power through entertainment with Bollywood making films that people enjoy worldwide and soap operas that are the biggest hit in even Pakistan and Afghanistan. He says stereotypes are changing about Indians from snake charmers to technology whizzes and computer gurus. He also highlights the greatness of Indian religious tolerance pointing the fact that although India has a majority of people who are Hindu, the country has had many presidents and prime ministers of other minority religions.

Shashi Tharoor is very clear that only the soft power of India can work by attracting the minds of the people instead of trying in vain to pose as a superpower fighting and terrorizing other countries. This will allow

people from other countries see what India is like to live in and how good the lifestyle can be. However, India may not be the best example of that now, because of the large amount of poverty India has and there is still a very large population that live in the slums. India's soft power may show all the good parts in India, but what about the poverty? Is it not a fact that India can be on its road to super power but it is also super poor?

The fact is that our poverty completely undermines any such claims of India becoming a superpower even in the distant future because of the lack of development in many areas both with regard to the hardware of development like infrastructure, ports, roads, railways and the software of development of basic needs like housing, sanitation and education. There are many areas where we still have to make a lot of progress before we can speak in terms of India as a superpower but we can certainly speak in terms of India as a super soft power.

Stating that India is at the center of four crucial global debates, *"bread versus freedom, centralization versus federalism, pluralism versus fundamentalism and globalization versus self-sufficiency,"* Shashi Tharoor [5] suggests that India's answers to these issues would be central to the world. He said, *"India can contribute much to the world. Its young people are a productive dynamic workforce, provided right actions are taken, while the size of its market is a potential engine for the global economy."*

In geopolitical terms, with its one-sixth population of the world, India is part of the shift in global power, being part of many different groups of nations. India must use its soft power to obtain desired cooperation from other countries on world issues. This step is especially relevant in current times as India plays an important role in global issues like climate change, terrorism, labor and trade regulations and involvement in Asia.

India's soft power specifically lies in effectively dealing with international terrorism, security and defense issues, climate change, sustainable development and engagement in civil society, education and culture. India should also leverage its soft power to tackle its internal challenges like food security and poor infrastructure. Lamenting over the country's deficiencies despite becoming economically very strong, Shashi Tharoor is categorical that no foreign policy of India would be efficacious unless it attended to the internal challenges of the nation and there should be an earnest attempt to transform Indian villages. India's foreign policy could be justified only if its security, prosperity and the wellbeing of the people were taken care of. Advocating a more pragmatic approach, Shashi Tharoor advocates, India to maintain cordial relations with the countries that would invest in India and help the country meet challenges of grave

magnitude. He says that India should free itself not only of terrorism but also of the daily terror of poverty by leveraging its soft power. Also, good judgment of citizens is essential for freedom and as public perceptions are increasingly manipulated, there is a risk of misjudging what is real and what is artificial. China, India and the US are working hard at public diplomacy. Like consumer marketers competing for a slice of public mindshare, all three nations are vying to win hearts and minds of the people of the world through their own brand soft power; however, the greatness of soft power lies in the fact that this battle for minds is not gory as the war of hard power.

CONCLUSION

India can join the ranks of the superpower. Obviously, there is still a lot of work to do because the spread of wealth is extreme and infrastructure still needs massive improvement. India's troubled neighborhood, complex domestic politics and limited capacity inhibit the ability of India to emerge as one of the shapers of the emerging international order. India's partnership with other Asiatic countries is very important to shape the emerging norms and regimes, particularly on energy, food, climate, oceans and cyber security. Despite limitations, India increasingly has the ideas, people, and tools to shape the global order – just as Jawaharlal Nehru said, *“not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially.”*

As for India's soft power trumping hard power in the 21st Century, it is a great ideal but still in its fanciful infancy stage. Some might think of it as an impossible idealistic dream but great things always start the same way! We have to universally wish and dream it first, of course with our eyes wide open!

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