PRN et
POWERMETRIC RESEARCH NETWORK

NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES

2019

ROBERT BIAŁOSKÓRSKI

ŁUKASZ KICZMA

MIROSŁAW SUŁEK

NATIONAL POWER RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES 2019

Robert Białoskórski

Łukasz Kiczma

Mirosław Sułek

Warsaw 2019

Affiliation:
Prof. dr hab. Mirosław Sułek
University of Warsaw, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies,
Institute of International Relations

Dr hab. inż. Robert Białoskórski
Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities, Faculty of Humanities,
Social Sciences and Security Institute

Mgr Łukasz Kiczma
PhD Student, University of Wroclaw, Faculty of Social Sciences,
Institute of International Studies

The publisher is not responsible for the content and views expressed in this study.

Sheet of pub. **2,2**

*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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

The power of countries, their estimations and their measurements have always been an issue of interest for military leaders, rulers and politicians, who needed fairly objective decision parameters. These expectations were initially addressed by philosophers, only to be subsequently replaced by specialized researchers.

The power of participants of international relations is studied within the subdiscipline of geopolitics – *powermetrics* – applied science concerned with measurements, estimates and assessment of power of participants in social life, especially that of particular states, as well as with modelling, simulations and forecasting of the relations between them, from a global, regional and local perspective.

However, it was only after the Second World War, which resulted in the division of the world into hostile camps, that this field of study began to thrive. This was prompted by a dynamic development of other scientific disciplines such as economics, econometrics, game theory, cybernetics and IT.

Powermetric studies intensified after the Cold War. The simplicity and stability of the bipolar system disappeared, followed by the formation of a new international order whose main feature is growing instability. This generated new interest in the study of the international balance of power, this time not only on the part of world leaders, politicians and commanders, but also the society at large, which now, thanks to the Internet, is able to keep track of the developments, exchange opinions and judgements on the international balance of power. Geopolitics was then also revived, as one of the scientific ways to study international relations.

There have emerged many models and concepts for measuring the power of individual states. This Report presents a uniform methodology, based on measurements of the power of states according to the formal model developed by Mirosław Sułek, professor of the University of Warsaw. This method, hereinafter referred to as the Sułek model, is based on the measurement of three types of state power – economic (general), military and geopolitical, and a derivative – militarization.

This Report presents changes in the international balance of power after the Cold War and covers the years 1992-2017, i.e. in the period from the end of the Cold War to the year in which the most recent statistical data is available. It was prepared to better understand the present and future changes taking place in the international system. We believe that this should lead to building better strategies in the area of state security and development.

The subject of the study presented in this Report is *the international balance of power*, understood as the balance of power between individual states. This means that all non-state actors are omitted in the study. The international balance of power is presented in a synthetic way, as it is based on a formula which we believe is easy to understand and apply also by non-specialists. At the same time, we accept Raymond Aron's proposition, according to which the *distribution of power is the most important feature of any international system*.

This Report does not refer to *hard power, soft power, smart power, sticky power* or *sharp power*. Our calculations of military power do not include nuclear weapons. Non-state actors are also omitted.

II. SUMMARY

This Report presents changes in the international balance of power after the Cold War, i.e. in the years 1992-2017. For this purpose, a special methodology was adopted, which enabled us to estimate three types of state power: economic (general) power, military power (which is part of the economic power) and geopolitical power (which is the resultant of the economic and the military power).

- According to the above division, in 1992 there was a clearly unipolar system, represented in all its aspects by the United States.
- In 2017, the situation changed radically, with the emergence of a bipolar system of power (USA – China), founded on the basis of the economic power, while the unipolar system remained unchanged in terms of military power. As far as the geopolitical power is concerned, there emerged a "weak" bipolar system, with a large advantage of the USA).

Three forms of state militarization are referred to in this Report: economic (general) militarization, expressed by the share of the military power in the economic power; militarization of GDP, expressed by the share of military expenditures in a country's GDP, and demographic militarization, expressed in terms of the number of active soldiers in the general population with appropriate exponents, in accordance with the model.

- In 1992, the most militarized countries in economic terms included: Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, Jordan, Oman, Bulgaria, Armenia, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates and Russia.
- In 2017, the order of countries ranked according to the above criterion changed significantly. The most militarized countries included: Oman, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Israel, Iraq,

Armenia, Jordan, Algeria and South Sudan. This clearly shows that the level of economic militarization increased mainly in the Middle East region.

Major changes were reported in the classification of states according to the status of power.

- 1992 and 2017 saw no "superpower" in terms of the economic (general) power. The United States maintained the position of a "superpower" in terms of the military and geopolitical power.
- In 1992, China held the status of a "regional power" in all categories of power, but in 2017 it reached the status of a "world power" in terms of economic (general) power and a "great power" in terms of the military and geopolitical power.

It is interesting to observe the results showing the biggest winners and the biggest losers in terms of the economic (general) power. This indicator is the most objective measure of power in a zero-sum game, which means that if one wins, another has to lose. In the short term, it does not depend on political decisions, unlike the military and indirectly – geopolitical power.

- The biggest winners group in terms of the economic (general) power included: China, Vietnam, Nigeria, United Arab Emirates, India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Romania and Pakistan.
- The most losing countries in terms of the economic power include: Japan, Ukraine, Italy, the Central African Republic, Libya, Greece, Germany, France, and Sweden.
- Regionally, the biggest winners include: South Asia and the sub-Saharan Africa. The biggest losers group includes practically one region – Europe and

Central Asia. A slight decrease was also recorded in North America.

III. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introductory remarks

The results of our calculations are based on the Sułek model. We believe that it is understandable and easy to use also by non-specialists. The model enables calculation of three types of state power: *economic (general) power*[1], *military power* and *geopolitical power* as a resultant of the two former ones.

The *economic (general) power* consists of *economic outcomes* (gross domestic product), *demographic factors* (population) and *spatial factors* (territory area). The *military power* consists of *military and economic factors* (military expenditures, which are part of GDP), *demographic and military factors* (number of active duty soldiers) and *spatial factors* (territory area).

Geopolitical power is calculated as the arithmetic mean of economic (general) power and double military power (to indicate the significance of the military factor in shaping the current distribution of power).

The presented methodology has its roots in the international relations theory and geopolitics. It also draws heavily from the findings of cybernetics and praxiology. The international balance of power, which is the main subject of this report, is presented in a quantified way. The main content of the report is concerned with the measurement of the power of states and values of the derivatives. The formula applied is based on a dimensional analysis, which was neglected in previous approaches, and depends solely on solid factors, determining the completeness of description[2]. The functioning of any state, being the basic political unit, depends *sine qua non* on *people* – operating on a given *area* in a given *time*, presenting specific *organizational and production skills*, or *capacity for collective actions*. In other terms, it translates into the ability to process matter, energy and information.

Relations between political units are relations between people, and bear the characteristics of either *cooperation* or *struggle*. For this reason, some people engage in production and service activity, oriented to the periods of peace, while some – to the periods of war.

It is assumed that in the case of economic (general) power, the organizational and production skills or the capacity for collective action are expressed by the gross domestic product, while in the case of military power, the military expenditure is the main indicator. Adding population size or the number of active duty soldiers and the country's area (a) to these calculations results in the military

---

[1] *Economic power* may be understood broadly, or in its narrow sense. For example, in its narrow sense, it may be identified with GDP, while in broad terms, economic power is also determined by demographic and spatial factors. Therefore, it may as well be referred to as general power. This report adopts the broad meaning of economic power, which is why the notions of economic power and general power are treated synonymously.

[2] A thorough overview of approaches and models of calculating state power are presented especially in: Mirosław Sułek, *Potęga państw. Modele i zastosowania* (The Power of Nations. Models and Applications), Rambler, Warsaw 2013 and Karl Höhn, *Geopolitics and the Measurement of National Power* (PhD dissertation), University of Hamburg, Hamburg 2011.

power. Considering the fact that the country's strength of impact depends on both types of power, the third type is introduced in the report – geopolitical power.

While the size of the population (L) is a quantitative indicator, the size of GDP (more strictly – GDP per capita) presents a qualitative indicator of human resources. This reasoning is illustrated by the main formula.

3.2. Main formula of power

The main formula expresses three types of power: economic (general), military and geopolitical. We recommend the following calculating method to those interested: all the collected data are divided by the respective global values, and the resulting fractional values are entered into the formula. The result of the calculation is the power of states expressed as a fraction of the world power.

$$EP = GDP^{0.652} \times L^{0.217} \times a^{0.109}$$

$$MP = MEX^{0.652} \times S^{0.217} \times a^{0.109}$$

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

Symbols: EP– economic (general) power, MP– military power, GP– geopolitical power, GDP – gross domestic product, L – population, a – territory, MEX – military expenditures, S –active soldiers.

It must be recognized that the notion that GDP is representative of capacity for collective action has been widely criticized for decades. So far, however, there seems to be no better indicator available. The same applies to military expenditures (MEX), whose share in the aggregated indicator of capacity for collective action was adopted as a measure of defence (military) effort of the society.

We adopt the assumption that all three types of power have power dimension in a physical sense ($\frac{kg \times m^2}{s^3}$). Power in this sense is a stream of energy and denotes the amount of work performed per unit of time. The formula also enables calculation of power in terms of potential energy, treated as the size of the resource in a given point in time, yet it is a more complex and time-consuming problem.

All of the types of power mentioned certainly share the same dimension, but they all differ in their nature. Economic (general) power reflects the distribution of power between states (political units), which results from the long process of historical development, and it cannot be increased by means of political decisions (however, it can be decreased). In this sense, it is *objective* by its nature. On the other hand, military power is *subjective* by its nature, as it is largely dependant on political decisions. Finally, geopolitical power places somewhere in between, although political decisions have a big impact on its value.

It is essential to be aware of these differences when assessing international relations in terms of power relations. In the long run, it is economic (general) power that is of decisive importance, which is why it is the main subject of rivalry between superpowers. In the short run, especially in a situation of an armed conflict, priority is given to military power and, to a lesser extent, to geopolitical power.

Each reliable measurement requires adoption of units of measurement. We adopted the basic unit of 1 mir as an expression of the world power ("mir" stands for "world" in the Russian language). Consequently, power of individual states is a fraction of this variable. For the sake of clarity of the presented results, the obtained fractions (decimal values) may be multiplied by any number. If multiplied by 100, the obtained results will be expressed as percentage of world power (where world power = 100). In our case, it is more convenient to multiply them by 1000 (the world power will then = 1000), which results in the figures being expressed in millimirs (abbr. mM), i.e. in thousandths of the total world power.

In the case of small and very small countries, it is convenient to express their power in micromirs (abbr. μM), i.e. in millionths of the world power (where world power = 1000000). All three types of power refer to the world as a whole, which means that each of these powers has the value = 1 (100, 1000).

3.3. Militarization indices

Three types of militarization are distinguished: economic (general) militarization, militarization of GDP and demographic militarization. Militarization indices are non-dimensional values. The economic (general) militarization index is expressed as a ratio of military power to economic (general) power, therefore:

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

It can also be interpreted as a *mobilization index*, which represents the amount of resources allocated (mobilized) for military (defence) purposes, and as a *defence readiness* index. It is a quotient of two indices, as illustrated by the following formula:

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

Once simplified, the formula takes the following form:

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

We see that the economic (general) militarization index is a product of two partial indices. The first index (m_{GDP}) expresses militarization of GDP, while the other index (m_d) expresses demographic militarization, as shown by the following formulas:

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

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

The above indices are an essential means to describe defence policies of different states. Two extreme cases can be distinguished here: one where the index of GDP militarization is high, while the demographic militarization index is low, and one where the situation is reverse. In addition, there are many intermediate situations. These indices inform us of the type of military strategy that a state adopts and of its willingness to follow it.

3.4. Dialectics of absolute and relative increase/decrease

The key to describing geopolitical rivalry (rivalry for power) as a zero-sum game is to understand the absolute and relative increase/decrease. Typical absolute increase includes population growth (expressed in thousands or millions of people), GDP increase, or growth in military expenditure (in millions or billions of dollars, euro, etc.). However, a fast pace of GDP increase as a synthetic indicator of the efficiency of an economic system does not necessarily guarantee a increase of power; it all depends on what is currently happening in the entire global system. If the rest of the world develops even faster, then the power of a given state decrease, instead of increase. It may also be the other way round – GDP of a given country may be declining while its power will be growing despite other countries' GDP decreasing even more. Four possible situations arise as a result of the combination of absolute and relative increase and decrease, as illustrated below.

	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 perspective of international rivalry, two of these situations are advantageous – (1) and (3); the other two are disadvantageous. From the observer's point of view, in the case of (2), absolute increase is difficult to reconcile with absolute decrease; in the case of (4) – a clearly noticeable absolute decrease is combined with relative increase, which is not easily noticeable.

Absolute and relative changes often carry contradictory information, which is confusing for both politicians and researchers. It is noteworthy to remember that in terms of struggle for power, i.e. from the geopolitical perspective, only the relative increase/decrease are truly important.

3.5. Statistical database

The statistical data used in this report were obtained from several sources, whose number was limited to the minimum. Data on the population, GDP at the exchange rate and countries' territory area are mainly derived from the World Bank database, with the exception of data for Taiwan, where the GDP data are derived from the database of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the data on population and the territory size from the United Nations (UN) database.

Data on the number of active duty soldiers and military expenditures expressed in US dollars were acquired from *The Military Balance,* an annual publication

of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).

Missing data from the sources mentioned above were supplemented with data from the following sources, in the order of priority: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The list of the countries studied includes the 193 Member States of the UN, as well as Taiwan, which represented China in the UN until 1971, and Kosovo as a protectorate of the UN and a partially recognized state established after the breakup of Yugoslavia. No data available for calculation was marked as "N/A"

The names of countries and regions are presented according to the ISO 3166-1 standard.

IV. RESULTS

This chapter contains four groups of country rankings. The first one presents the classification of countries according to their economic (general) power, military power and geopolitical power (Table 1), along with the assessment of the international system in terms of polarity. The second group includes a ranking of countries according to militarization indices (Table 2), while the third one categorizes according to the power status (Table 3), and the fourth one according to the highest growths and the highest declines in economic power (Table 4). The

latter ranking is limited to the economic (general) power, due to its most objective character.

The power of states is inherently relative in nature, and is therefore measured in relation to the power of the entire world as a fixed point of reference. In this approach, the power of a state is part of the total power of the world, which is understood as a whole. For convenience, power of states is presented here in millimirs, where the power of the world equals 1,000.

4.1. Ranking of countries by economic (general), military and geopolitical power

The amount of power determines the position (order) of the countries in the ranking. Most often, a increase in power leads to a increase in position, while a decrease in power usually results in a decrease in position. However, it is not

always the case – a increase in power and a subsequent decrease in position may occur, as well as a decrease in power and increase in position. Therefore, there may occur four situations, as illustrated below.

	Position increase	Position decrease
Power increase	*(1) Power increase – position increase*	*(2) Power increase – position decrease*
Power decrease	*(3) Power decrease – position increase*	*(4) Power decrease – position decrease*

From the perspective of the analysis of power relations, power and the direction of its changes appear to be more important; position is rather a matter of prestige, yet in some situations it may constitute a crucial criterion for including a country in a given group. This is largely dependant on what type of power is the reference point. In times of peace and wide international cooperation, economic (general) power appears to be of crucial importance. On the other hand, when political and military tensions increase, the significance of the military factor, and consequently the military power and geopolitical power, also grow.

In terms of military power, three groups of countries are distinguished. One is a group of countries with similar economic (general) and military power (for example, in 2017 they included France and Japan). Another group consists of countries with significantly greater economic (general) power than military power; in other words, these include less militarized countries such as Japan, Argentina or Germany. Finally, the third group includes countries with significantly higher military power than economic (general) power (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Israel, Iraq). It is imperative to note that the high level of militarization in this group may be the result of either aggressive or defensive policy.

Table 1. Ranking of countries by the economic (general), military and geopolitical power in the years 1992 and 2017 (in mM; world = 1000)

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
1	United States	159.239	United States	255.776	United States	223.597	China	152.113	United States	225.901	United States	200.448
2	Japan	68.455	Russian Federation	90.307	Russian Federation	69.110	United States	149.542	China	100.224	China	117.520
3	Germany	41.666	China	59.862	China	52.381	India	48.482	India	41.001	India	43.495
4	China	37.419	France	28.381	Japan	36.350	Japan	34.848	Russian Federation	40.963	Russian Federation	35.982
5	France	31.175	Germany	25.035	Germany	30.578	Brazil	31.140	Saudi Arabia	34.168	Brazil	25.766
6	Italy	27.744	United Kingdom	23.037	France	29.312	Germany	26.313	Brazil	23.079	Saudi Arabia	25.703
7	Russian Federation	26.716	India	21.524	United Kingdom	23.814	Russian Federation	26.020	France	21.353	Japan	25.319
8	United Kingdom	25.368	Japan	20.297	India	22.344	France	20.977	Japan	20.555	France	21.228
9	India	23.983	Saudi Arabia	20.249	Italy	19.645	United Kingdom	19.314	United Kingdom	18.799	Germany	20.706
10	Brazil	22.868	Italy	15.596	Canada	16.064	Canada	18.688	Korea, Rep.	18.448	United Kingdom	18.971
11	Canada	20.640	Canada	13.776	Saudi Arabia	15.532	Indonesia	17.505	Germany	17.902	Korea, Rep.	16.188
12	Spain	16.761	Korea, Rep.	12.345	Brazil	11.960	Mexico	16.380	Iran, Islamic Rep.	14.323	Australia	14.214
13	Mexico	16.238	Turkey	9.294	Korea, Rep.	11.494	Italy	15.880	Australia	14.046	Canada	13.797
14	Australia	12.319	Pakistan	9.058	Spain	10.680	Australia	14.551	Italy	11.810	Italy	13.167
15	Argentina	10.094	Egypt, Arab Rep.	8.939	Australia	9.982	Spain	12.334	Canada	11.352	Iran, Islamic Rep.	12.135
16	Korea, Rep.	9.792	Australia	8.813	Turkey	8.769	Korea, Rep.	11.666	Pakistan	9.999	Indonesia	12.067
17	Indonesia	9.598	Ukraine	8.645	Mexico	7.723	Turkey	10.990	Indonesia	9.348	Spain	9.201
18	Turkey	7.720	Taiwan, Province of China	8.255	Pakistan	7.430	Argentina	9.175	Colombia	8.903	Mexico	9.181

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
19	Netherlands	7.048	Spain	7.639	Taiwan, Province of China	7.362	Saudi Arabia	8.773	Iraq	8.862	Pakistan	8.943
20	Sweden	6.981	Iran, Islamic Rep.	6.961	Indonesia	7.335	Nigeria	7.917	Algeria	8.122	Turkey	8.797
21	South Africa	6.761	Brazil	6.507	Ukraine	7.259	Iran, Islamic Rep.	7.759	Israel	7.773	Colombia	7.703
22	Saudi Arabia	6.100	Indonesia	6.203	Egypt, Arab Rep.	7.088	Pakistan	6.831	Turkey	7.701	Iraq	7.038
23	Thailand	5.916	Vietnam	5.992	Argentina	5.885	Thailand	6.755	Spain	7.634	Algeria	6.670
24	Taiwan, Province of China	5.575	Serbia	5.724	Netherlands	5.524	Venezuela, RB	6.300	Thailand	6.244	Argentina	6.589
25	Switzerland	5.042	Croatia	5.660	Sweden	5.502	Poland	6.154	Poland	6.127	Thailand	6.414
26	Belgium	4.850	Poland	5.616	Thailand	5.497	South Africa	5.986	Taiwan, Province of China	5.888	Poland	6.136
27	Poland	4.591	Kuwait	5.421	Poland	5.274	Netherlands	5.475	Mexico	5.581	Israel	6.041
28	Austria	4.528	Israel	5.401	South Africa	4.853	Philippines	5.471	Argentina	5.296	Taiwan, Province of China	5.489
29	Ukraine	4.488	Thailand	5.287	Vietnam	4.399	Colombia	5.304	Vietnam	4.993	Vietnam	4.769
30	Pakistan	4.173	United Arab Emirates	5.067	Israel	4.241	Egypt, Arab Rep.	5.093	Oman	4.660	Egypt, Arab Rep.	4.404
31	Greece	3.606	Sweden	4.763	Malaysia	4.151	Sweden	4.839	Egypt, Arab Rep.	4.060	Netherlands	4.399
32	Norway	3.600	Netherlands	4.763	United Arab Emirates	3.870	Bangladesh	4.751	Netherlands	3.861	South Africa	4.235
33	Philippines	3.524	Malaysia	4.761	Greece	3.849	Taiwan, Province of China	4.691	Morocco	3.717	Nigeria	4.041
34	Algeria	3.429	Greece	3.971	Belgium	3.542	Vietnam	4.322	Greece	3.685	Sweden	3.930
35	Colombia	3.403	South Africa	3.899	Venezuela, RB	3.500	Malaysia	4.270	Sweden	3.475	Philippines	3.680
36	Egypt, Arab Rep.	3.387	Kazakhstan	3.839	Colombia	3.490	Switzerland	4.206	Angola	3.471	Chile	3.580
37	Finland	3.316	Argentina	3.780	Norway	3.389	Peru	3.836	Chile	3.467	Malaysia	3.530
38	Venezuela, RB	3.302	Belarus	3.602	Kazakhstan	3.237	Chile	3.805	South Africa	3.359	Oman	3.465

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
39	Denmark	3.283	Venezuela, RB	3.599	Switzerland	3.075	Algeria	3.766	Norway	3.313	Bangladesh	3.364
40	Portugal	3.272	Colombia	3.534	Belarus	2.761	Belgium	3.534	Ukraine	3.292	Norway	3.349
41	Nigeria	2.971	Mexico	3.465	Algeria	2.749	Norway	3.420	Myanmar	3.256	Venezuela, RB	3.251
42	Malaysia	2.931	Norway	3.283	Philippines	2.723	Iraq	3.390	Malaysia	3.160	Morocco	3.236
43	Bangladesh	2.588	Cuba	3.055	Nigeria	2.717	Austria	3.343	Romania	3.036	Greece	3.215
44	Peru	2.562	Belgium	2.888	Finland	2.582	United Arab Emirates	3.212	Singapore	2.996	Angola	3.200
45	Chile	2.530	Romania	2.834	Austria	2.564	Kazakhstan	3.054	Philippines	2.785	Ukraine	3.029
46	Morocco	2.243	Bulgaria	2.808	Romania	2.448	Sudan	2.942	Afghanistan	2.768	Romania	2.977
47	Kazakhstan	2.032	Oman	2.702	Cuba	2.438	Romania	2.861	Bangladesh	2.671	Peru	2.925
48	Israel	1.923	Nigeria	2.591	Morocco	2.386	Angola	2.660	Peru	2.469	Switzerland	2.852
49	Libya	1.802	Morocco	2.458	Peru	2.344	Israel	2.577	Switzerland	2.175	Myanmar	2.812
50	Hungary	1.692	Hungary	2.413	Denmark	2.332	Ethiopia	2.574	Nigeria	2.102	Belgium	2.568
51	Romania	1.677	Algeria	2.408	Portugal	2.325	Finland	2.507	Kuwait	2.096	Singapore	2.508
52	Ireland	1.657	Philippines	2.323	Chile	2.285	Ukraine	2.502	Finland	2.093	Austria	2.274
53	New Zealand	1.579	Peru	2.235	Hungary	2.172	Ireland	2.488	Belgium	2.085	Finland	2.231
54	Czech Republic	1.545	Finland	2.216	Bulgaria	2.106	Denmark	2.411	Sri Lanka	1.972	Afghanistan	2.113
55	United Arab Emirates	1.477	Chile	2.163	Oman	2.016	Portugal	2.290	Denmark	1.768	Kazakhstan	2.104
56	Ethiopia	1.345	Switzerland	2.092	Sudan	1.685	Morocco	2.274	Austria	1.739	Denmark	1.982
57	Vietnam	1.212	Sudan	2.060	Yemen, Rep.	1.520	Greece	2.274	Venezuela, RB	1.726	Portugal	1.872
58	Cuba	1.205	Yemen, Rep.	1.942	Bangladesh	1.483	Czech Republic	2.249	Portugal	1.663	Sri Lanka	1.788
59	Ecuador	1.173	Denmark	1.857	Singapore	1.380	New Zealand	2.100	Jordan	1.648	Kuwait	1.753
60	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.157	Portugal	1.852	Ecuador	1.227	Kenya	1.963	Kazakhstan	1.629	Czech Republic	1.703
61	Uzbekistan	1.149	Lao PDR	1.647	Jordan	1.189	Myanmar	1.923	Ecuador	1.465	New Zealand	1.670
62	Belarus	1.079	Singapore	1.602	Lao PDR	1.150	Ecuador	1.741	New Zealand	1.455	Ethiopia	1.557

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
63	Syrian Arab Republic	0.958	Jordan	1.596	Tanzania	1.076	Hungary	1.690	Azerbaijan	1.447	Ecuador	1.557
64	Cameroon	0.950	Austria	1.581	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.025	Tanzania	1.676	Czech Republic	1.430	Kenya	1.457
65	Tunisia	0.949	Myanmar	1.503	New Zealand	1.000	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.610	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.277	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.388
66	Singapore	0.935	Tanzania	1.280	Sri Lanka	0.990	Singapore	1.532	Lebanon	1.268	Jordan	1.348
67	Sudan	0.933	Ecuador	1.253	Tunisia	0.967	Sri Lanka	1.419	Kenya	1.203	Ireland	1.300
68	Kenya	0.911	Turkmenistan	1.245	Ireland	0.967	Cuba	1.309	Cambodia	1.154	Hungary	1.268
69	Cote d'Ivoire	0.908	Sri Lanka	1.114	Turkmenistan	0.938	Uzbekistan	1.309	Hungary	1.057	Azerbaijan	1.215
70	Angola	0.867	Mozambique	1.046	Kenya	0.835	Guatemala	1.303	Ethiopia	1.049	Tanzania	1.066
71	Slovak Republic	0.750	Tunisia	0.976	Mozambique	0.818	Ghana	1.170	Cote d'Ivoire	0.898	Lebanon	1.056
72	Sri Lanka	0.741	Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.960	Zimbabwe	0.768	Qatar	1.148	Tunisia	0.897	Cambodia	0.973
73	Guatemala	0.723	Bangladesh	0.930	Mongolia	0.629	Libya	1.106	Bolivia	0.833	Cote d'Ivoire	0.950
74	Bulgaria	0.702	Mongolia	0.852	Guatemala	0.607	Slovak Republic	1.089	Slovak Republic	0.805	Slovak Republic	0.900
75	Uruguay	0.686	Zimbabwe	0.832	Uruguay	0.582	Dominican Republic	1.086	Tanzania	0.761	Bolivia	0.878
76	Yemen, Rep.	0.674	Kenya	0.797	Uganda	0.573	Oman	1.076	Bulgaria	0.733	Tunisia	0.874
77	Tanzania	0.668	New Zealand	0.711	Bolivia	0.571	Kuwait	1.067	Belarus	0.724	Belarus	0.814
78	Dominican Republic	0.662	Uganda	0.668	Azerbaijan	0.528	Cote d'Ivoire	1.054	Mali	0.723	Bulgaria	0.787
79	Oman	0.645	Slovenia	0.633	Cameroon	0.488	Cameroon	0.997	Ireland	0.706	Dominican Republic	0.777
80	Zimbabwe	0.639	Ireland	0.621	Paraguay	0.465	Belarus	0.995	Lithuania	0.693	Uganda	0.708
81	Ghana	0.632	Azerbaijan	0.587	Georgia	0.436	Bolivia	0.968	Uganda	0.638	Mali	0.686
82	Bolivia	0.583	Bolivia	0.565	Cote d'Ivoire	0.421	Bulgaria	0.896	Dominican Republic	0.623	Uruguay	0.678
83	Paraguay	0.550	Guatemala	0.549	El Salvador	0.386	Uganda	0.849	Uruguay	0.615	Cameroon	0.677
84	Senegal	0.516	Uruguay	0.530	Ghana	0.385	Turkmenistan	0.830	Nepal	0.606	Lithuania	0.667
85	Costa Rica	0.461	Georgia	0.503	Nicaragua	0.383	Tunisia	0.828	Serbia	0.592	Guatemala	0.656

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
86	Panama	0.440	Armenia	0.493	Dominican Republic	0.382	Panama	0.807	Croatia	0.580	Nepal	0.646
87	Nepal	0.419	Moldova	0.489	Cyprus	0.379	Afghanistan	0.804	Botswana	0.545	Serbia	0.632
88	Azerbaijan	0.410	Nicaragua	0.477	Tajikistan	0.377	Uruguay	0.802	Zimbabwe	0.531	Croatia	0.628
89	Madagascar	0.408	Tajikistan	0.457	Armenia	0.371	Zambia	0.800	Bahrain	0.531	Zambia	0.594
90	Papua New Guinea	0.407	Cyprus	0.445	Zambia	0.356	Costa Rica	0.764	Congo, Rep.	0.520	Ghana	0.587
91	Zambia	0.400	Paraguay	0.423	Senegal	0.355	Azerbaijan	0.753	Namibia	0.520	Zimbabwe	0.548
92	Mali	0.395	Cambodia	0.407	Panama	0.317	Jordan	0.748	Cameroon	0.518	Botswana	0.493
93	Uganda	0.383	El Salvador	0.397	Burkina Faso	0.287	Nepal	0.726	Armenia	0.510	Paraguay	0.467
94	Jordan	0.375	Brunei Darussalam	0.352	Nepal	0.285	Croatia	0.725	Zambia	0.490	Namibia	0.462
95	El Salvador	0.364	Zambia	0.335	Madagascar	0.285	Serbia	0.711	Estonia	0.401	Bahrain	0.445
96	Mozambique	0.362	Burkina Faso	0.286	Brunei Darussalam	0.279	Yemen, Rep.	0.685	Senegal	0.389	Congo, Rep.	0.440
97	Niger	0.348	Senegal	0.274	Honduras	0.276	Paraguay	0.671	Latvia	0.385	Senegal	0.428
98	Guinea	0.344	Congo, Rep.	0.265	Botswana	0.268	Lebanon	0.632	Georgia	0.380	Armenia	0.416
99	Gabon	0.324	Ghana	0.262	Congo, Rep.	0.266	Lithuania	0.613	Chad	0.379	Slovenia	0.406
100	Turkmenistan	0.323	Honduras	0.260	Mali	0.260	Mali	0.611	South Sudan	0.370	Honduras	0.402
101	Luxembourg	0.318	Cameroon	0.257	Papua New Guinea	0.245	Cambodia	0.611	Paraguay	0.365	Chad	0.400
102	Botswana	0.315	Panama	0.255	Namibia	0.243	Zimbabwe	0.582	Slovenia	0.350	Latvia	0.397
103	Honduras	0.307	Botswana	0.244	Rwanda	0.220	Papua New Guinea	0.567	Honduras	0.339	Estonia	0.380
104	Georgia	0.302	Dominican Republic	0.242	Chad	0.215	Mozambique	0.561	Cyprus	0.338	Georgia	0.358
105	Namibia	0.293	Rwanda	0.233	Kyrgyz Republic	0.211	Honduras	0.528	Guatemala	0.333	Burkina Faso	0.344
106	Burkina Faso	0.291	Madagascar	0.223	Niger	0.178	Slovenia	0.517	Gabon	0.320	Mozambique	0.318
107	Lebanon	0.284	Namibia	0.218	Trinidad and Tobago	0.170	Senegal	0.505	Trinidad and Tobago	0.310	Gabon	0.317

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
108	Chad	0.282	Nepal	0.218	Lebanon	0.164	Madagascar	0.502	Ghana	0.296	Niger	0.314
109	Congo, Rep.	0.269	Kyrgyz Republic	0.194	Luxembourg	0.162	Burkina Faso	0.468	Mauritania	0.293	Cyprus	0.308
110	Iceland	0.252	Mali	0.193	Haiti	0.157	Chad	0.443	Burkina Faso	0.282	South Sudan	0.306
111	Cyprus	0.246	Lithuania	0.185	Albania	0.151	Lao PDR	0.438	Niger	0.261	Guinea	0.289
112	Kyrgyz Republic	0.245	Albania	0.184	Malawi	0.149	El Salvador	0.426	Tajikistan	0.253	Trinidad and Tobago	0.288
113	Qatar	0.243	Chad	0.181	Central African Republic	0.124	Latvia	0.422	Guinea	0.249	El Salvador	0.285
114	Malawi	0.227	Cote d'Ivoire	0.177	Benin	0.118	Niger	0.419	Brunei Darussalam	0.236	Papua New Guinea	0.273
115	Tajikistan	0.217	Papua New Guinea	0.163	Jamaica	0.109	Botswana	0.389	El Salvador	0.215	Madagascar	0.271
116	Trinidad and Tobago	0.217	Trinidad and Tobago	0.146	Bahamas, The	0.095	Luxembourg	0.371	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.212	Mauritania	0.266
117	Haiti	0.217	Haiti	0.127	Mauritius	0.061	Guinea	0.370	Mongolia	0.197	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.254
118	Jamaica	0.206	Malawi	0.110	Suriname	0.055	Mongolia	0.353	Mozambique	0.196	Tajikistan	0.252
119	Rwanda	0.195	Lebanon	0.105	Malta	0.053	Nicaragua	0.350	Rwanda	0.190	Mongolia	0.249
120	Benin	0.195	Estonia	0.104	Afghanistan	N/A	Namibia	0.346	Benin	0.170	Nicaragua	0.220
121	Nicaragua	0.195	Niger	0.093	Angola	N/A	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.337	Madagascar	0.156	Benin	0.215
122	Central African Republic	0.186	Central African Republic	0.093	Andorra	N/A	Estonia	0.337	Nicaragua	0.155	Rwanda	0.214
123	Mauritania	0.185	Bahamas, The	0.085	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	Somalia	0.336	Macedonia, FYR	0.144	Luxembourg	0.213
124	Mongolia	0.183	Luxembourg	0.083	Burundi	N/A	Georgia	0.314	Albania	0.143	Brunei Darussalam	0.200
125	Togo	0.169	Benin	0.080	Bahrain	N/A	Gabon	0.310	Togo	0.139	Albania	0.176
126	Macedonia, FYR	0.164	Jamaica	0.061	Bosnia and Herzegovina	N/A	Benin	0.305	Luxembourg	0.135	Macedonia, FYR	0.165
127	Lao PDR	0.156	Suriname	0.059	Belize	N/A	Congo, Rep.	0.281	Burundi	0.132	Jamaica	0.158
128	Mauritius	0.136	Malta	0.037	Barbados	N/A	Bahrain	0.273	Papua New Guinea	0.126	Togo	0.149

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
129	Bahrain	0.133	Mauritius	0.023	Bhutan	N/A	Iceland	0.262	Jamaica	0.118	Malawi	0.145
130	Brunei Darussalam	0.132	Fiji	0.000	Comoros	N/A	Rwanda	0.261	Guyana	0.093	Burundi	0.134
131	Armenia	0.127	Afghanistan	N/A	Cabo Verde	N/A	Malawi	0.260	Malawi	0.088	Moldova	0.101
132	Burundi	0.126	Angola	N/A	Costa Rica	N/A	Tajikistan	0.250	Central African Republic	0.086	Bahamas, The	0.096
133	Bahamas, The	0.116	Andorra	N/A	Czech Republic	N/A	Kyrgyz Republic	0.249	Bahamas, The	0.077	Guyana	0.095
134	Sierra Leone	0.098	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	Djibouti	N/A	Cyprus	0.248	Montenegro	0.076	Central African Republic	0.094
135	Fiji	0.098	Burundi	N/A	Dominica	N/A	Haiti	0.244	Fiji	0.072	Fiji	0.080
136	Swaziland	0.090	Bahrain	N/A	Eritrea	N/A	Trinidad and Tobago	0.243	Lesotho	0.067	Montenegro	0.079
137	Albania	0.085	Bosnia and Herzegovina	N/A	Estonia	N/A	Albania	0.243	Moldova	0.056	Sierra Leone	0.074
138	Malta	0.084	Belize	N/A	Ethiopia	N/A	Jamaica	0.238	Malta	0.046	Lesotho	0.072
139	Lesotho	0.083	Barbados	N/A	Fiji	N/A	Armenia	0.226	Belize	0.038	Malta	0.063
140	Barbados	0.061	Bhutan	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Mauritania	0.213	Sierra Leone	0.037	Liberia	0.053
141	Gambia, The	0.059	Comoros	N/A	Gabon	N/A	Macedonia, FYR	0.205	Timor-Leste	0.033	Timor-Leste	0.046
142	Guyana	0.050	Cabo Verde	N/A	Guinea	N/A	Equatorial Guinea	0.198	Liberia	0.032	Belize	0.039
143	Suriname	0.046	Costa Rica	N/A	Gambia, The	N/A	Moldova	0.191	Barbados	0.029	Barbados	0.036
144	Djibouti	0.045	Czech Republic	N/A	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	South Sudan	0.177	Cabo Verde	0.016	Cabo Verde	0.023
145	Liberia	0.041	Djibouti	N/A	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	Togo	0.170	Antigua and Barbuda	0.000	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A
146	Belize	0.037	Dominica	N/A	Grenada	N/A	Mauritius	0.155	Costa Rica	0.000	Costa Rica	N/A
147	Solomon Islands	0.035	Eritrea	N/A	Guyana	N/A	Sierra Leone	0.148	Haiti	0.000	Haiti	N/A
148	Andorra	0.032	Ethiopia	N/A	Croatia	N/A	Burundi	0.136	Iceland	0.000	Iceland	N/A
149	Guinea-Bissau	0.032	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Iran, Islamic Rep.	N/A	Bahamas, The	0.135	Mauritius	0.000	Mauritius	N/A
150	Bhutan	0.031	Gabon	N/A	Iraq	N/A	Kosovo	0.134	Panama	0.000	Panama	N/A

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
151	Liechtenstein	0.030	Guinea	N/A	Iceland	N/A	Brunei Darussalam	0.128	Andorra	N/A	Andorra	N/A
152	Cabo Verde	0.027	Gambia, The	N/A	Cambodia	N/A	Central African Republic	0.110	United Arab Emirates	N/A	United Arab Emirates	N/A
153	Monaco	0.026	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	Kiribati	N/A	Guyana	0.099	Bhutan	N/A	Bhutan	N/A
154	St. Lucia	0.025	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Malta	0.098	Comoros	N/A	Comoros	N/A
155	Comoros	0.022	Grenada	N/A	Kuwait	N/A	Fiji	0.098	Cuba	N/A	Cuba	N/A
156	Equatorial Guinea	0.019	Guyana	N/A	Liberia	N/A	Swaziland	0.097	Djibouti	N/A	Djibouti	N/A
157	Antigua and Barbuda	0.019	Iraq	N/A	Libya	N/A	Liberia	0.096	Dominica	N/A	Dominica	N/A
158	Vanuatu	0.017	Iceland	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A	Suriname	0.085	Eritrea	N/A	Eritrea	N/A
159	Seychelles	0.017	Kiribati	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A	Montenegro	0.084	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A
160	Maldives	0.016	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Lesotho	N/A	Lesotho	0.082	Gambia, The	N/A	Gambia, The	N/A
161	Grenada	0.014	Liberia	N/A	Lithuania	N/A	Timor-Leste	0.073	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	Guinea-Bissau	N/A
162	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.014	Libya	N/A	Latvia	N/A	Bhutan	0.065	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	Equatorial Guinea	N/A
163	Samoa	0.012	St. Lucia	N/A	Monaco	N/A	Djibouti	0.053	Grenada	N/A	Grenada	N/A
164	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	0.011	Liechtenstein	N/A	Moldova	N/A	Guinea-Bissau	0.050	Kyrgyz Republic	N/A	Kyrgyz Republic	N/A
165	Dominica	0.011	Lesotho	N/A	Maldives	N/A	Maldives	0.050	Kiribati	N/A	Kiribati	N/A
166	St. Kitts and Nevis	0.010	Latvia	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A	Barbados	0.049	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A
167	Tonga	0.009	Monaco	N/A	Macedonia, FYR	N/A	Belize	0.043	Lao PDR	N/A	Lao PDR	N/A
168	Marshall Islands	0.005	Maldives	N/A	Myanmar	N/A	Solomon Islands	0.039	Libya	N/A	Libya	N/A
169	Kiribati	0.004	Marshall Islands	N/A	Montenegro	N/A	Gambia, The	0.039	St. Lucia	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A
170	Tuvalu	0.001	Macedonia, FYR	N/A	Mauritania	N/A	Cabo Verde	0.037	Liechtenstein	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A
171	Afghanistan	N/A	Montenegro	N/A	Nauru	N/A	Liechtenstein	0.034	Monaco	N/A	Monaco	N/A

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
172	Bosnia and Herzegovina	N/A	Mauritania	N/A	Palau	N/A	Andorra	0.027	Maldives	N/A	Maldives	N/A
173	Eritrea	N/A	Nauru	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	St. Lucia	0.023	Marshall Islands	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A
174	Estonia	N/A	Palau	N/A	Qatar	N/A	Vanuatu	0.023	Nauru	N/A	Nauru	N/A
175	Croatia	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A	Comoros	0.019	Palau	N/A	Palau	N/A
176	Iran, Islamic Rep.	N/A	Qatar	N/A	Sierra Leone	N/A	Antigua and Barbuda	0.019	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A
177	Iraq	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A	San Marino	N/A	Seychelles	0.018	Qatar	N/A	Qatar	N/A
178	Cambodia	N/A	Sierra Leone	N/A	Somalia	N/A	Samoa	0.018	Sudan	N/A	Sudan	N/A
179	Kuwait	N/A	San Marino	N/A	Serbia	N/A	Grenada	0.015	Solomon Islands	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A
180	Lithuania	N/A	Somalia	N/A	South Sudan	N/A	San Marino	0.012	San Marino	N/A	San Marino	N/A
181	Latvia	N/A	South Sudan	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.012	Somalia	N/A	Somalia	N/A
182	Moldova	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	Slovak Republic	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	0.011	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A
183	Myanmar	N/A	Slovak Republic	N/A	Slovenia	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	0.010	Suriname	N/A	Suriname	N/A
184	Montenegro	N/A	Swaziland	N/A	Swaziland	N/A	Dominica	0.010	Swaziland	N/A	Swaziland	N/A
185	Nauru	N/A	Seychelles	N/A	Seychelles	N/A	Tonga	0.009	Seychelles	N/A	Seychelles	N/A
186	Palau	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	0.007	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A
187	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Togo	N/A	Togo	N/A	Kiribati	0.005	Turkmenistan	N/A	Turkmenistan	N/A
188	San Marino	N/A	Timor-Leste	N/A	Timor-Leste	N/A	Palau	0.005	Tonga	N/A	Tonga	N/A
189	Somalia	N/A	Tonga	N/A	Tonga	N/A	Marshall Islands	0.004	Tuvalu	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A
190	Serbia	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A	Nauru	0.002	Uzbekistan	N/A	Uzbekistan	N/A
191	South Sudan	N/A	Uzbekistan	N/A	Uzbekistan	N/A	Tuvalu	0.001	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A

23

Position	1992						2017					
	Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)		Economic (general) power (EP)		Military power (MP)		Geopolitical power (GP)	
	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM	Country	mM
192	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	Eritrea	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A
193	Slovenia	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	Monaco	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Samoa	N/A
194	Timor-Leste	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Kosovo	N/A
195	Kosovo	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Yemen, Rep.	N/A	Yemen, Rep.	N/A

N/A – no data available for formula calculation.

The military power was calculated on the basis of the military expenditures as of 2017 and the number of active duty soldiers as of 2018 (after *The Military Balance* 2018).

4.2. Ranking of countries by militarization indices

Militarization of power is considered in terms of: economic (general) militarization understood as a share of military power in the economic (general) power, militarization of GDP as a share of military expenditures in GDP, and demographic militarization as a share of active duty soldiers in the general population (with the corresponding power exponents – according to the model). In all three cases, the militarization index of the world takes the value of 1. Countries with militarization greater than 1 are considered to be strongly militarized, while those with the index lower than 1 are considered to be poorly militarized (Table 2).

As many as three possible model situations are possible. First, when the position of a country determined by all three types of militarization is similar (balanced position). However, it must be noted that this can be achieved at various levels of militarization, both high and low ones. Second, when the position resulting from the militarization of GDP is evidently higher than the one resulting from the demographic militarization (imbalanced position). Third, when the position resulting from demographic militarization is clearly higher than the position resulting the militarization of GDP (imbalanced position). The high level of militarization of GDP in relation to demographic militarization is indicative of a country which maintains small-sized and typically professional, well-armed and well-equipped forces. In the opposite case, a large army is maintained, which is usually made up of conscripts who are poorly armed and poorly equipped.

Table 2. Ranking of countries according to the economic (general) militarization index, index of GDP militarization and demographic militarization index in the years 1992 and 2017

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
1	Lao PDR	10.559	Lao PDR	9.198	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	1.728	Oman	4.332	Oman	3.285	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	1.903
2	Vietnam	4.942	Kuwait	7.917	Israel	1.564	Saudi Arabia	3.895	Saudi Arabia	3.150	Israel	1.563
3	Mongolia	4.660	Mongolia	4.215	Syrian Arab Republic	1.531	Afghanistan	3.445	Afghanistan	3.000	Brunei Darussalam	1.491
4	Jordan	4.250	Vietnam	3.962	United Arab Emirates	1.475	Israel	3.016	Iraq	2.875	Armenia	1.471
5	Oman	4.186	Turkmenistan	3.321	Jordan	1.462	Iraq	2.614	Algeria	2.068	South Sudan	1.458
6	Bulgaria	4.000	Bulgaria	3.179	Croatia	1.442	Armenia	2.257	Congo, Rep.	1.983	Greece	1.422
7	Armenia	3.891	Oman	3.076	Iraq	1.403	Jordan	2.204	Israel	1.929	Singapore	1.419
8	Turkmenistan	3.861	Mozambique	3.013	Taiwan, Province of China	1.374	Algeria	2.157	Kuwait	1.800	Cyprus	1.412
9	United Arab Emirates	3.431	Armenia	2.995	Seychelles	1.367	South Sudan	2.085	Mali	1.664	Korea, Rep.	1.398
10	Russian Federation	3.380	Jordan	2.907	Russian Federation	1.366	Lebanon	2.008	Bahrain	1.658	Sri Lanka	1.377
11	Belarus	3.338	Tajikistan	2.838	Libya	1.365	Kuwait	1.964	Jordan	1.629	Djibouti	1.353
12	Saudi Arabia	3.319	Saudi Arabia	2.833	Oman	1.361	Singapore	1.956	Azerbaijan	1.559	Jordan	1.352
13	Mozambique	2.886	Yemen, Rep.	2.824	Serbia	1.355	Bahrain	1.942	Armenia	1.534	Lebanon	1.337
14	Yemen, Rep.	2.880	Belarus	2.667	Singapore	1.347	Azerbaijan	1.922	Iran, Islamic Rep.	1.515	Oman	1.319
15	Israel	2.809	Nicaragua	2.583	Brunei Darussalam	1.334	Cambodia	1.889	Lebanon	1.502	Taiwan, Province of China	1.313
16	Brunei Darussalam	2.661	Georgia	2.550	Cuba	1.332	Congo, Rep.	1.854	Cambodia	1.490	Syrian Arab Republic	1.299

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
17	Egypt, Arab Rep.	2.639	Russian Federation	2.475	Greece	1.314	Iran, Islamic Rep.	1.846	South Sudan	1.430	Cambodia	1.268
18	Cuba	2.534	Egypt, Arab Rep.	2.393	Qatar	1.311	Brunei Darussalam	1.843	Colombia	1.400	Myanmar	1.263
19	Nicaragua	2.447	Djibouti	2.348	Armenia	1.299	Myanmar	1.693	Morocco	1.389	Uruguay	1.250
20	Djibouti	2.440	Tanzania	2.344	Korea, Rep.	1.298	Colombia	1.678	Pakistan	1.387	Saudi Arabia	1.237
21	Sudan	2.207	United Arab Emirates	2.325	Cambodia	1.289	Morocco	1.635	Singapore	1.378	Azerbaijan	1.233
22	Pakistan	2.171	Ethiopia	2.305	Lebanon	1.269	Greece	1.620	Namibia	1.372	United Arab Emirates	1.229
23	Bahrain	2.159	Sudan	2.273	Bulgaria	1.258	Korea, Rep.	1.581	United States	1.365	Iran, Islamic Rep.	1.219
24	Albania	2.156	Pakistan	2.097	Albania	1.253	Russian Federation	1.574	Myanmar	1.340	Qatar	1.219
25	Tajikistan	2.102	Brunei Darussalam	1.995	Belarus	1.252	United States	1.511	Russian Federation	1.301	Turkmenistan	1.218
26	Ukraine	1.926	Kazakhstan	1.942	Vietnam	1.247	Namibia	1.503	Botswana	1.283	Lithuania	1.215
27	Tanzania	1.917	Ukraine	1.921	Bahrain	1.243	Pakistan	1.464	Mauritania	1.282	Russian Federation	1.210
28	Kazakhstan	1.889	Cuba	1.903	Macedonia, FYR	1.199	Botswana	1.404	Trinidad and Tobago	1.244	Colombia	1.199
29	Cyprus	1.808	Uganda	1.799	Turkey	1.199	Sri Lanka	1.389	Tajikistan	1.241	Georgia	1.184
30	Uganda	1.742	Israel	1.796	Cyprus	1.198	Mauritania	1.379	Brunei Darussalam	1.236	Morocco	1.177
31	Singapore	1.713	China	1.789	Angola	1.194	Cyprus	1.366	Angola	1.215	Bahrain	1.171
32	Romania	1.690	Bahrain	1.737	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.183	Ukraine	1.316	Ukraine	1.165	Belize	1.170
33	Georgia	1.668	Rwanda	1.730	Iran, Islamic Rep.	1.173	Angola	1.305	Greece	1.140	Thailand	1.165
34	Malaysia	1.624	Albania	1.720	Saudi Arabia	1.172	Trinidad and Tobago	1.277	Korea, Rep.	1.131	Dominican Republic	1.163

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
35	United States	1.606	Cyprus	1.509	Romania	1.164	Taiwan, Province of China	1.255	Estonia	1.055	Vietnam	1.156
36	China	1.600	Malaysia	1.479	Turkmenistan	1.163	Georgia	1.212	Niger	1.051	Afghanistan	1.148
37	Sri Lanka	1.502	Azerbaijan	1.453	Lao PDR	1.148	Estonia	1.193	Gabon	1.045	Belarus	1.140
38	Taiwan, Province of China	1.481	Romania	1.451	El Salvador	1.144	Mali	1.183	Cote d'Ivoire	1.041	Estonia	1.131
39	Azerbaijan	1.431	United States	1.429	Belgium	1.142	Vietnam	1.155	Tunisia	1.041	Ukraine	1.130
40	Hungary	1.426	Burkina Faso	1.427	Uruguay	1.136	Lithuania	1.132	India	1.031	Norway	1.130
41	Algeria	1.379	Sri Lanka	1.402	Hungary	1.135	Tunisia	1.084	Lesotho	1.026	Egypt, Arab Rep.	1.127
42	Seychelles	1.337	Algeria	1.332	Poland	1.133	Romania	1.061	Georgia	1.023	Fiji	1.123
43	Zimbabwe	1.301	Suriname	1.301	Norway	1.130	Gabon	1.034	Sri Lanka	1.008	Turkey	1.122
44	Suriname	1.294	Zimbabwe	1.289	Morocco	1.128	France	1.018	United Kingdom	1.001	Bulgaria	1.121
45	Korea, Rep.	1.261	Nigeria	1.274	Slovenia	1.126	Tajikistan	1.011	Vietnam	1.000	Malta	1.116
46	Poland	1.223	Singapore	1.272	United States	1.124	Poland	0.996	Zimbabwe	0.994	Cuba	1.114
47	Turkey	1.204	Hungary	1.256	France	1.120	United Kingdom	0.973	Romania	0.993	Chile	1.114
48	Rwanda	1.190	Kenya	1.210	Sweden	1.108	Burundi	0.973	Australia	0.985	Lao PDR	1.112
49	Greece	1.101	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.205	Mongolia	1.106	Norway	0.968	France	0.984	United States	1.107
50	Morocco	1.095	India	1.148	Myanmar	1.104	Australia	0.965	Poland	0.982	Finland	1.098
51	El Salvador	1.091	Venezuela, RB	1.135	Egypt, Arab Rep.	1.103	Guyana	0.934	Senegal	0.973	Serbia	1.098
52	Venezuela, RB	1.090	Poland	1.080	Guinea-Bissau	1.101	Thailand	0.924	Togo	0.973	Namibia	1.096
53	Ecuador	1.069	Taiwan, Province of China	1.078	Fiji	1.099	Zimbabwe	0.913	Cyprus	0.967	Botswana	1.094

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
54	Colombia	1.039	Colombia	1.063	Chile	1.099	Chile	0.911	Burundi	0.960	El Salvador	1.094
55	Tunisia	1.028	Tunisia	1.043	Malaysia	1.098	Latvia	0.911	Taiwan, Province of China	0.956	Croatia	1.091
56	Congo, Rep.	0.984	Ecuador	1.021	Austria	1.096	Montenegro	0.908	Antigua and Barbuda	0.942	Kuwait	1.091
57	Burkina Faso	0.981	Lesotho	1.006	Finland	1.091	Belize	0.882	Lithuania	0.931	Guyana	1.090
58	Bolivia	0.970	Turkey	1.004	Italy	1.081	Bolivia	0.861	Uganda	0.915	Venezuela, RB	1.090
59	Fiji	0.919	Congo, Rep.	0.990	Sri Lanka	1.071	Chad	0.856	Latvia	0.912	Macedonia, FYR	1.089
60	Norway	0.912	Seychelles	0.978	Netherlands	1.067	Cote d'Ivoire	0.852	Chad	0.904	Mauritania	1.075
61	France	0.910	Korea, Rep.	0.971	Portugal	1.067	India	0.846	Mauritius	0.897	Angola	1.074
62	United Kingdom	0.908	Morocco	0.971	Denmark	1.058	Ecuador	0.842	Kenya	0.883	Suriname	1.071
63	India	0.897	Bolivia	0.966	Germany	1.054	Nepal	0.835	Central African Republic	0.881	Romania	1.069
64	Thailand	0.894	Kyrgyz Republic	0.964	Spain	1.054	Finland	0.835	Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.875	Barbados	1.067
65	Kenya	0.875	El Salvador	0.953	Ecuador	1.047	Serbia	0.833	Guinea	0.871	Malaysia	1.064
66	Peru	0.872	Zambia	0.919	Djibouti	1.040	Bulgaria	0.818	Montenegro	0.867	Slovenia	1.060
67	Nigeria	0.872	Honduras	0.905	Algeria	1.036	Togo	0.816	Norway	0.857	Pakistan	1.055
68	Mauritania	0.867	United Kingdom	0.877	Pakistan	1.035	Lesotho	0.815	Guyana	0.857	Nepal	1.055
69	Chile	0.855	Thailand	0.871	United Kingdom	1.035	Croatia	0.800	Ecuador	0.855	Mongolia	1.051
70	Honduras	0.847	Mauritania	0.861	Namibia	1.029	Egypt, Arab Rep.	0.797	Burkina Faso	0.837	Montenegro	1.048
71	Zambia	0.838	Peru	0.849	Peru	1.027	Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.794	Bolivia	0.829	Algeria	1.043
72	Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.829	Greece	0.838	Thailand	1.026	Central African Republic	0.783	Brazil	0.823	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.042

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
73	Kyrgyz Republic	0.793	Fiji	0.836	Gabon	1.021	Senegal	0.770	Chile	0.818	Tunisia	1.041
74	Botswana	0.775	Philippines	0.815	Yemen, Rep.	1.020	Uruguay	0.767	Thailand	0.794	Bolivia	1.038
75	Belize	0.774	Indonesia	0.814	Malta	1.013	Uganda	0.752	Nepal	0.792	France	1.034
76	Uruguay	0.772	France	0.813	Guatemala	1.012	Italy	0.744	Zambia	0.775	Portugal	1.033
77	Paraguay	0.768	Haiti	0.809	Panama	1.009	Brazil	0.741	Finland	0.760	Sweden	1.031
78	Lesotho	0.760	Norway	0.807	Zimbabwe	1.009	Malaysia	0.740	Serbia	0.758	Slovak Republic	1.028
79	Guatemala	0.758	Belize	0.806	Mauritania	1.007	Slovak Republic	0.740	Benin	0.758	Trinidad and Tobago	1.026
80	Namibia	0.743	Paraguay	0.795	Bolivia	1.003	Fiji	0.735	Belize	0.754	Italy	1.024
81	Bahamas, The	0.732	Botswana	0.782	Ukraine	1.003	Denmark	0.733	China	0.745	Hungary	1.022
82	Australia	0.715	Trinidad and Tobago	0.781	Suriname	0.995	Rwanda	0.729	New Zealand	0.743	Albania	1.016
83	Sweden	0.682	Chile	0.778	Congo, Rep.	0.994	Belarus	0.728	Netherlands	0.743	Denmark	1.015
84	Netherlands	0.676	Bahamas, The	0.773	Botswana	0.992	Portugal	0.726	Panama	0.736	Poland	1.014
85	Trinidad and Tobago	0.673	Guatemala	0.749	Tunisia	0.986	Sweden	0.718	Croatia	0.733	Burundi	1.014
86	Finland	0.668	Australia	0.733	Azerbaijan	0.985	Netherlands	0.705	Bulgaria	0.729	Rwanda	1.009
87	Canada	0.667	Canada	0.726	Chad	0.980	Macedonia, FYR	0.704	Italy	0.726	Spain	1.001
88	Philippines	0.659	Namibia	0.723	Colombia	0.977	Turkey	0.701	Denmark	0.722	Latvia	0.999
89	Indonesia	0.646	Senegal	0.702	Australia	0.976	New Zealand	0.693	Rwanda	0.722	Sudan	0.998
90	Chad	0.640	Mali	0.698	Kazakhstan	0.973	Germany	0.680	Slovak Republic	0.720	Belgium	0.997
91	Germany	0.601	South Africa	0.695	Sudan	0.971	Slovenia	0.678	Cameroon	0.718	Bahamas, The	0.995
92	Belgium	0.595	Uruguay	0.680	Uganda	0.968	Guinea	0.673	Honduras	0.711	Peru	0.994
93	Haiti	0.588	Ghana	0.673	Paraguay	0.967	China	0.659	Germany	0.707	Austria	0.992
94	Panama	0.581	Madagascar	0.668	Ireland	0.963	Peru	0.644	Egypt, Arab Rep.	0.707	Switzerland	0.991

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
95	South Africa	0.577	Central African Republic	0.659	Cabo Verde	0.961	Honduras	0.642	Portugal	0.703	Gabon	0.990
96	Italy	0.574	Chad	0.653	Venezuela, RB	0.960	Czech Republic	0.636	Bangladesh	0.698	Ecuador	0.984
97	Portugal	0.566	Malawi	0.651	Belize	0.960	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.630	Sweden	0.697	Australia	0.980
98	Denmark	0.566	Netherlands	0.633	Mozambique	0.958	Hungary	0.626	Malaysia	0.696	United Kingdom	0.972
99	Madagascar	0.546	Nepal	0.631	Nicaragua	0.948	Niger	0.623	South Africa	0.668	Czech Republic	0.962
100	Senegal	0.532	Sweden	0.616	Bahamas, The	0.947	Spain	0.619	Canada	0.664	Germany	0.962
101	Nepal	0.519	Finland	0.612	Moldova	0.938	Kenya	0.613	Czech Republic	0.661	Kazakhstan	0.962
102	Central African Republic	0.501	Benin	0.585	Afghanistan	0.937	Zambia	0.613	Tanzania	0.657	Guinea-Bissau	0.960
103	Mali	0.488	Panama	0.576	Honduras	0.936	Canada	0.607	Fiji	0.655	Mexico	0.960
104	Malawi	0.484	Papua New Guinea	0.573	New Zealand	0.928	Burkina Faso	0.603	Peru	0.648	Netherlands	0.950
105	Spain	0.456	Germany	0.570	Dominican Republic	0.921	Barbados	0.597	Macedonia, FYR	0.646	Chad	0.947
106	New Zealand	0.450	Denmark	0.534	Canada	0.919	Belgium	0.590	Slovenia	0.639	Japan	0.940
107	Malta	0.439	Italy	0.531	Equatorial Guinea	0.913	Japan	0.590	Belarus	0.639	Nicaragua	0.938
108	Switzerland	0.415	Portugal	0.531	Switzerland	0.912	Albania	0.589	Argentina	0.635	Congo, Rep.	0.935
109	Ghana	0.414	Belgium	0.521	Zambia	0.912	Argentina	0.577	Japan	0.627	New Zealand	0.932
110	Benin	0.408	Bangladesh	0.498	Guyana	0.900	Dominican Republic	0.574	Turkey	0.625	Ireland	0.932
111	Papua New Guinea	0.401	New Zealand	0.485	China	0.894	Bahamas, The	0.567	Spain	0.619	Cabo Verde	0.927
112	Cabo Verde	0.400	Switzerland	0.455	Trinidad and Tobago	0.861	Bangladesh	0.562	Uruguay	0.614	Kyrgyz Republic	0.921

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
113	Ireland	0.375	Niger	0.454	Luxembourg	0.848	South Africa	0.561	Hungary	0.612	Zimbabwe	0.919
114	Argentina	0.374	Argentina	0.447	Japan	0.843	Mongolia	0.558	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.604	Canada	0.915
115	Lebanon	0.370	Malta	0.433	Mexico	0.842	Benin	0.557	Paraguay	0.603	Iraq	0.909
116	Dominican Republic	0.365	Spain	0.432	Argentina	0.838	Paraguay	0.544	Philippines	0.602	Argentina	0.909
117	Bangladesh	0.359	Cabo Verde	0.416	Brazil	0.837	Indonesia	0.534	Indonesia	0.601	Luxembourg	0.909
118	Austria	0.349	Cameroon	0.413	Lithuania	0.835	Kazakhstan	0.533	Belgium	0.592	Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.906
119	Japan	0.297	Costa Rica	0.412	South Africa	0.830	Austria	0.520	Timor-Leste	0.584	Honduras	0.903
120	Jamaica	0.294	Dominican Republic	0.396	Kyrgyz Republic	0.823	Cameroon	0.519	Albania	0.580	Paraguay	0.903
121	Brazil	0.285	Ireland	0.389	Nepal	0.823	Switzerland	0.517	Bahamas, The	0.570	Brazil	0.901
122	Cameroon	0.271	Jamaica	0.377	Tanzania	0.818	Philippines	0.509	Jamaica	0.569	Central African Republic	0.888
123	Niger	0.268	Japan	0.352	Madagascar	0.816	El Salvador	0.504	Barbados	0.560	Indonesia	0.888
124	Luxembourg	0.262	Brazil	0.340	Philippines	0.809	Jamaica	0.497	Kazakhstan	0.555	Uzbekistan	0.886
125	Mexico	0.213	Austria	0.319	Indonesia	0.794	Malta	0.469	Mozambique	0.534	China	0.884
126	Cote d'Ivoire	0.195	Luxembourg	0.309	Guinea	0.786	Tanzania	0.454	Mongolia	0.531	Moldova	0.876
127	Afghanistan	N/A	Cote d'Ivoire	0.306	Sierra Leone	0.786	Timor-Leste	0.449	Austria	0.524	Jamaica	0.873
128	Angola	N/A	Lebanon	0.292	India	0.781	Nicaragua	0.442	Switzerland	0.522	Somalia	0.869
129	Andorra	N/A	Mexico	0.253	Jamaica	0.779	Cabo Verde	0.419	Costa Rica	0.507	Ethiopia	0.863
130	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	Mauritius	0.224	Togo	0.774	Ethiopia	0.408	Dominican Republic	0.493	Philippines	0.845
131	Burundi	N/A	Afghanistan	N/A	Estonia	0.770	Luxembourg	0.362	Liberia	0.491	Sierra Leone	0.845
132	Bosnia and Herzegovina	N/A	Angola	N/A	Central African Republic	0.760	Mozambique	0.350	Ethiopia	0.472	South Africa	0.841
133	Barbados	N/A	Andorra	N/A	Senegal	0.757	Mexico	0.341	Nicaragua	0.471	Togo	0.839

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
134	Bhutan	N/A	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	Lesotho	0.756	Malawi	0.340	Malawi	0.468	Guatemala	0.824
135	Comoros	N/A	Burundi	N/A	Malawi	0.743	Liberia	0.331	El Salvador	0.461	Uganda	0.822
136	Costa Rica	N/A	Bosnia and Herzegovina	N/A	Tajikistan	0.741	Madagascar	0.311	Cabo Verde	0.452	India	0.821
137	Czech Republic	N/A	Barbados	N/A	Burundi	0.728	Moldova	0.291	Madagascar	0.435	Cote d'Ivoire	0.818
138	Dominica	N/A	Bhutan	N/A	Haiti	0.727	Ireland	0.284	Malta	0.420	Tajikistan	0.815
139	Eritrea	N/A	Comoros	N/A	Latvia	0.726	Venezuela, RB	0.274	Luxembourg	0.399	Bangladesh	0.805
140	Estonia	N/A	Czech Republic	N/A	Kenya	0.723	Nigeria	0.266	Nigeria	0.362	Lesotho	0.794
141	Ethiopia	N/A	Dominica	N/A	Bangladesh	0.721	Guatemala	0.255	Mexico	0.355	Senegal	0.792
142	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Eritrea	N/A	Papua New Guinea	0.699	Ghana	0.253	Ghana	0.353	Zambia	0.791
143	Gabon	N/A	Estonia	N/A	Mali	0.699	Sierra Leone	0.246	Moldova	0.333	Equatorial Guinea	0.773
144	Guinea	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Benin	0.697	Papua New Guinea	0.223	Papua New Guinea	0.320	Guinea	0.772
145	Gambia, The	N/A	Gabon	N/A	Gambia, The	0.696	Andorra	N/A	Guatemala	0.310	Timor-Leste	0.769
146	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	Guinea	N/A	Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.689	United Arab Emirates	N/A	Ireland	0.304	Yemen, Rep.	0.755
147	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	Gambia, The	N/A	Rwanda	0.688	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	Sierra Leone	0.292	Benin	0.735
148	Grenada	N/A	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	Burkina Faso	0.688	Bhutan	N/A	Venezuela, RB	0.251	Nigeria	0.733
149	Guyana	N/A	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	Nigeria	0.684	Comoros	N/A	Iceland	0.193	Malawi	0.726
150	Croatia	N/A	Grenada	N/A	Uzbekistan	0.673	Costa Rica	N/A	Haiti	0.129	Cameroon	0.723
151	Iran, Islamic Rep.	N/A	Guyana	N/A	Cameroon	0.655	Cuba	N/A	Andorra	N/A	Burkina Faso	0.721

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
152	Iraq	N/A	Croatia	N/A	Georgia	0.654	Djibouti	N/A	United Arab Emirates	N/A	Ghana	0.716
153	Iceland	N/A	Iran, Islamic Rep.	N/A	Cote d'Ivoire	0.636	Dominica	N/A	Bhutan	N/A	Madagascar	0.714
154	Cambodia	N/A	Iraq	N/A	Ghana	0.616	Eritrea	N/A	Comoros	N/A	Mali	0.711
155	Kiribati	N/A	Iceland	N/A	Niger	0.591	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Cuba	N/A	Papua New Guinea	0.695
156	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Cambodia	N/A	Andorra	N/A	Gambia, The	N/A	Djibouti	N/A	Kenya	0.695
157	Kuwait	N/A	Kiribati	N/A	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	Dominica	N/A	Gambia, The	0.692
158	Liberia	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Barbados	N/A	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	Eritrea	N/A	Tanzania	0.691
159	Libya	N/A	Liberia	N/A	Bhutan	N/A	Grenada	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Liberia	0.675
160	St. Lucia	N/A	Libya	N/A	Comoros	N/A	Haiti	N/A	Gambia, The	N/A	Mozambique	0.656
161	Liechtenstein	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A	Costa Rica	N/A	Iceland	N/A	Guinea-Bissau	N/A	Niger	0.593
162	Lithuania	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A	Czech Republic	N/A	Kyrgyz Republic	N/A	Equatorial Guinea	N/A	Andorra	N/A
163	Latvia	N/A	Lithuania	N/A	Dominica	N/A	Kiribati	N/A	Grenada	N/A	Antigua and Barbuda	N/A
164	Monaco	N/A	Latvia	N/A	Eritrea	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Kyrgyz Republic	N/A	Bhutan	N/A
165	Moldova	N/A	Monaco	N/A	Ethiopia	N/A	Lao PDR	N/A	Kiribati	N/A	Comoros	N/A
166	Maldives	N/A	Moldova	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A	Libya	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Costa Rica	N/A
167	Marshall Islands	N/A	Maldives	N/A	Grenada	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A	Lao PDR	N/A	Dominica	N/A
168	Macedonia, FYR	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A	Iceland	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A	Libya	N/A	Eritrea	N/A
169	Myanmar	N/A	Macedonia, FYR	N/A	Kiribati	N/A	Monaco	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A	Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	N/A

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
170	Montenegro	N/A	Myanmar	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A	Maldives	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A	Grenada	N/A
171	Mauritius	N/A	Montenegro	N/A	Liberia	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A	Monaco	N/A	Haiti	N/A
172	Nauru	N/A	Nauru	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A	Mauritius	N/A	Maldives	N/A	Iceland	N/A
173	Palau	N/A	Palau	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A	Nauru	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A	Kiribati	N/A
174	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Monaco	N/A	Panama	N/A	Nauru	N/A	St. Kitts and Nevis	N/A
175	Qatar	N/A	Qatar	N/A	Maldives	N/A	Palau	N/A	Palau	N/A	Libya	N/A
176	Solomon Islands	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	N/A	St. Lucia	N/A
177	Sierra Leone	N/A	Sierra Leone	N/A	Montenegro	N/A	Qatar	N/A	Qatar	N/A	Liechtenstein	N/A
178	San Marino	N/A	San Marino	N/A	Mauritius	N/A	Sudan	N/A	Sudan	N/A	Monaco	N/A
179	Somalia	N/A	Somalia	N/A	Nauru	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A	Maldives	N/A
180	Serbia	N/A	Serbia	N/A	Palau	N/A	San Marino	N/A	San Marino	N/A	Marshall Islands	N/A
181	South Sudan	N/A	South Sudan	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A	Somalia	N/A	Somalia	N/A	Mauritius	N/A
182	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	San Marino	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	Nauru	N/A
183	Slovak Republic	N/A	Slovak Republic	N/A	Somalia	N/A	Suriname	N/A	Suriname	N/A	Panama	N/A
184	Slovenia	N/A	Slovenia	N/A	South Sudan	N/A	Swaziland	N/A	Swaziland	N/A	Palau	N/A
185	Swaziland	N/A	Swaziland	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A	Seychelles	N/A	Seychelles	N/A	Solomon Islands	N/A
186	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Slovak Republic	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	Syrian Arab Republic	N/A	San Marino	N/A
187	Togo	N/A	Togo	N/A	Swaziland	N/A	Turkmenistan	N/A	Turkmenistan	N/A	Sao Tome and Principe	N/A

Position	1992						2017					
	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d	Country	m_e	Country	m_{GDP}	Country	m_d
188	Timor-Leste	N/A	Timor-Leste	N/A	Timor-Leste	N/A	Tonga	N/A	Tonga	N/A	Swaziland	N/A
189	Tonga	N/A	Tonga	N/A	Tonga	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A	Seychelles	N/A
190	Tuvalu	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A	Uzbekistan	N/A	Uzbekistan	N/A	Tonga	N/A
191	Uzbekistan	N/A	Uzbekistan	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	Tuvalu	N/A
192	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	N/A
193	Vanuatu	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Vanuatu	N/A
194	Samoa	N/A	Samoa	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Samoa	N/A
195	Kosovo	N/A	Kosovo	N/A	Kuwait	N/A	Yemen, Rep.	N/A	Yemen, Rep.	N/A	Kosovo	N/A

N/A – no data available for formula calculation.

4.3. Ranking of countries by power status

The power status criteria may be classified in two major ways – sectorially and synthetically. In the former case, the military, economic, and energy/resource power status are considered. In the latter case, the main point of consideration while assigning countries to particular sections is synthetic power measures.

Table 3 presents classification of power status, with the use of synthetic power measures, based on the accepted criteria.

Table 3. Classification of power status based on synthetic power measures

Power status	Symbol	Criterion in percentage of the world power
Superpower	SP	above 18%
World Power	WP	12–18%
Great Power	GP	7–12%
Regional Power	RP	3–7%
Local Power	LP	1–3%
Small Power	PP	0.1-1%
Micro Power	MP	below 0.1%

Table 4 includes a list of countries meeting the power status criteria on the basis of economic (general) power, military power and geopolitical power as of 1992 and 2017, with a share equal or higher than 1% of the world power. Countries with the status of a small power or a micropower are omitted in the report.

Tables 5-7 present rankings of powers according to the order of their position based on the economic (general) power as of 2017. The presented classification of power status is based on absolute criteria (and therefore referring to the world). This means that in the event of a considerable fragmentation, there may no longer exist superpowers, world powers or even great powers. In a situation like this, countries occupying the leading positions would still be the strongest, without, however, meeting the top criteria. For this reason, for example, the strongest country in the region should not be treated as a "regional power" unless it met the relevant criteria (3-7% of the world power).

Table 4. Countries according to the power status in the years 1992 and 2017

Power status	1992			2017		
	EP	MP	GP	EP	MP	GP
Superpower	none	United States	United States	none	United States	United States
World Power	United States	none	none	China United States	none	none
Great Power	none	Russian Federation	none	none	China	China
Regional Power	Japan Germany China France	China	Russian Federation China Japan Germany	Brazil India Japan	India Russian Federation Saudi Arabia	India Russian Federation
Local Power	Italy Russian Federation United Kingdom India Brazil Canada Spain Mexico Australia Argentina	France Germany United Kingdom India Japan Saudi Arabia Italy Canada Korea, Rep. Korea, Dem. People's Rep.	France United Kingdom India Italy Canada Saudi Arabia Brazil Korea, Rep. Spain	Germany Russian Federation France United Kingdom Canada Indonesia Mexico Italy Australia Spain Korea, Rep. Turkey	Brazil France Japan United Kingdom Korea, Rep. Germany Iran Australia Italy Canada	Brazil Saudi Arabia Japan France Germany United Kingdom Korea, Rep. Australia Canada Italy Iran Indonesia

Table 5. Countries according to the power status based on the economic (general) power in the years 1992-2017 (ordered according to the position as of 2017)

Country	Position	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
China	1	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP
United States	2	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	GP	GP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP	WP
Brazil	3	LP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	RP
India	4	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Japan	5	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
Germany	6	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Russia	7	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP
France	8	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
United Kingdom	9	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	10	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	11		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP					LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Mexico	12	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	13	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

Country	Position	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
Australia	14	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	15	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
Korea, Rep.	16		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	17													LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

Legend:

SP - superpower   WP - world power   GP - great power   RP - regional power   LP - local power   ☐ - out of LP

Table 6. Countries according to the power status based on the military power in the years 1992-2017 (ordered according to the position as of 2017)

Country	Position	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
United States	1	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP
China	2	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP
India	3	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Russian Federation	4	GP	WP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Saudi Arabia	5	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Brazil	6	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	7	LP	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
Japan	8	LP	LP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
United Kingdom	9	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
Korea, Rep.	10	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	11	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	12	N/A						LP	LP						LP	LP		LP			LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Australia	13			LP	LP	LP	LP								LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

Country	Position	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
Italy	14	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	15	LP	LP		LP	LP	LP		LP	LP	LP		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

Legend:

N/A – no data available for formula calculation.

SP - superpower   WP - world power   GP - great power   RP - regional power   LP - local power   ☐ - out of LP

Table 7. Countries according to the power status based on geopolitical power in the years 1992-2017 (ordered according to the position as of 2017)

Country	Position	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
United States	1	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP
China	2	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP	GP
India	3	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Russian Federation	4	RP	GP	GP	GP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP
Brazil	5	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Saudi Arabia	6	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	7	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	LP	LP	RP	LP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
France	8	LP	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
Germany	9	RP	RP	RP	RP	RP	LP	RP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
United Kingdom	10	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
Korea, Rep.	11	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	12		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

Country	Position	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
Canada	13	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	14	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	15	N/A																		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
Indonesia	16												LP								LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

Legend:

N/A – no data available for formula calculation.

SP	- superpower	
WP	- world power	
GP	- great power	
RP	- regional power	
LP	- local power	
	- out of LP	

4.4. Winners and losers in the international distribution of power

It shall be remembered that power struggle is a zero-sum game, which indicates that an increase in power of some countries goes along with a decrease in power of the other. The total sum of increase and decrease expressed in the adopted units (here: in mM) is equal to zero. This, obviously, does not apply to percentage increase/decrease.

Table 8 presents a ranking of countries with the highest percentage increase and decrease in the economic (general) power in relation to the world.

Table 9 presents changes in the distribution of power between regions, which is merely for illustrative purposes.

Table 8. Countries with the highest increase and decrease in economic (general) power in 2017 relative to 1992

INCREASE (2017 relative to 1992)				DECREASE (2017 relative to 1992)			
Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position	Country	mM	Percentage	Change of position
Equatorial Guinea	0.179	950.84	14	Japan	-33.607	-49.09	-2
Qatar	0.905	372.43	41	Ukraine	-1.986	-44.26	-23
China	114.694	306.51	3	Italy	-11.864	-42.76	-7
Vietnam	3.109	256.42	23	Central African Republic	-0.076	-40.80	-30
Sudan	2.009	215.21	21	Libya	-0.696	-38.64	-24
Maldives	0.034	207.50	-5	Greece	-1.332	-36.93	-26
Angola	1.793	206.70	22	Germany	-15.353	-36.85	-3
Albania	0.158	185.30	0	Gambia. The	-0.021	-34.87	-28
Lao PDR	0.282	180.46	16	Micronesia. Fed. Sts.	-0.004	-32.96	-22
Nigeria	4.946	166.47	21	France	-10.198	-32.71	-3
Turkmenistan	0.508	157.36	16	Sweden	-2.142	-30.68	-11
Tanzania	1.008	151.05	13	Portugal	-0.982	-30.00	-15
Liberia	0.055	131.55	-12	Belgium	-1.316	-27.13	-14

Lebanon	0.348	122.73	9	Denmark	-0.872	-26.55	-15
Uganda	0.465	121.38	10	Spain	-4.426	-26.41	-3
United Arab Emirates	1.735	117.51	11	Austria	-1.185	-26.17	-15
Kenya	1.052	115.55	8	Marshall Islands	-0.001	-25.65	-21
Bhutan	0.034	111.21	-12	Finland	-0.808	-24.37	-14
Bahrain	0.140	105.65	1	United Kingdom	-6.054	-23.87	-1
India	24.498	102.15	6	Netherlands	-1.573	-22.32	-8
Zambia	0.401	100.25	2	Barbados	-0.012	-19.59	-26
Jordan	0.372	99.17	2	Switzerland	-0.836	-16.58	-11
Guyana	0.049	98.43	-11	Taiwan. Province of China	-0.884	-15.86	-9
Mongolia	0.170	92.92	6	Andorra	-0.005	-15.66	-24
Sri Lanka	0.678	91.43	5	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	-0.002	-12.95	-19
Ethiopia	1.229	91.39	6	Tunisia	-0.122	-12.82	-20
Venezuela. RB	2.999	90.82	14	South Africa	-0.775	-11.46	-5
Ghana	0.537	84.99	10	Dominica	-0.001	-10.66	-19
Suriname	0.039	84.47	-15	Comoros	-0.002	-10.15	-20
Azerbaijan	0.343	83.66	-3	Canada	-1.952	-9.46	1
Bangladesh	2.163	83.58	11	Argentina	-0.919	-9.11	-3
Panama	0.368	83.58	0	Zimbabwe	-0.058	-9.04	-22
Indonesia	7.907	82.39	6	Belarus	-0.084	-7.81	-18
Guatemala	0.579	80.07	3	United States	-9.698	-6.09	-1
Nicaragua	0.156	79.78	2	Tonga	-0.001	-5.54	-18
Armenia	0.099	78.45	-8	St. Lucia	-0.001	-5.10	-19
Nepal	0.307	73.16	-6	Norway	-0.180	-4.99	-9
Honduras	0.221	71.98	-2	Gabon	-0.014	-4.35	-26
Romania	1.184	70.60	4	Brunei Darussalam	-0.004	-3.16	-21

Oman	0.430	66.69	3	Russian Federation	-0.697	-2.61	0
Bolivia	0.385	65.98	1	Senegal	-0.011	-2.14	-23
Costa Rica	0.303	65.67	-5	Lesotho	-0.001	-0.63	-21
Dominican Republic	0.424	64.05	3	Antigua and Barbuda	0.000	-0.54	-19
Singapore	0.597	63.80	0	Fiji	0.000	-0.15	-20
Pakistan	2.658	63.71	8	Hungary	-0.002	-0.12	-13
Burkina Faso	0.177	60.66	-3				
Guinea-Bissau	0.019	58.62	-15				
Chad	0.160	56.79	-2				
Benin	0.110	56.10	-6				
Colombia	1.902	55.89	6				
Philippines	1.947	55.25	5				
Mali	0.216	54.72	-8				
Mozambique	0.198	54.67	-8				
Samoa	0.006	54.00	-15				
Sierra Leone	0.050	51.44	-13				
Chile	1.276	50.44	7				
Egypt. Arab Rep.	1.707	50.39	6				
Kazakhstan	1.021	50.26	2				
Ireland	0.831	50.13	-1				
Peru	1.274	49.73	7				
Ecuador	0.568	48.40	-3				
Malaysia	1.340	45.71	7				
Czech Republic	0.705	45.61	-4				
Slovak Republic	0.339	45.13	-3				
Saudi Arabia	2.673	43.81	3				
Turkey	3.270	42.36	1				

Papua New Guinea	0.160	39.33	-13
Congo. Dem. Rep.	0.453	39.12	-5
Brazil	8.272	36.18	5
Cabo Verde	0.010	35.72	-18
Poland	1.564	34.06	2
Israel	0.655	34.04	-1
Rwanda	0.065	33.38	-11
New Zealand	0.521	32.99	-6
Vanuatu	0.005	30.70	-16
Bulgaria	0.194	27.67	-8
Macedonia. FYR	0.041	24.78	-15
Botswana	0.074	23.44	-13
Madagascar	0.094	22.93	-19
Paraguay	0.121	21.96	-14
Kiribati	0.001	21.43	-18
Niger	0.071	20.50	-17
Korea. Rep.	1.875	19.14	0
Australia	2.231	18.11	0
Namibia	0.053	18.05	-15
St. Kitts and Nevis	0.002	17.76	-16
El Salvador	0.063	17.22	-17
Uruguay	0.116	16.97	-13
Malta	0.014	16.84	-16
Luxembourg	0.053	16.60	-15
Djibouti	0.007	16.55	-19
Bahamas. The	0.019	16.42	-16
Cote d'Ivoire	0.146	16.04	-9
Belize	0.006	15.57	-21
Jamaica	0.032	15.52	-20

Tajikistan	0.033	15.17	-17
Tuvalu	0.000	14.79	-21
Mauritania	0.027	14.79	-17
Mauritius	0.020	14.56	-18
Malawi	0.033	14.45	-17
Thailand	0.839	14.19	0
Uzbekistan	0.160	13.94	-8
Haiti	0.028	12.78	-18
Solomon Islands	0.004	12.34	-21
Trinidad and Tobago	0.026	11.95	-20
Liechtenstein	0.004	11.76	-20
Algeria	0.336	9.81	-5
Cuba	0.104	8.64	-10
Burundi	0.010	8.20	-16
Guinea	0.025	7.40	-19
Swaziland	0.007	7.25	-20
Cameroon	0.047	4.94	-15
Seychelles	0.001	4.66	-18
Congo. Rep.	0.012	4.31	-18
Georgia	0.012	4.00	-20
Iceland	0.010	3.88	-19
Grenada	0.001	3.64	-18
Kyrgyz Republic	0.004	1.74	-21
Yemen. Rep.	0.010	1.54	-20
Morocco	0.031	1.36	-10
Mexico	0.142	0.87	1
Cyprus	0.001	0.53	-23
Togo	0.001	0.43	-20

4.5. Regional distribution of power

Due to the multitude of criteria, a division into regions is always a matter of convention, based on more or less justified premises. In this regard, the World Bank division was adopted.
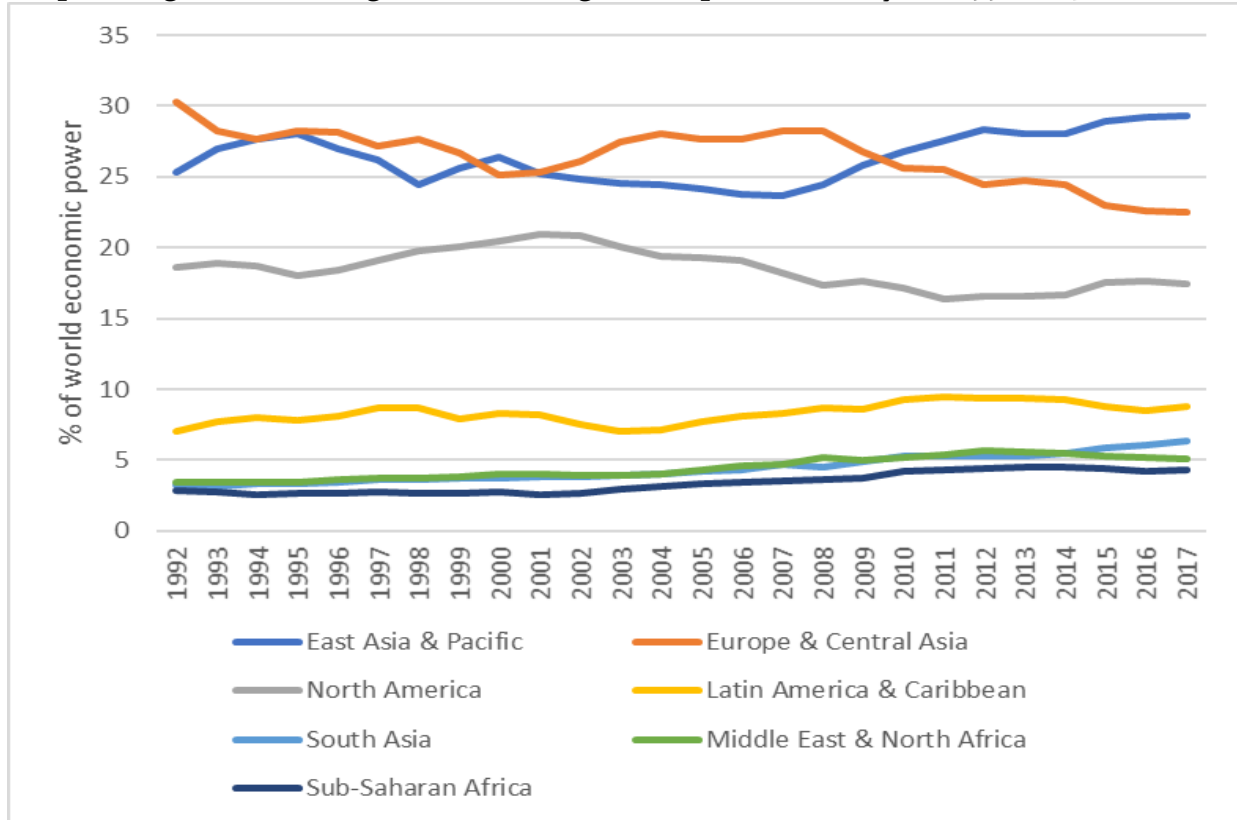
Table 9 presents changes in the regional distribution of power, with the proviso that these changes may not be compatible with the changes in the global distribution. For example, a country which is losing on a global scale may be gaining on a regional scale and vice versa.

Graph 1 presents regions in the years 1992-2017.

Table 9. Regions according to economic (general) power in the years 1992 and 2017 (world = 100%)

Position	1992		2017	
	Region	Percentage	Region	Percentage
1	Europe & Central Asia	30.25	East Asia & Pacific	29.27
2	East Asia & Pacific	25.32	Europe & Central Asia	22.52
3	North America	18.59	North America	17.41
4	Latin America & Caribbean	7.07	Latin America & Caribbean	8.75
5	Middle East & North Africa	3.47	South Asia	6.34
6	South Asia	3.23	Middle East & North Africa	5.12
7	Sub-Saharan Africa	2.87	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.30

Graph 1. Regions according to economic (general) power in the years 1992-2017 (world = 100%)

CONCLUSION

General distribution of power

The results of our calculations are based on Sułek's model, which we believe is easy to understand and use also by non-professionals. This model enables calculation of three types of power: *economic (general) power*, *military power* and *geopolitical power* – the latter being the resultant of the previous two. Economic power is determined by a combination of economic factors (GDP – Gross Domestic Product), demographic factors (population) and spatial factors (territory area). Military power is determined by military and economic factors (military expenditures), demographic and military factors (number of active duty soldiers) and area. Geopolitical power is calculated as the arithmetic mean of the economic (general) and double military power.

Considering *economic (general) power* as the main criterion, in 1992, a unipolar system was formed, determined by the United States. Japan took the second place, followed by Germany, China, France, Italy, Russia, the UK and India. In 2017, the distribution of power changed significantly and a bipolar system was established, headed by China and the United States. Yet, China took the first place for the first time after the Cold War, followed by India, Japan, Brazil Germany, Russia, France, the UK and Canada.

Based on the *military power* as the main criterion, in 1992 a new international order emerged, characterized as unipolar, with the United States as the dominant power. Russia, which ranked second, was considered almost three times less powerful. The other spots were taken by China, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Japan, Saudi Arabia and Italy. In 2017, the system remained unipolar, headed by the United States, with a nearly double advantage over China (2nd place). Further down the list were: India, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, France, Japan, Great Britain and Germany.

As far as *geopolitical power* is concerned, in 1992 the system remained unipolar, with the United States in the lead, having a threefold advantage over Russia. Next down the list were China, Japan, Germany, France, the UK, India, Italy and Canada. In 2017, a bipolar system emerged, headed by the United States and China. This bipolar system, however, may be described as "weak" due to the nearly double advantage of the United States.

It shall be noted that the most reliable comparisons of long-term changes in the international distribution of power should be based on the economic (general) power. In current day-to-day politics, military power, and consequently, geopolitical power assume a prime role.

Militarization

There are three domains of militarization of the economic (general) power which are taken into consideration: economic (general) militarization, which is a share of the military power in the economic power; militarization of GDP, which is a share of military expenditures in GDP; and demographic militarization, expressed as a share of active duty soldiers in general population (with the respective exponents as shown in the model).

In 1992, the most militarized countries in economic (general) terms included Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, Jordan, Oman, Bulgaria, Armenia, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates and Russia.

The distribution of power differed slightly in terms of militarization of GDP. Here, the list was headed by Laos, Kuwait, Mongolia, Vietnam, Turkmenistan, Bulgaria, Oman, Mozambique, Armenia and Jordan. Yet another ranking is presented based on the criterion of demographic militarization. The top ten countries in the ranking included Israel, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Croatia, Iraq, Taiwan, Russia, Libya and Oman.

2017 saw a significant change in the rankings of countries based on the aforementioned criteria. The most militarized countries in the general sense included Oman, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Israel, Iraq, Armenia, Jordan, Algeria and South Sudan. The order of countries based on militarization of GDP was as follows: Oman, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Algeria, Congo Israel, Kuwait, Mali and Bahrain. Finally, the most demographically militarized countries in 2017 were: North Korea, Israel, Brunei, Armenia, South Sudan, Greece, Singapore, Cyprus, South Korea and Sri Lanka.

Power status

In the period studied (1992-2017), no country reached a superpower status in terms of economic (general) power. The United States maintained its position of a world power, while China progressed to this position from the regional level, and Japan, Germany and France fell in the rankings, assuming a regional power status. In terms of military power, the United States maintained its position of the only superpower, while China rose from the

position of a regional power in 1992 to the great power level. Meanwhile, Russia lost its position of a great power and moved to the regional power level. In terms of geopolitical power, in 2017 the United States maintained its position of a superpower, while China moved up from the regional to the great power level. Russia remained its regional power status.

Winners and losers

The biggest winning and losing countries are only considered in terms of economic (general) power, being the most reliable in the long term. This picture is as interesting as it is surprising. In the period of 1992-2017, there were several spectacular wins and as many spectacular losses. The countries were ranked by percentage growths/declines in power.

The first group includes – as far as larger countries are concerned – China, Vietnam, Nigeria, United Arab Emirates, India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Romania and Pakistan. In the winners group there were also Chile, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Turkey, Poland and Israel. Russia was a winner too, yet its growth was minimal.

The ranking of the biggest losers is headed by Japan, Ukraine, Italy, the Central African Republic, Libya, Greece and Germany. The list of the biggest losers also includes the United States, yet the decline of its power is only slight.

It is clearly noticeable that in terms of power, the biggest winners are medium and less developed countries, which joined the process of globalization. Thanks to this process the level of development evens out which means that population is becoming an accurate measure of power. This is why, if the level of development was the same in the entire world, population would be a sufficient measure of power. The biggest

losers, with a few exceptions, are Western countries.

In the regional ranking, the largest growth in the economic (general) power was recorded by South Asia and the sub-Saharan Africa. The biggest losing region, and practically the only one, is Europe and Central Asia (a slight decline was recorded by North America). The West has become even weaker.

Common wisdom says that globalization results in an even deeper division into the poor and the rich. Studies show, however, that this statement turns out to be false (with China and India being prime examples). The presented changes in the international balance of power indicate that the international system of the past 26 years has contributed to a significant improvement in the position of underdeveloped countries, mainly in Asia and Africa. This was largely due to demographic changes, yet these were excluded from further analysis.

Changes in the international distribution of power may influence policies of individual states – growth in power and international position may embolden them, while a decline in power may discourage them or lead to adventurism. This is an interesting area for further study.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Robert Białoskórski – PhD hab. Eng., Assistant Professor at the Department of International Security and Strategic Studies at the Social Sciences and Security Institute in the Faculty of Humanities at Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities. Specialist in international security. He has recently published a monograph *The Geostrategic Position of the Russian Federation. A Powermetric Study*, UPH, Siedlce 2018. Co-author: *Potęga państw 2018. Raport potęgometryczny* (Power of States 2018. A Powermetric Report), Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warsaw 2018.
E-mail: robert.bialoskorski@uph.edu.pl

Łukasz Kiczma – PhD student at the Department of International Economic Relations and European Integration at the Institute for Social Studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Wroclaw. Entrepreneur and co-author of *Potęga państw 2018. Raport potęgometryczny* (Power of States 2018. A Powermetric Report), Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warsaw 2018.
E-mail: lukasz@kiczma.pl, lukasz.kiczma@uwr.edu.pl
Web: http://kiczma.pl

Mirosław Sułek – Prof. PhD hab., economist, praxiologist, strategic studies analyst, based at the Institute of International Relations in the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Warsaw. He published a monograph: *Potęga państw. Modele i zastosowania* (Power of Nations. Models and Applications), Rambler, Warsaw 2013. Co-author: *Potęga państw 2018. Raport potęgometryczny* (Power of States 2018. A Powermetric Report), Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warsaw 2018.
E-mail: m.sulek@uw.edu.pl

The Powermetric Research Network, has its registered office in Warsaw, Poland.

The Association was founded in 2017 by three authors of this Report. Its mission is to develop and promote powermetrics as an applied science concerned with measurement, estimation and assessment of power/force of particular social entities, especially that of states, as well as with modelling, simulations and forecasting of

relations between them in global, regional and local scales.

The Association pursues its mission by fulfilment of the following tasks: conducting scientific studies in the field of powermetrics, promoting knowledge of powermetrics, organizing conferences, workshops, lectures, as well as popular science activities, including publishing.

This Report can be accessed and used for free.
Authors welcome any form of support of the statutory
tasks performed by the Powermetric Research Network.

Donations will primarily go towards:
- conducting scientific studies in the field of powermetrics
- promoting knowledge of powermetrics
- organization of conferences, workshops and lectures
- popular science activities, including publishing

Donations may be paid to the Association's account:
ING Bank Śląski S.A. (BIC Swift: INGBPLPW)
PLN: PL 62 1050 1012 1000 0090 3135 1522
EUR: PL 40 1050 1012 1000 0090 3135 1530

All necessary information can be found on the Association's website: http://prnet.org.pl/en or at the email address: info@prnet.org.pl.

The "Powermetric Research Network" Association was founded in 2017 by three authors of this Report. Its mission is to develop and promote powermetrics as an applied science concerned with measurement, estimation and assessment of power/ force of particular social entities, especially that of states, as well as with modeling, simulations and forecasting of relations between them in the global, regional and local scale. The Association pursues its mission by fulfillment of the following tasks: conducting scientific studies in the field of powermetrics, promoting knowledge of powermetrics, organizing conferences, workshops, lectures, as well as popular science activities, including publishing. We welcome any form of support of the statutory tasks performed by the Powermetric Research Network.

Association's website: http://prnet.org.pl/en
Email address: info@prnet.org.pl