

The Rise of India: A Myth or Reality*

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Article History

Geliş: 18.12.2018

Kabul: 21.06.2019

On-line Yayın: 30.06.2019

Key Words

Rise of India

Hegemon

Economic Development

Global Politics

Regional Dynamics

Abstarct

India is an influential state in South Asia with considerably huge population, territory and military might. India has always been preoccupied with a strong desire to establish its predominance in Asia. Indian policy makers and leaders take the country's geographic proximity with all the nations in the region as an opportunity to materialize the desire to dominate the region. India has an advantaged position in South Asia as it shares borders with all South Asia countries. It also possesses the 72 percent of the land in the region. The more tangible calculation of power in terms of military capabilities also makes India the strongest and mighty state in the region. Hence, India considers itself a legitimate primary regional force in South Asia. In last two decades, India has made phenomenal economic development and looking forward to grabbing a role of significant player in international politics. Political pundits predicting India's rise as a major event in international politics but there are contradictions as well. Many scholars advocate India's capability of playing an important role in world politics despite so many domestic and regional hurdles. For some other scholars, massive poverty and law and order problems at home are the great concerns while the rise of China in its neighborhood is making it hard for India to realize its dream to become a power. In this background, current study is an attempt to scrutinize the claim of rise of India and the challenges it is facing.



DOI: 10.9761/JASSS7957

Reference Information / Atıf Bilgisi

Khanum, S. (2019). The Rise of India: A Myth or Reality. *Jass Studies- The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, Number: 75, Summer, p. 415-425.

* This study was produced from the author's doctorate dissertation.

Hindistan'ın Yükselişi: Bir Efsane veya Gerçeklik

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Makale Geçmişi

Submitted: 18.12.2018

Accepted: 21.06.2019

Published Online: 30.06.2019

Anahtar Kelimeler

Hindistan'ın Yükselişi

Hindistan

Ekonomik Kalkınma

Küresel Siyaset

Bölgesel Dinamikler

Öz

Hindistan, Güney Asya'da oldukça büyük bir nüfusa, toprağa ve askeri güce sahip olan etkili bir devlettir. Her zaman Asya'da hakimiyetini kurmak için güçlü bir istek ile etkin olmuştur. Hindistan'daki siyasetçiler ve liderler, bölgedeki tüm ulusların ülkenin coğrafi yakınlığını bölgeye egemen olma arzusunu somutlaştırmak için bir fırsat olarak görürler. Tüm Güney Asya ülkeleriyle sınırları paylaştığı için bölge'de avantajlı bir konuma sahiptir. Aynı zamanda bölgedeki arazinin yüzde 72'sine sahiptir. Hindistan'ın askeri yetenekleri de bölgedeki en güçlü devlet yapmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Hindistan kendini Güney Asya'da meşru bir bölgesel güç olarak görmektedir. Son yirmi yılda, Hindistan olağanüstü ekonomik gelişme sağladı ve uluslararası politikada önemli bir rol oynamayı hedefliyor. Hindistan'ın uluslararası politikada büyük bir olay olarak yükselişini öngören siyasi uzmanlar vardır, ancak farklı görüşler de mevcuttur. Pek çok akademisyen, Hindistan'ın birçok yerel ve bölgesel engele rağmen dünya siyasetinde önemli bir rol oynama yeteneğini destekliyor. Diğer bazı akademisyenlere göre, kitlesel yoksulluk ve iç siyasetteki kanun ve nizam sorunları büyük endişe kaynağıdır, Çin'in yükselişi Hindistan'ın büyük bir güç olma hayalini gerçekleştirmesini zorlaştırıyor. Bu çerçevede, mevcut çalışma Hindistan'ın yükselme iddiasını ve karşı karşıya olduğu zorlukları incelemek için bir girişimdir.



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Introduction

The post-Cold War world has provided a huge space to the regional influential states to grow and exercise their powers in their own peripheric circles, and with it the concerns of global and regional actors on to what extent they can exercise the power have also grown high. India is an influential state in South Asia with considerably huge population, territory and military might. India has always been preoccupied with a strong desire to establish its predominance in South Asia and since the independence from in 1947, the main objective of Indian foreign policy is to realize the goal of becoming a regional hegemon whose legitimacy would be accepted by the other states in the region (Ayoob, 1999). Indian policy makers and leaders take the country's geographic proximity with all the nations in the region as an opportunity to turn the desire to dominate into a reality. India has an advantaged position in South Asia as it shares borders with all South Asia countries. It also possesses the 72 percent of the land in the region. Population wise India is the biggest nation and its economic output in the region is 75 percent. The more tangible calculation of power in terms of military capabilities also makes India the strongest and mighty state in the region. India's military and naval forces are continuously expanding the budget and muscles in the region as well. Hence, India considers itself as a legitimate primary regional force in South Asia (Anadkat, 1999).

India's desire to establish its hegemony in the region has its basis not only in tangible capabilities of the country but also the perception of its leaders that after the end of colonial rule, India has soon after independence, India had started strengthening its strategic dominance in the region. It has always prioritized maintaining strategic autonomy as a major foreign policy goal and strife hard to limit the influence of major outside powers on South Asia. The state of India has also tried to promote its hegemonic goals through its foreign policy in the neighboring states (Yadev, 2011). Indian leadership tried to portray India as the torch bearer of the Third World countries against colonial masters and later by joining non-alignment movement during the peak of the Cold War to avoid being part of any of the poles (Maass, 1996).

Theoretical Framework

The end of the Cold War has given way to an enthusiastic debate on the regional powers' rise and their ambitions to dominate their perspective region or become hegemon of the region. There are few countries with considerable economic development and defense capabilities built over the last two decades, China, Russia, Brazil and India are among those few countries with remarkable growth in the post-Cold War era. Obviously, the growing economies are source of growing influence in the region and if there are only one major big economy with strong defense capabilities than the chances of predominance of that country increases many folds. Such countries eventually want to become a hegemon to exercise power in more absolute manners. Now question arises on the criteria to become a preeminent or a hegemon. Whether mere tangible power is enough to exercise control over the region or there are some other preconditions attached to the status of hegemon?

The available power measurement tools including the Gross National Product, military capabilities, demographics (population strength, resources, and geographic location) can define the strength or potentials of a country to what extent it can hold and exercise power. And by this criterion all countries possessing these above-mentioned attributes could be regional hegemon or major powers. India, Nigeria, South Africa, China, Brazil, Russia, Turkey and some other countries do fit in this explanation of regional power holders (Nolte, 2010).

Another very crucial criterion to judge a country's claim to be a major regional power or hegemon is how much country is contributing in the regional growth and orders. And it can be positive or negative, for instance, influence to change the course of regional politics, peace and stability, foreign policy priorities of the other regional countries etc. This kind of power maneuvers do matter in defining

the role of a country in regional as well as in international politics (Nolte, 2010).

Neorealism sees hegemony as a result of uneven distribution of power among states and power is defined in terms of resources and the ability to use those resources in hands efficiently to keep the hold over other states. It is understood as power relations between states and the analysis of any such power possession is based on how states use it effectively to pursue their interests (Waltz, 1979). Hence, for the basic material understanding of the concept of hegemon, it is imperative to have the estimation of its relatively superior economic and military might on the regional level, or global impact of that power exercised at geographically limited area. In contrast to the global hegemon's relatively unchecked or less checked powers and authorities, regional powers (hegemon, major powers, power holders, predominant states would use interchangeably) do have to obey the system structure or the international environment while practicing their power. The demands of the international environment do change the regional dynamics, hence, limit the level of control or influence by the regional hegemon (Lake, 2009).

Apart from material concept of hegemony, there are few other factors that determine whether a state is eligible to grab the status of major region power or hegemonic role such as domestic stability, self-perceptions, contribution in regional dynamics of politics, and how regional and global stakeholders react to such claims. The status of preeminence is more about the relative power than the absolute power as the relative preponderance is more relevant in case of regional interaction between states (Prys, 2010). Thus (material) power exercising capabilities lead to the assumption that regional power has the responsibilities to take care of its area of influence. In other words, power holders in a region automatically are granted or expected to play the role of hegemon. The expectations from an acting hegemon include maintaining order and stability in the given geography also defines their sphere of influence that they have to protect from any internal or external rival (Prys, 2010).

Now, we need to know the material capabilities of India to investigate its potentials to become a regional hegemon. Examining India's economic and military capabilities is important since New Delhi's regional and global aspirations are based on its growing economy and strong defense infrastructure.

Economic Capabilities of India

India's economic boom started soon after the country introduced liberalization reforms in 1990s. The socialist style economy of post-independence time wasn't fulfilling the country's growing need of connectivity with the world market; hence the early 90s witnessed a revolutionary change in Indian economy. India faced the most critical current account deficit crisis in 1991 and had to take help of IMF and World Bank to deal with the crisis. Soon after the crisis India adopted Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) in economic and somehow social sector. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s India implemented the liberalization policies and allowed private sector in Indian market which facilitated Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Institutional Investment (FII) flows in the country. Reforms suited well, and Indian economy started flourishing at fast pace (Anand, 2014). The economic reforms enable India to increase its growth rate from 3.5 percent per year to 5.7 percent per year in the 1990s and that too accelerated further to 7.3 percent yearly growth. The major share in the increasing growth rates was of service and industry sectors. Indian economy's growth continued at the same pace (with rise in GDP noted in 2004 to 2008 as high as 9 percent) throughout the first decade of twenty first century. During this time, growth in all sectors was on rise as technological advances were introduced in almost all sectors especially in agriculture. (Anand, 2014).

Hence, 1990s are the hallmark of change in Indian economic growth and development. India's foreign exchange in 1991 was sufficient for only couple of weeks while by the end of first decade of twenty first century foreign exchange reserves reached to 290 billion USD that is sufficient to meet the country's import needs for seven months. India surplus income rate has reached to 31.6 percent of GDP

from 20 percent in 1990s (Anand, 2014).

The fiscal year 2007, saw a remarkable growth in Indian economy as it grew at 9.2 percent, it was the fastest growth rate in last two decades. India maintained the growth rate of an average 8% for continuous three years. On the basis of such extraordinary growth rate, IMF forecasted Indian economy reaching the European Union's GDP in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) by 2012 and would be able to exceed even further by overtaking the EU by 2015 (Economic Prospects and Policy Issue, Sep. 2005). According to the World Bank data, at the end of year 2005 India was among the closest to GDP USD1 trillion with GDP of almost USD 800 billion (Hogg, 2007). India was able to save 32 percent of GDP in 2007. And that saving rate was higher than the average twenty five percent of GDP between 1990 and 2004. As per the prominent global economist of Morgan Stanley Stephen Roach, "The takeoff phase of economic development has long been associated with saving and investment rates in excess of 30% of GDP. India is now on the move and could well be one of the world's most exceptional economic development stories over the next three to five years." (Roach, 2009 :1).

The growing economy has boosted Indian morale and ambitions to become not only the regional hegemon but also get an influential status at global level. India's Increasing bilateral and multilateral trade ties and connectivity giving it a chance to spread its influence among the nations. The end of the Cold War rivalries has increased the potential for emerging powers to invest and indulge in economic regionalism and India is fully evidently India has pursued this opportunity with full zest. India's "Look East Policy" set by Narasimha Rao (Prime Minister of India during 1991-1996) has defined the country's ambitions to make maximum of its geographical proximity and searching of new markets for its growing economy (Chatterjee, 2007). Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's (1998-2004) government focused largely on enhancing trade ties with Southeast Asian nations and signed Trade Agreements (FTAs) with ASEAN in 2010. Apart from ASEAN, India signed five more FTAs with different countries including: South Korea (2009), Japan (2011), Thailand (2003), Singapore (2005) and Malaysia (2011). India's increasing bilateral economic relations with these countries were the part of "Extended Neighborhood" policy aimed at making the country's economic and security stability possible (Scott, 2009). This policy could be seen in the context of India's rivalry with China. India wanted to make sure the safety of its backyard and being a potential competitor to rising China, India needed to have strong influence on its extended neighboring states (Yahya, 2005).

Apart from making bilateral relations strong with developing neighboring Southeast Asia, India is concentrating on making its standing in international multilateral platforms too. Inclusion in world's top 20 economies (G20) is the proof of world's acceptance of Indian role in reshaping the world economic order. Over the years India has successfully emerged as a significant member of G20. India's significance in G20 increased during and post 2008 global financial crisis when all the developed economies were in difficult situation and witnessing low growth rates, but India was among the very few countries which could maintain the high and steady growth rates. India has no role in developing global financial imbalances causing economic slowdown hence it was in a better position to take a stand and advocate better policies, including inclusiveness and sharing of burden by the developed economies.

BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) club of emerging economies is another multilateral platform where India is an influential actor. Initially, India's response to BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) was politically very calculated. When the club was in development stage, Indian government made sure to maintain a low-profile status and stated that the purpose of the club is not to make any kind of anti-status quo alliance neither to arrange itself against any other countries or group of countries. He refused to accept it as an effort on the behalf of member states to flex muscles (BRIC growth will change the world, 2009).

Gradually, BRIC (later BRICS with the inclusion of South Africa in the club) became a platform from where India was able to express its grudges and dissatisfaction towards global South. India and other member states openly started portraying BRICS club as an autonomous and alternative body of states representing emerging but less privileged nations of the global north. In 2011 Prime Minister Manmohan Singh maintained that the agenda of BRICS is no more limited to financial cooperation among the member states and it includes issues of global relevance such as terrorism, climate change and energy security (Ministry of External Affairs India, 2011). India strategically repositions its stance from low key defensive approach to owning a leadership in key economic and political multilateral institutions. The aspiration to be a representative of global South is quite evident when it proposed South-South cooperation and formation of monetary institutions free of the influence of the developed economies (OECD report on Policy Dialogue on Aid for Trade, 2012). It shows how India wants to make BRICS club a problem-solving body instead of mere an organization working on economic affairs.

India's growing engagement is based on the confidence of hue success in economic sphere and the perception that India would be able to not only sustain this remarkable growth but also will be able to replace many of developing economies soon. This confidence enabling the country to interact with major powers with equal footing as a huge domestic market of 1.3 billion huge population and continental size economy is essential for many countries with advance and developing economies. One very significant attribute of the Indian economy is its resilience in the wake of financial crisis, oil price hikes, current account deficits and any other major global economic slump. Indian economy has not gone through any major crisis since the early 1990 Balance of Payment (BoP) crisis. The sustainable growth at the rate of average 5.8 percent over the last two and half decades provided India a strong base to think global (Nayar, 2006). In post reforms period India's GDP improved from an average 3 to 4 in 1980s percent to an average 6 to 7 percent in late 1990s and 8 to 9 percent in the first decade of twenty first century. The forecast made by Goldman Sachs in 2007 shows high chances of India's economy leaving Japan behind by 2030 and the United States by 2040 (Poddar and Yi, 2007). India had acceded Japan in purchasing-power parity terms in 2011 (Banerji and Shah, 2012). India's exports increased phenomenally post reforms period.

This confidence of stable economy at home made India come forward of its shell of Cold War era and reshape its relations with the US and other developed countries. Strategic needs and a more relaxing international environment for friendly relations without compromising the principles of dignified bilateral ties and protecting the country's stake in the region were the goals of post-Cold War foreign policy of India and apparently New Delhi was successful in achieving the goal at larger extent. India's regional aspirations are also based on its growing economy and capability to add in the strength of its military might. Converting its soft power capabilities into hard power is the agenda of the right-wing Hindu nationalist party Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) since they came in power in 1998. Congress party though, also had the same agenda under Indira Gandhi's reign, but BJP pursued the hegemonic aspirations more rigorously. The nuclear tests of 1998 were also a step towards maintaining military superiority in the region.

Military Might

India's annual defense budget from 1995 to 2010 grew on an average 5.5 percent. And it was possible due to remarkable economic growth in last two decades. The rising economy and every growing military might make it possible for India to think bigger than regional preeminence. India's defense spending accounted for around three percent of international defense spending while in 1995, India's defense expenditure were just over one percent of it (SIPRI, 2006). In pursuing hard power capabilities, India has been maintaining sustainable growth in its defense expenditures per capita 9.7 billion US Dollars in 1991 to 38.1 billion US Dollars in 2013 (SIPRI, 2006). India's hike in defense budget

was the result of the Kargil war with Pakistan in 1999 (that was about to escalate into a nuclear war if the US would not intervene) and Operation Parakram in the wake of attack on Indian parliament in 2001. India's overall defense expenditure increased to thirty percent from 1999 to 2005 and capital outlays rose from 21 percent to 38 percent of the budget (Mason, 2016).

India and Pakistan came under strict sanctions after testing nuclear weapons in 1998 but soon after lifting the sanctions India was granted a strategic military partnership with the United States after signing different defense and political agreements (Banerjee, 2011). As the result of strategic partnership, many Indian defense companies got removed from the US entity List. Indo-US newly built defense relationship paved the way for India to pursue advanced military technologies from different countries including Israel. India-US joint military exercises enhance the professional and technical capabilities of Indian armed and naval forces. Indian growing military capabilities are aimed at protecting and increasing the country's geostrategic and geopolitical interests in South and Southeast Asia.

India's self-perception of being a preeminent power in South Asia is evident by its political and economic goals and strategies to achieve those goals by coercion or using soft power. Now question is, whether its immediate neighbors and other states of the region also accept New Delhi's claims of hegemonic dominance in the region or not?

India's sustainable and stable economic growth is the main source of its global ambitions and stable and rapid growth demands better law and order at home. Peaceful domestic environment also needs peaceful and stable neighborhood. Any country with disturbed neighborhood would not be able to achieve the dream of stable growth at home as sharing border is much more than sharing geographic boundaries. It involves socio-political contact with the immediate next door neighboring countries and if countries in geographic proximity are lacking peace or political and economic well being then chances are high that these conditions going to impact the growth and peace of the whole region.

In South Asian context, India wants rapid growth for itself and for that regional connectivity and economic integration is essential. India's goals to dominate the regional market and protecting the region from any outside power's involvement in socio-economic and geostrategic matters demand high responsibility to contribute in the regional growth and peace and prosperity. The role of stabilizer India wants to play in the region has its costs (Pant, 2016).

Despite the rapid economic growth and strengthening of its military might, India has yet to do more to translate its power capabilities in more visible predominant character in the region. The ambition to achieve the goal of preeminence in South Asia is depended on the other states in the region. Self-perception is significant in defining the foreign policy goals of any state but whether that self-perception is based on legitimate acceptance of the other power players or assumed client states is more significant.

The Problem of Regional Acceptance of India's Preeminence

Throughout the Cold War, India was trying to maintain its preeminence in the region but at that time the bipolar system was a hurdle in New Delhi's ambitions as all the big and smaller states were somehow affiliated with one or another super power of the time. The Cold War balance of power politics were not favoring India to maintain its authority over other states as small as Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Pakistan was taking the benefit of American dependence on it in handling Afghanistan matters post-Soviet invasion and was receiving the US' financial and military support. China and the United States interference was the source of neutralization of Indian authority in South Asia (India and its Neighbors: Cooperation or Confrontation?, 2001). The idea of formulation of strategic consensus in subcontinent wasn't getting materialized as other states were reluctant to obey Indian wishes on matters of political and geostrategic importance despite that India had tried to terrify them using hard

power against almost all its neighbors (Ayoob, 1999).

The end of the Cold War has fulfilled the desires of Indian foreign policy makers as by the end of super powers' rivalries the chances of their meddling in South Asia has been reduced. The sole superpower which has the capacity to interfere in the region has changed its policy towards India. The US is more inclined to India than Pakistan and giving signals to consider India as a security manager or guard of its interests in the region (Thornton, 1992). In changing international and consequently regional dynamics, India has the opportunity to make better foreign policy vis a vis its immediate neighbors and materialize its leadership goals as well. But the most essential thing in this regard would be India's positive and supporting role in the region by minimizing its conflict and helping other regional fellows in getting rid of violence and political turmoil.

Now if we see the peace and stability situation in South Asia where India is situated almost in the middle, the facts and figures are not very encouraging. South Asia is the most violent region after Middle East. The conflict-ridden Afghanistan is the most disturbed country in the region and the other north-western neighbor of India, Pakistan, is also having security and economic instability problems. Sri Lanka and Nepal have also gone through long running violence. Political instability and lack of political culture is also can be seen in Bangladesh. These conflicts and unstable political situation is causing destruction of social and economic cohesion as well as losses of human lives. And it all has been happening in the backyard of India.

India shares its border with ten countries, land border with six countries (Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar) and have maritime borders with seven countries as well. (Pakistan, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Thailand and Indonesia). Except Myanmar and Bhutan, India has the history of border dispute of some kind with almost all its neighbors. It has fought four major wars with Pakistan and China and border disputes are still unresolved after decades of tensions on borders. To build up its legitimate and acceptable position in South Asia, India need to resolve its conflict with its neighbors including the long pending dispute of Kashmir. Post-Cold War period is the time when world was moving towards more connectivity and almost all the major regional disputes are being reconciled, Indo-Pak rivalries are still persistent and making hostage any chance of prosperity in South Asia. Neighboring countries are either afraid of India's rising interference in their internal matters and looking for some external help to counter Indian dominance or depending on India heavily because of their weak leverage power (size, population, resources etc.). Hence, Indian immediate neighborhood is in distress (political, economic) and facing severe law and order problems. India's role in problem solving is not very appreciable in making any significant difference in the wellbeing of its so-called sphere of influence.

Domestic Hurdles

India's achievements in economic sphere are remarkable but there are some real problems creating hurdles in the way of India's ambition to become a world power. India's per capita income is around 2000 USD (India's per capita income, 2018) and it makes India's prospects of becoming a world power a little shakier since the criteria to enter the economic powers club is to have per capita income of 10,000 dollar. The poverty is the biggest hurdle in the way of realizing the goal no matter how well Indian corporations are doing in attracting foreign customers or spreading their wings across the world. India's rising population on one side is a cause of growth in its market economy because of young workforce capable to take the economy ahead but a blooming population of 1.3 billion is a cause of huge distress too specifically as it is difficult to keep the balance in demand and supply ratio in different sectors. India over the last decade has made substantial progress in reducing poverty but still there is a long way to go in eliminating the widespread acute poverty and lift the standard of life for its people. According to the UNDP's Human Development Report India has some 364 million people living in

acute poverty, deprived of basic facilities of health, nutrition, access to essential education and sanitation facilities (271 million fewer poor people in India, 2018). And ironically, young population under the age of ten is the victim of massive negligence and poor administration. India is home to one third of world's poor surviving on less than two dollars a day (One-third of world's poor in India: Survey, 2008). The state data shows the official number of children out of school in quest of helping their families in meeting the ends by doing labor work or begging is 20 million. Unofficial estimations by the private sector is however, closer to 40 million (Gev, Jobelius, Tenbusch, 2007).

Claiming to be the largest secular democracy in the world, India need to provide its citizens equal rights, status and opportunity as per the constitution regardless of the differences based on gender, religious beliefs, caste and ethnicity. But the ground realities contradict India's claim as the equal status to all the citizens is yet to be given. Indian politics is maligned by using minorities and have-nots' as vote bank benefits. Scarcity of resources like clean water availability, electricity and health facilities, making it difficult for the poor regions and tribes (including untouchables) to have a respectable life standard. Quota based opportunities are few and often cause political and social rift in society (Gev, Jobelius, Tenbusch, 2007).

Another big trouble for India is deteriorating law and order situation. There are number of active insurgency movements in different regions of India. The freedom movement in Indian occupied Kashmir and the huge military deployment in the region is a question of human rights violation.

The Maoist insurgency in Northeast India is paralyzing the government machinery in the region for almost 50 years now. The Maoist insurgency as an armed rebellion aiming at controlling the resources by eliminating the state authority in the region (Banerjee, 1980). The Maoist insurgency is the result of unequal distribution of resources and against socio-economic grievances of the tribes living in north and eastern part of the country (Scott, 1977). The Mao rebels are pursuing violent means to fight against the state (using guerrilla warfare techniques) to force the state to either accept their rights or change the socio-political and economic structure by force (Singh, 2006). This insurgency has caused huge human losses, nearly 12000 civilians and 3000 security personnel have lost their lives so far (Singh, May 2015).

India's challenges are no less than its opportunities. Fastest growing economy and strong defense capabilities are not sufficient enough to combat the challenges, but better and capable governance system is imperative to deliver to its population and win the trust of international community.

Conclusion

India's quest to dominate the region and maintain the hegemonic preeminence is questionable in many ways. Theoretically, the existent material capabilities like economic and military power in abundance does not necessarily guarantee hegemonic status to any regional or global power seeker, especially in a situation where client states or states who are supposed to be under the influence are not ready to accept the legitimacy and preeminence of the major power holder. Empirical evidence suggests that India's self-proclaimed authority in South Asia has been controversial especially in post 1990s era, despite India's phenomenal economic growth and military development. China factor, though, doesn't diminish Indian influence in the region altogether as smaller neighbors of India still depend on it largely due to its crucial geographic location and proximity. Massive poverty, unstable law and order situation, discrimination on the basis of religion, gender, cast and region need to be addressed to attain the status of developed country. India's tremendous achievements in economic sphere could only be helpful in its rise when the state is ready to work for the benefit of its citizens equally and they in return would be able to contribute in the growth and prosperity of the state.

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