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## India's Soft Power: Images and Components

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*The authors study a complex and partly contradictory process of modern India's soft power formation. They focus on such components as Bollywood (Indian "dream factory"), music and dance, fabrics and attributes, diamond industry, Bangalore (territory of innovative technologies development) and internal and external policy.*

*The conception of three socio-cultural images of "India's soft power" serves the methodological basis of the work. The first one relates to colonial India, the country's historical past and the ideas of oriental luxury. The second one is associated with the policy of non-violent resistance. The third one comprises all the variety of modern information technologies. The authors come to the conclusion that a harmonious balance of the three images and synthesis of various components contribute to strengthening of India's soft power.*

*Keywords: soft power, Indian policy, Indian culture, Russian-Indian relations, Bollywood, diamond market, IT outsourcing, cultural wars, a socio-cultural image.*

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### Methods

The images, reflecting India's soft power, are studied by means of ancient and modern texts interpretation. Thus, the hermeneutic method can be stated as one applied in the article. Basing on historical materials, the authors attempt to trace the relationship of India's cultural heritage and modern tendencies. This

is done by means of the comparative-historical method. A number of classical and modern conceptions are also taken into account. These are M. Gandhi's theory of nonviolent resistance, the conceptions of "soft power" (J.S. Nye, Jr.), "cultural wars" (P. Buchanan, I. Thomson), humanitarian technologies (P.V. Klachkov), etc.

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### Hypothesis

We hypothesize that various components of India's soft power can be brought into correlation with three main images.

The first one historically dates back to the Mughal Empire. It is associated with India's natural resources and specific oriental culture. In this image India is a beautiful woman, attracting European gentlemen. Feminine traits of this image are obvious as it is associated with oriental exotics – philosophical and religious teachings and practices, music, cinema, dance, cuisine, etc.

The second image is connected with M. Gandhi's activity and non-aligned movement. The features of this image are inner strength, independence, and determination. This image is rather masculine. Its recognizable elements are non-violent resistance, multiethnic democracy.

Formation of the third image is due to modern India's objective transformations, information technologies development, and a rapid change of environment and popular majority's lifestyle. The image manifests itself in the development of electronic technologies (Bangalore, etc.), fashion, mass-media and cinema (Bollywood).

The singled out images are in complex interrelations, featuring either struggle or compromise or mutual complement. The relative weight of each of these images in specific areas of Indian socio-cultural life is different.

### The first image

Tracing the origins of India's soft power it is important to refer to India's ancient culture and, more precisely, to the image of Indian East, which had been formed for many centuries and is widely presented nowadays. According to V.I. Zhukovsky and N.P. Koptseva, Indian culture contains the idea of this subcontinent's eternity: "Other nations, states and cultures come into the world and die. But the march of time has no power

over India. India's spatial and temporal integrity is the integrity of its spiritual tradition which has never been interrupted and still exists in its art, religion and philosophy"<sup>1</sup>.

However, according to N. Blarel's true observation, with its large capital of "soft power", India consciously begins its development and application only in the XX century<sup>2</sup>. India has definitely not lost its cultural attractiveness before. However, spreading of its values was restricted to Central and South-East Asia and the Middle East. These regions' population assimilated the charm of Indian culture due to trade ties with this country.

Defending itself against external forces, India tried to influence them and accustom them to its traditions. "Its capacity to absorb and assimilate was so great that to some extent it culturally conquered its conquerors"<sup>3</sup>.

Formation of the image of India in Europe in the XVII century was associated with the notes of F. Bernier and other travelers, amazed by the brilliance of the Royal Court of the Great Mogul. Thus, for example, Thomas Roe, an ambassador of James I, "was spellbound, having seen the Cihangir in his ceremonial garb. The padishah's belt was gold, his shield and sword were studded with huge diamonds and rubies"<sup>4</sup>. Writers and literary men started depicting India as a rich country full of silk, jewelry and eastern luxury from the XVII century. Thus, in 1675 "Aurangzeb" was first staged in London. This romantic poetic tragedy of John Dryden, an outstanding English poet and playwright, is largely based on F. Bernier's notes<sup>5</sup>.

In the XIX century the characteristic features of the image of India as "a pearl of the Imperial State Crown" were femininity, immaturity, and wildness. According to Jacques Hymans, this image generated not force but rather vulnerability<sup>6</sup>.

### The second image

Conscientious application and development of Indian soft power is largely due to Mahatma Gandhi's teaching. Professor Jacques Hymans believes that "the features, that once seemed to be an element of Indian vulnerability, suddenly turned out to be an element of Indian force in Gandhi's hands. Gandhi performed this feat by using non-linear dynamics of national identity relationships"<sup>7</sup>.

M. Gandhi's strategy of nonviolent resistance is an example of a very original and distinctive use of soft power. This example has shown in practice that "soft" methods can lead to a successful revolution, albeit a non-violent one. "India followed this revolutionary strategy under Gandhi's and Nehru's leadership until Indira Gandhi began turning away from it and later finally abandoned it under Atal Bihari Vajpayee. It is still unclear whether this refusal was an intent or lack of foresight"<sup>8</sup>. Taking into consideration that the charm of the American dream, aimed at planetary domination, faded significantly<sup>9</sup> (this is caused by rather aggressive foreign policy and economic recession), the relevance of M. Gandhi's non-violent methods in today's world is growing more and more.

The success of M. Gandhi's policy is associated with a deep inculcation of the principle of non-violence in Indian culture. The central concepts in M. Gandhi's conception are "Ahimsa" and "Satyagraha". "Ahimsa" (in Sanskrit it means "cause no injury, do no harm") is "avoidance of killing and doing harm to all living beings by actions, words and thoughts; cardinal and first virtue, according to all systems of Indian 'practical philosophy'"<sup>10</sup>.

"Ahimsa for Gandhi is an ideal of behavior he teaches other people, making use of this principle not only in politics but in his own life. Mahatma said: "I made up my mind to introduce

to India the ancient law of self-sacrifice, the law of suffering"<sup>11</sup>.

Gandhi believes that following "Ahimsa" as an immutable ethical law will bring practical benefits to the Indian people. "Ahimsa" is added with his original concept of "Satyagraha", "firmness in truth". He believed that this term "represents an active character of violence, emphasizes ... that it names a positive force and expresses the truth of the highest order"<sup>12</sup>.

In fact, "Satyagraha" is an original technique of political struggle, based on improvement of relations with the enemy, achievement of harmonious relations among various people and groups. According to Gandhi, "Ahimsa" and "Satyagraha" can be principles of international policy, leading to a peaceful settlement of conflicts. Well-defined nonviolent actions made it possible for Gandhi to manage several successful political Satyagraha campaigns, which contributed to the Indian people's independence. Such mass actions of civil disobedience as refusal to cooperate with the British authorities (refusal to buy British goods, including cloth, which the Indians began to make themselves), the Dandi march in 1930 (a protest against the salt monopoly), etc. are widely known.

Gandhi sought to organize a Satyagraha campaign to exclude the protesters' physical aggression, not to shed a single drop of blood. It stands to reason that this was not fully achieved. However, M. Gandhi first put the principle of non-violence in practice, the principle being an effective political model. It was an event for both India at that time and the entire world community.

The path of non-violence is a path of soft struggle. It is chosen by brave, courageous people who have decided to finish with foreign domination. The features of this image are inner strength, independence, and determination. This image is rather masculine. Romain Rolland

mentions that Gandhi told him that "violence is a thousand times better than the risk of the nation's emasculation"<sup>13</sup>.

Jawaharlal Nehru remembered of the M. Gandhi: "He was like a stream of fresh air forcing us to square our shoulders and take a deep breath; ... like a whirlwind he stirred everything and primarily the human mind"<sup>14</sup>". Following M. Gandhi's advice, Motilal Nehru, a successful lawyer, not only gave up his legal practice on the threshold of his sixtieth anniversary but also threw out his suits from Savile Row and dressed in clothes made of homespun cotton. "One of the earliest recollections of his granddaughter, Indira, born in 1917, was a huge bonfire of burning dresses, ties, boas, and hats thrown away by Nehru"<sup>15</sup>.

Other drastic changes also followed. Swarup Rani, M. Nehru's wife who belonged to the higher caste of the Brahmins, publicly took food from the untouchable's hands. This example was followed by millions. The doors of Hindu temples were first opened for "the untouchable"<sup>16</sup>. The word "untouchable" was replaced by "Harijan".

Burning English costumes and taking food from the untouchable meant radical changes. "Satyagraha" practice marked a decisive break with the usual way of colonial life.

As for Gandhi, he himself experienced such a break in his youth during a conflict with his caste: "This incensed the Sheth. I sat unmoved. So the Sheth pronounced his order: "The boy shall be treated as an outcast from today. Whoever helps him or goes to see him off at the dock shall be punishable with a fine of one rupee four annas". The order had no effect on me, and I took my leave of the Sheth. But I wondered how my brother would take it. Fortunately, he remained firm and wrote to me that I had his permission to go, in spite of the Sheth's order"<sup>17</sup>. This decisive break was certainly prepared by

the erosion of the caste system that had already revealed itself.

Gandhi's activities made a major contribution to India's independence it got in 1947 and the country's liberation from the British colonialists. M. Gandhi's personal myth is associated with India's moral and spiritual authority.

A large and multi-aspect potential of M. Gandhi's ideas is proved, in particular, by their rather unscrupulous borrowing by the engineers of "colour revolutions" who substituted true nonviolence with "imaginary" one. Thus, G. Sharp and his followers took the course of universalization and instrumentalization of the non-violent struggle theory. They aimed at bringing this theory to the level of technology making it possible to use humanitarian arms of the East against the East itself<sup>18</sup>.

If the purpose of non-violent revolution in India was the establishment of social justice then the aim of current "colour revolutions" is redistribution of power, search for the benefit of certain interested parties. Thus, practice has shown that non-violent methods can be applied both for the good (the nation's liberation) and for the conquest and establishment of overt or covert colonial dependence. At the same time, there is no doubt in a huge influence of M. Gandhi's conception of non-violence on political philosophy as well as on political practices.

### **The third image**

One may speak of the third image emerging in modern India. The idea of it as a country of jungles and ancient palaces is actively made use of by travel agencies (which organize tours "on the trace of Mowgli") but does not correspond to the truth. As it was rightly stated on one of the Internet forums, "the places on which there were lovely villages and cozy cities 20-30 years ago are now the places with noisy streets, crowded with people and traffic, lots of bazaars, construction

sites, and concrete shells of houses, shops and offices, extending to the horizon”<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, glamorous images of Bollywood stars and a rapid development of business industries are signs of a certain gap between the realities of today’s India and the legendary antiquity as well as Mahatma Gandhi’s teaching.

The third image reveals itself both in foreign and domestic affairs as well as in the dynamics of cultural space. Its formation is connected with modern India’s objective transformations, information technologies development, a rapid change of environment and popular majority’s lifestyle. The components of Indian soft power, associated with the third image, primarily include information technologies (“Bangalore”, etc.), development of fashion, media and cinema (“Bollywood”).

The idea to correlate three singled out images with pre-modernity, modernity and post-modernity respectively is very tempting. Indeed, although the “Satyagraha” revived traditional crafts, M. Gandhi’s activity, aimed at integration of the country and elimination of caste differences, objectively contributed to reorganization of a variegated configuration of traditional ethno-cultural groups into a modern state, industry development and strengthening of all-Indian identity. As for the “third image”, its emergence is connected with the transition of not yet fully industrialized country to the information society. However, this assumption requires further verification.

### **Bollywood**

Indian cinema is a perfect example of combination of various elements of Indian culture in one product. Bollywood films integrate distinctive cultural elements with a popular way of their presentation. Hollywood special effects and action are connected with the stories of Indian epos and features of ancient drama (pastiche

of actions, combination of music and dance for maximum entertainment). Music and dance component is specific and popular for Indian cinema. It is not borrowed from Hollywood musicals but is a tribute to the old canons. It should be noted that the word “drama” (Sanskrit “Natya”) comes from the word “dance” (Sanskrit “Nritya”)<sup>20</sup>.

The Indian audience of Bollywood movies sees a complete picture in which a melodramatic plot combines various meanings of dance and music as every movement and facial gesture of a traditional Indian dance has its meaning contributing to the concept of the film. As for the foreign audience, as a rule they do not understand the symbols of dance and music. Thus the conceptual meaning of dance and music has only a common syncretical image. At that some of them feel a desire and intention to get an understanding of dance and musical performance on screen, master the more important elements of Indian culture.

The Soviet audience made acquaintance with Indian cinema in the early 1950s. Having got tired of the aesthetics of socialist realism, they were eager to plunge into a fantastic and exotic atmosphere of Indian cinema that caused an unprecedented success of Indian films in Soviet cinemas. “Disco Dancer” movie, which came out in the USSR in 1984, got its huge popularity<sup>21</sup>.

Film industry rooting from ancient Indian art and combining different types of art should primarily correlate with the first image and partly the third one. Yet, there are also films devoted to M. Gandhi. The British “Gandhi” (1982) and Indian “He Ram” (2000) are worth while being mentioned among them. Their popularity among the audiences worldwide to this day (including Internet users, social networks) suggests that Gandhi’s personal myth is still interesting to people and has a great influence on culture in general. Gandhi’s authority and respect for his

political activities have firmly rooted in the minds of not only Indians but of the Europeans as well.

### **Music and dance**

"The Beatles" were main guides of Indian musical culture in the West in the 1960s. For example, in late 1965 the band recorded the song in which sitar first sounded in the history of Western music<sup>22</sup>.

In our country the interest in Indian music and dance was largely derived from with popular movies. They favoured initiation of Indian dance clubs in the USSR. The song "Jimmy Jimmy" from "Disco Dancer" movie often sounded in discos in the 1980s. Nowadays the performances of Indian dancers, singers and groups (Bittu Mallick, "Bollywood express" show, etc.) are sold out and met with the audience's applause in Russia.

Melodies, traditional for the East, in one form or another influence contemporary music of India as well as the global music industry in general, thus creating popular elements of pop music. Correlation of the singled out images in Indian musical culture requires a special research. However, it can be assumed that the first image dominates in it, the third image is present in it, and the second one is available in its fragments.

### **Fabrics and attributes**

Every image mentioned is to some extent reflected in different spheres of Indian economy and associated with the consumption and demand of the buyers (not so much Indian as western) on certain Indian goods. India exports such cultural attributes as silk, fabric, tea, delicatessen, etc.

In mass consciousness India is still associated with the production of quality fabrics. Popularity of Indian exhibitions serves an evidence of this. The Association's data are determined by the first image, ideas of India's ancient greatness and paintings of oriental luxury, depicting the palaces

decorated with silk. On the other hand, Indian goods, ranging from those of textile industry to souvenirs and even products of film industry, are a well-established part of the modern world pop culture. Shawls, saris, bangles, oriental sweets, figurines of elephants from various materials, incense sticks, yoga, esoteric literature, vegetarian cuisine, spices, sentimental plots of films hold a firm place in modern urban environment. Thus, a segment of "Indian East" is being formed in global culture.

There is also a reverse process. In India European fashion, advertising, products, cuisine and other products of modern Western culture are becoming more and more popular. This is due to a number of reasons. A lot of Europeans live in India and visit it, thus introducing their own cultural standards and patterns of behavior to the local culture. Development of information technologies, making any global influence a mutual one, plays an important role.

Thus, Indian culture keeps its identity and originality, producing a significant influence on a westerner both financially (attractiveness of Indian goods, etc.) and spiritually (interest in Indian philosophy, Indian thinkers' teachings, religion, esoteric literature).

The issue of implementation of the second image, which we have singled out, is more difficult. There are T-shirts and souvenirs with Gandhi's portrait, but their popularity is not of mass nature (comparable, for example, with the popularity of Che Guevara's portrait). Today one may talk rather of elitism of such products, their exclusiveness to a narrow circle of connoisseurs, style or subculture.

To fully use the potential of Gandhi's image it is required to use the tools of humanitarian technologies. These technologies "use "soft power" as a resource and at the same time provide for its expanded reproduction"<sup>23</sup>. In the absence of humanitarian technologies cultural potential

often remains unfulfilled (and, conversely, technologies that do not base on such heritage "are up in the air").

As it is noted above, the third image is only in the state of its formation. It involves the idea of India as a developing country, actively using modern technologies.

### **Outsourcing**

Indian programmers have achieved great success on the market of IT-outsourcing. The need for freelance programmers for other countries is constantly growing, the services of Indian specialists being relatively cheap. An Indian programmer's average salary is somewhat 11,000 dollars per year. It is rather low by American standards but is almost 20 times higher than the average income per capita in India<sup>24</sup>.

A rapid expansion of this sector became possible due to large-scale investments in higher education. The latter began under Rajiv Gandhi who foresaw India's economic opportunities resulting from computer technologies<sup>25</sup>.

Bangalore institutes integrate training in the field of programming with teaching English. They have established strong links with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in particular. This aims Indian programmers at work with Western companies. About 80% of companies with their offices in Bangalore are American. The most famous of them are Intel, IBM, Dell, Hewlett-Packard. In this regard Bangalore is often called one of the suburbs of Silicon Valley<sup>26</sup>.

A favorable difference in time zones contributes to strong US-Indian relations. The Americans send the tasks two hours prior to the beginning of a working day in India. The Hindus do this work in the course of the day, and thus the Americans get the product needed by the beginning of their next working day<sup>27</sup>.

However, it is quite clear that true leadership requires production of unique software products. In modern India there are talented and naturally gifted programmers, but the average level is still relatively low. Practice has shown that formation of scientific schools and educational institutions of international level takes a number of decades. Personnel's regular outflow also has its influence on this process. The latter weakens India but at the same time creates the Diaspora in Western countries (particularly in the USA) which do not lose ties with their historic homeland.

M. Spence notes that outsourcing provides employment opportunities not only for programmers. Services trade in modern India "is rapidly expanding and growing", it "has spread to business processes, medical specialists' services, television installation, checking examination papers for teachers from developed countries and writing speeches for tongue-tied politicians"<sup>28</sup>. This tendency creates certain opportunities for indirect cultural influence which is produced in various ways. Views on India are conveyed via electronic technologies, mass media, different spheres of production and consumption.

### **Diamond industry**

Jewells and especially diamonds are one of significant symbols of India. Along with Israel it is one of the leaders of the world diamond market. Whereas Israel diamantaires are mainly busy with manufacture of extra class products (including investment diamonds), Indian diamond cutting industry expands a social base of consumers with its primary focus on the products available to wide segments of western middle class. As a result, at present 11 diamonds in every 12 ones used by the world jewelry industry are manufactured in India<sup>29</sup>. At the same time modern Indian specialists are anxious for not only cheap price but also for quality. Intensive technological

modernization is peculiar for the industry. Great attention is paid to the development of marketing programs and formation of brand lines diversified as per country and price segments<sup>30</sup>.

In the course of struggle for dominance on the world diamond market Indian diamantaires involve humanitarian technologies, making use of already existing stereotypes and creating new ones. Allusions to the long developed mines of legendary Golconda<sup>31</sup> are certainly widely used.

Therefore, diamond industry combines the first image associated with the views on India as a fabulously rich Eastern country and the third image representing modernity and a rapid development of industry and economy.

However, the experts state the specificity of diamonds' soft power: at the subconscious level diamonds are associated with blood, war and unsafe adventures. It is this associative array that determines attractiveness of diamonds to the mass buyer, "the office plankton" with their everyday life in rather a boring and regulated world<sup>32</sup>. Thus, branding of this segment of Indian economy gives most picturesque features to Indian soft power.

### **Domestic policy**

Indian public policy that emerged only in the XX century is still being formed. Narendra Modi, who has recently been elected Prime Minister of India, understands the need for the balance of traditions and innovations. During the election campaign of 2014 he appeared before the voters in the form of a hologram<sup>33</sup>. In addition to his official website and personal blog, he is a user of such social networking sites as Facebook and Twitter. The number of his Twitter subscribers has reached 8,61 million people. Addressing to such large audience, Modi often speaks about yoga, thus popularizing this cultural phenomenon more and more. He also writes poems in Gujarati.

These serve the evidence of interrelation of Indian ancient cultural roots and modern technologies.

Rahul Gandhi's election campaign was a less successful attempt to combine the past and the present. Indira Gandhi's grandson, supported by the Indian National Congress and former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, was considered a favorite in the election campaign. It's clear that the elections are always a multifactorial and contradictory process especially in multi-ethnic democracy with the population approaching 1,3 billion people. In addition to this it may be mentioned that the image of this candidate was closest to the third image of those mentioned ones. Believing that the voices of traditional electorate of the Indian National Congress are guaranteed, Rahul Gandhi's technologists sought to gain the young voters' affection as their first priority. These are Bollywood fans and Bangalore programmers. However, postmodern slogan "My religion is the Indian flag" failed to solve but rather aggravated the candidate's image problem (long stay outside India, absence of wife and children, etc.).

As Prime Minister N. Modi contributes to the expanded reproduction of Indian soft power. For example, the board of Ayurveda, yoga, Unani, Siddha and homeopathy (AYUSH) is given the status of the department<sup>34</sup>.

### **Foreign policy**

The development of Indian soft power in the context of interaction of its two components (historical-and-cultural, political-and-technological) started in the second half of the XX century as global and conscious use and dissemination of "soft power" is impossible without "hard power" (according to J.S. Nye, Jr., their combination causes a "smart power"<sup>35</sup>). After 1992 India became a donor country to its nearest neighbors and directed its efforts towards strengthening its own economic and



political sovereignty. "Nowadays India is not merely a country of yoga and Bollywood"<sup>36</sup>. Thus, for example, increasing transactions in the sphere of military-industrial complex India declares itself an independent player on the world stage.

The importance of India in global policy is growing. The issue of whether India will be an autonomous "power center" or take its lead from another superpower is getting more and more relevant. Some Indian researchers consider the world of the XXI century to be three centric (the USA, China and India)<sup>37</sup>. J. S. Nye, Jr. mentions the possibility of Sino-Indian alliance. Apparently, this scenario has been on the Western politicians' minds since the 1990s when India and China refused to support Western aggression against Yugoslavia<sup>38</sup>. However, the researcher of "soft power" believes that long-standing controversies will prevent such an alliance and make India "a part of the Asian nations group which is called on being a counterweight to China"<sup>39</sup>.

In case the three images are projected on India's possible geopolitical roles the first image is associated with the subcontinent's colonial past. The second image is associated with non-alignment movement and independent foreign policy. Will the third image be marked by India's transformation into the USA's satellite? Such a possibility is not excluded, but the final choice is ahead.

Russia is gradually regaining its nearly lost positions on the Indian arms market. It is appropriate to recall that in the 1990s the United States made many efforts to undermine Russian-Indian relations, enjoying its victory in the cold war. However, in recent years domestic gunsmiths returned to the Indian market. In 2013 Russia supplied India with weapons and military equipment at the price of 4.78 billion dollars. At the same time domestic enterprises face a stiff

competition on the part of American and European companies. This struggle often takes the form of information wars. Shortly before "Defexpo-2014" exhibition the press published an article about supposedly serious disagreements between Indian air force and the Ministry of defence. This information attack could be beneficial either to the French who won the tender for the supply of "Rafale" fighters or to the Americans who did not come to terms with the fact that India preferred cooperation with Russia for the FGFA project to their F-35 project. According to P.V. Klachkov, all means including humanitarian technologies are made use of in the struggle for contracts running into billions of dollars. They use publication of contract articles as well as campaigns in the blogosphere<sup>40</sup>.

There is no doubt that Russian-Indian cooperation has a great potential not only in a military-and-technical sphere but also in a socio-cultural one. Humanitarian-and-technological cooperation can be based on a significant cultural and historical foundation. One of the aspects of the latter is influence of L.N. Tolstoy's ideas on M. Gandhi's world view and respect for and interest in M. Gandhi's teaching in our country.

## Results

1. According to our hypothesis, the variety of Indian soft power manifestations can be represented in three images. The first one is associated with traditions and oriental exotics of medieval and colonial India, the second one – with the activities of M. Gandhi and his supporters, and the third image – with inconsistent modern tendencies and a rapid development of technologies.

2. The components of Indian soft power can be divided into three relatively autonomous groups: 1) oriental exotics (philosophical-and-religious doctrine and practices, music, cinema, dance, cuisine); 2) political originality (non-

violent resistance, multiethnic democracy); 3) modern technologies ("Bangalore"). Each of these groups is complex and has a great potential of development and use.

3. Information technologies play an important role in strengthening soft power and dissemination of their components. Development of outsourcing in various directions and mass media results in certain tendencies for Indian cultural influence and contributes to deepening of Indian relations with Western countries, especially with the USA.

4. Russian-Indian cooperation has a great potential in the military-and-technical and social-and-cultural spheres. This is largely due to the fact that many citizens of our countries show

their interest and respect to M. K. Gandhi's ideas and his personality.

5. In case the three images, we have singled out, are projected on India's possible geopolitical roles the first image is associated with the subcontinent's colonial past. The second image is associated with non-alignment movement. The third image is connected with choice between autonomous geopolitical role and taking lead from other geopolitical subjects (from the USA or China in the first place).

6. Strengthening of "soft power" is favoured by a harmonious balance of the three images and synthesis of their components manifested in different social and cultural spheres of life in India.

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<sup>2</sup> See: Blarel N. (2012) India's Soft Power: From Potential to Reality? *India: The Next Superpower?* London School of Economics IDEAS Special Report. P. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Zhukovsky V.I., Koptseva N.P. *Iskusstvo Vostoka. India* [The art of the East. India]. Krasnoyarsk, Krasnoyarsk State University, 2005. P. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Keay J. *Istoriia Indii* [India: a history]. Moscow, Astrel', 2011. P. 424.

<sup>5</sup> See: Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See: Hymans, J.E.C. Op. cit. P. 237-238.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. P. 241.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. P. 236-237.

<sup>9</sup> See: Klachkov P.V. *Velichaishie ugrozy miru po versii Gallup* [The greatest threats to the world as per the Gallup version]. Available at: <http://www.iarex.ru/articles/44382.html>

<sup>10</sup> *Etika: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* [Ethics: encyclopedic dictionary]. Ed. by R.G. Apresian, A.A. Guseinov. Moscow, Gardariki, 2001. P. 30.

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<sup>12</sup> Gandhi M.K. *Moia zhizn'* [My life]. Moscow, Nauka, 1969. P. 309.

<sup>13</sup> Cit. by: Deviatkin S.V. *Iskusstvo sat'iagrakhi* [The art of Satyagraha]. *Opyt nenasiliia v XX stoletii. Sotsial'no-eticheskie ocherki* [Practice of non-violence in the XX century. Socio-ethical essays]. Ed. by R.G. Apresian. Moscow, Aslan, 1996. Available at: <http://iph.ras.ru/uplfile/ethics/biblio/N/2.html>

<sup>14</sup> Cit. by: Gorev A.V. *Rosa na lotose. Indira Gandhi: mechty i sversheniia* [The dew on a lotus. Indira Gandhi: dreams and achievements]. Moscow, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1987. P. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Keay J. *Istoriia Indii* [India: a history]. Moscow, Astrel', 2011. P. 615.

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## **«Мягкая сила» Индии: образы и компоненты**

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*Авторы исследуют сложный и отчасти противоречивый процесс формирования «мягкой силы» современной Индии. При этом они уделяют внимание таким компонентам, как Болливуд (индийская «фабрика грез»), музыка и танец, ткани и атрибутика, алмазобриллиантовая отрасль, Бангалор (территория развития инновационных технологий), внутренняя и внешняя политика.*

*Методологической основой работы выступает концепция трех социокультурных образов «мягкой силы Индии». Первый из них связан с колониальной Индией, историческим прошлым страны и представлениями о восточной роскоши; второй – с политикой ненасильственного сопротивления; третий включает в себя всё разнообразие современных информационных технологий. Авторы приходят к выводу, что усилению «мягкой силы» Индии способствует гармоничный баланс трех образов и синтез различных компонентов.*

*Ключевые слова: «мягкая сила», политика Индии, культура Индии, российско-индийские отношения, Bollywood, алмазобриллиантовый рынок, IT-аутсорсинг, «культурные войны», социокультурный образ.*

*Научная специальность: 09.00.00 – философские науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.*

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