

# Physical Education, Health and Social Sciences

<https://journal-of-social-education.org>

E-ISSN: 2958-5996

P-ISSN: 2958-5988

## Pakistan's Maritime Security: Application of Allison's Conceptual Models

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.63163/jpehss.v4i1.1728>

### Abstract

The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is having a great significance owing to the changing dynamics at regional and global levels. The international politics revolves around the geostrategic contours, economic dependency or interdependency, maritime sectors and emerging power competition among territorial and extra-territorial powers. This study examines the emergence of maritime security dynamics in the maritime domain owing to the safeguarding of the national and maritime interests. These factors are rooted into historical trajectory, geographical importance, strategic concerns, material and informational reasons which ultimately affect and impact the state's behavior within the Indian Ocean Region. The elements of insecurity, distrust among stakeholders and deterrence among regional as well as global actors. The research particularly focuses on the Allison's three model for the decision-making processes namely, rational actor model, organizational behavior model and governmental politics model to analytical frame the state's behavior as well as decision making process. The traditional notion of security remains unable to elaborate the changing geopolitical dynamics in its entirety. The contemporary aspects such as interaction of the strategic actors, informational aspects, rational decisionmaking, perception development and governmental decision making all play a crucial part in the influential role of the decision making processes with the Indian Ocean region. With the role of this theoretical framework, the role of factors and organizations can be furthered to enhance the research study by the future researchers within the Indian Ocean Region.

**Keywords:** Indian Ocean Region (IOR), Graham Allison's Model, changing geopolitical dynamics, Regional and extra-regional actors

### Introduction:

Pakistan has a prime geostrategic location, which is the access to the Arabian Sea (Anwar June 2011). The geographic position of Pakistan gives an advantages edge to Pakistan for reaching out to the global trade and market from sea routes (Kreft 1999). In the same perspective, the resources coming out from the sea can be utilized for strengthening economic contours such as enhancement of GDP and GNP. In the course of history, states with the coastal belts have maximized their hard power to become the global power at large. The initiation of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) comes as win win situation for changing the traditional norms. Pakistan as well as China both can have cost benefit analysis of the prospects and challenges of CPEC, still, the outcomes

and merits outweigh the negative consequences. Throughout the history, human beings as well as nations have worked together for progress and development. At times it was the individuals and their strengths that played key role in overcoming the oppositional forces and at times the military strength and capabilities in the form of military equipments decided success and failure at battleground. One aspect that really mattered was the sea path after the discovery of sea routes and sea trade.

IO is located at a significant geostrategic location which connects with the Persian Gulf and Central Asian Republics for tapping oils and minerals (Fund April, 2011). Furthermore, the accessibility to sea routes make the European Market and Asian space more attractive for international actors (committee May 2007). Some of the progress and development favor the regional as well as global actors, which reflects the converging interests. While other pressing issues bring out challenges and hurdles in the form of severe competition between the oppositional parties. In such an environment of convergence and divergence, the richness of sea resources result into severe competition.

### **Significance of the study:**

The research tries to conceptualize the maritime security situation that dominantly prevails IO region. The prevailing maritime security concern is mainly rooted in the economic and security parameters. In addition to that shifting in the security paradigm is just because of the role reflected by the regional as well as extra-regional powers (Stedman 1999). The impact can be noticed in the form of economic and security implications. China intends to enhance the economic sector through rapid policies of regional and global market economy. Whereas, the import of energy resources is also key element towards bringing forth economic stability within China (Service June, 2019). For this purpose, China looks to the energy enriched countries. On the other side, India has geographic necessities which demands modernization of the maritime sector as well as strengthen the reserved associated with the coastal belt. From the land power to the resource utilization at sea the change in political dynamics is evident from the development of ports and coastal areas.

### **Historical dimension**

Pakistan since her inception is facing a turbulent history owing to the constant threat posed by India. Starting from the period of independence the history was having multi-faceted challenges in the form of various issues such as security threats, illegal drawing of borders by the boundary commission and water crisis between Pakistan and India. The multitude challenges altered the course of action one after the other way. Sometimes the conflict arose because of the water crisis and at occasions the fight was due to the conspiracies cooked by India in the Eastern wing of Pakistan. With the passage of time the issues got widened in one form or the other. The clashes made clear about the fact that India had never been sincere with the partition plan and after the independence of Pakistan, India has availed every opportunity to mess with Pakistan, so much so that the Afghan people have also been provoked against Pakistan. The first rejection of Independence of Pakistan and later on amalgamation of the Pakhun region with Afghanistan or the demand of Pukhtunistan for the Pukhtun People have been the detrimental factors in the formulation of Foreign policy of Pakistan. The turbulent history added with the belligerent stance of India made the policy makers of Pakistan to have a security centric view of Pakistan and demanded from them to go for alliances with the west and form bilateral or multilateral treaties. With the shifting of Policies due to the security centric situation, Pakistan devised policies on the particular conditions and priorities of military centric aspects. At times the allotment of defense

budget has shoot up to an unparalleled level. The security driven policies have holistically set the pattern to play in a defensive way for staying at the safe site in response to the larger Indian security threats.

All the major powers in the world are depending upon the straits and sea routes because of the global trade and connectivity. These straits such as the Strait of Malacca, Bab-ul-Mandeb and Strait of Hormuz help in navigating the global trade and international connectivity (Frans-Paul van der Putten AUGUST, 2014). The developments have both prospects and challenges for the regional as well as extra-regional actors. For sure, the level of cooperation and competition have proximities and probabilities as per the strategic concerns and interests of the coastal states as well as other actors.

### **Significance of Indian Ocean region (IOR):**

IOR is having a great significance owing to the geographic location and geostrategic positioning within the region of excessive resource states such as Central Asian Republics and Middle Eastern Region. These regions have been the focal strategic concerns for the global power due to the enriched oil reserves and mineral resources. The continents such as Asia, Europe and Africa can connect to the global trade and connectivity through this warm access sea routes. In the midst of these prospects, the conventional rivalries result into severe competition within the same IO region. Pakistan and India both being the coastal states consider the coastal belt as the enabler of economic activities. Due to the geographic proximity, these states Pakistan and India play an important part in developing ports, enriching export and import through the sea routes. Moreover, the bilateral relations such as Pak-China relations and strategic partnership of India with US and the developmental framework within these consensus result into strategic competition, where all of these states keep in view their own strategic concerns and interests.

#### **1.5 Contemporary dynamics of politics at an international realm**

During the contemporary dynamics, the old ways of warfare have been replaced by the complex nature of hybrid and cyber warfare ((MCDC) 2016-2017) started to influence in the international realm. One aspect remained unchanged that is the strategy devised for maritime security and maritime strategy. Though the old and conservative methods have advanced towards rapid technological revolution yet the main centre of debate regarding maritime is still the concept of dominance and control. The maritime strategy within the Indian Ocean realm has been the focal point of the cold war politics when the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979; one of the key strategies adopted by USSR was the advancement towards the warm water. The bi-polar era depicts the gruesome fighting of the powerful countries i.e. USA and USSR in Afghanistan for the aforementioned reason. The Afghan chapter divulges this fact warm water access is the driving force between the tussle of the Capitalist and the Communist bloc. Not to talk about all the aspects of Cold war period, the conflict and power struggle for getting an access to warm water inflicts the significant notion that the sea routes have always been the key element in the domain of foreign policy during the relation with the external actors. It has been noticed that almost 80 % of the global trade is carried out through the straits and chokepoints (Parmar October 2013))

### **Geographical Proximity:**

One of the most important elements is the proximity with the warm water resources and accessibility; this makes Indian Ocean the well organized demography. From this geo-strategic significance, all the littoral states can exploit and extract resources for furthering their own motives and initiatives. The CPEC project of the Chinese Maritime Silk Route initiative is a good example

of how to use resources and look for new opportunities to develop and improve state machinery. The trade routes and sea lanes that go through the Indian Ocean, past the Straits of Malacca and the Sunda and Lombok Straits into the South China Sea, across the western Pacific Ocean to North Asia, and across the Pacific Ocean to North America. The world's most important trade routes are included in this oceanic geography. At a high political level, the Indo-Pacific idea can be implemented. It includes several of the most economically and militarily powerful nations in the world, the United States, China and India, and other middle-aged powers.

#### 1.6 Motives, Informational and Material variables,

In order to understand the attributes of Human beings, state's priorities and constraints and the dimension of international system acting globally, there is a dire need to look into the three variables as determined by Charles L. Glaser. These characteristics not only describe about the constraints but also mention the same variables while talking about the opportunities. First of all, the characteristic as defined is the motives. It is true that actors may have both benign and malign motives. The reaction and response at any level of analysis can be determined by the dominance of those set of values and interests may that be the malign motives or the benign motives. As per the realist perspective, if the level of threat and aggression is making more perception, the states will be driven by the malign motives and they will be driven and motivated by the war-like conditions. In such a situation the states find no way out but to look towards the constraints and analyze the aspects in term of their perception of constraints such a dimension automatically opens up way for making preparation of war. On the other hand, if the level of perception about threat and aggression is low the states do not go towards war rather they look towards other means of opportunities and benefits. The driven factor i.e. motives either it is malign or benign determines the nature of both. Following these motives, human, state of international entities can choose both cooperation and competition depending upon the set of assumptions driven by those motives.

The material variable as taken by Glaser is only seen in the form of military terms and its capabilities, but these material forces can also be the economic form of materials as well. These economic materials and resources can also show the abilities, capabilities and capacities of the states and international institutions. Such a dimension in term of economic capabilities unlike military capabilities drive the state towards a situation of complex interdependency where the states as well as the global actors have to come in contact with each other and play their role as an actor in the way billiard ball model has explained. This form of mutual interaction and cooperation can only become possible through the nature of complex interdependency as one observes in this world known as a global village.

The other variable is the informational variable that talks about the condition of knowing the motives of others and others knowing the motives of ours. It has been rationally considered that the motives have not always been determined as malign or bad. The situation demands the rational actors to behave in a way that the agents make cost and benefit analysis. Again at times the situation may drive the state towards malign intentions. But, this is not the case in all situations when the condition is favorable, the agents act in a more peaceful way and they talk about benevolent and welfare nature instead of tyrant and aggressive behavior. In this variable, as it is observed that the information may be both favorable and unfavorable. Depending upon these aspects, state may respond in both competitive and cooperative ways. For the case in point the example of Test A and Test B conducted by United States during the era of 1970s is an apt example. Test A, favored and perceived about the benign intention and capabilities of USSR, whereas the group Test B, were of the opinion that the USSR wanted moral superiority and military hegemony. These intentions and perceptions adopted about the USSR depict the concept that the states can have both the

cooperative and competitive nature at the same time. This is driven by the rational that it is up-to the other state that how that state observes about the capabilities and intentions of the other states. This depicts the fact that conflict and cooperation co-exist at the same time. It is more dependent upon the units of analysis to opt for the one or the other.

Maritime Security and strategy studies have got sheer significance owing to the state of nature in the instant world. The ranges of conflict and confrontation are beyond description, where human as an individual entity is not safe anymore. This transition has brought a new paradigm of security framework that rotates around the focal point of an individual's or human's security. In this perspective the lasting traditional narrative focused on state-centric approach and national security alters towards human specific issues; especially, the security of an individual gets prominence. Such a break is a revolt from traditional methods into non-traditional security paradigm. Human nature possesses both the characteristics of goodness and evil-eyes. Similarly, states also have the quality of behaving cooperatively and competitively. And, the international structure surrounds the good and evil forces as well. The showing of strength in the anarchic world is the definite fact with no political supreme authority to enforce the law at global level. This competition results because of the competitive nature of human beings and one thing that go unabated and parallel is the interest which remains as long as the competitive nature is there. Driven by the interests state also looks for the cooperation in the realm of international affairs.

As for as Pakistan's maritime security and strategy is concerned, Pakistan needs to look into detrimental factors to look into the effects keeping in view the slightest move under the naval forces of India. To which Pakistan must develop a countering force for overcoming the challenge. The nuclear force demands a nuclear deterrence policy. Any miscalculation may take the country to a point of no return because the belligerency and student policies of India are crystal clear to all and sundry. There is a dire need to look into the insights of foreign policy formulations and materialize them in order to obstruct any threat posed by Indian naval forces. And for this aforementioned reason Pakistan is really working hard to make a benchmark for surpassing her neighbor states.

### **Understanding the term “Maritime”**

The term has been used in International relations with the idea attached with the maritime sector. The maritime domain is the field interlinked with the International relations that enunciates the factors related to water particularly warm water. Maritime Security or Maritime strategy surrounds all aspects linked with Water such as blue economy, diplomacy, security and insecurity, threats and challenges, capabilities and vulnerabilities, problems and solutions, which are attached to the maritime domain.

Another important discussion that has been converted in debate is the fact that the term used is more favoring the traditional concept of maritime or this maritime embrace the non-traditional concept with the traditional definition. It may or may not include both the aspects i.e. traditional or non-traditional depending upon the situation and context.

Maritime Security, like other international buzzwords, is a term that draws attention to new challenges and rallies support for tackling these. Discussions of maritime security frequently do so by pointing to ‘threats’ that prevail in the maritime domain (Kraska James, 2013.)

In peacetime the role of warships is mainly seen in protecting the core sea lines of communication in order to facilitate trade and economic prosperity by means of deterrence as well as surveillance and interdiction (Bueger, March 2015)

### **Threats and Challenges:**

The region's stakeholders are essential to the maritime strategy's security, which includes both regional and international actors. In terms of the international actors, states like the United States, China, and Japan are playing a significant role, and many regional states like India and Pakistan have their own roles to play in the Indian Ocean region. While the United States and India are aggressively positioning themselves to demonstrate their power and control in the Indian Ocean, Pakistan and China have friendly relations and are working toward economic development and long-term sustainability.

It is noted that the Indian Ocean has not witnessed a full scale war but the presence of different stakeholders and the confrontation among them with a constant rise of issues (conflicts between Pakistan and India are the cases in point) divulge that the region pose threat and this minimizes the level of stability within IOR.

### **Detrimental Factors of Threats and Challenges:**

Pakistan is the developing country that is confronting with multi-faceted threats and challenges in every domain. To this the threat and challenge in maritime domain is no exception at all. Needless to say that the threat and challenges within the maritime domain does not confine to these factors of security; there are many other detrimental factors within the ambit of maritime security. To enlist some of the elements, this can be said that the wide area of maritime domain is included in this regard. The factors which are the detrimental factors comprise maritime geopolitics, security, trade, and environment activities. (Passarelli, 2014)

### **Deterrence or Reassurance:**

Most of the debate in the past has been about the deterrence policies in the nuclear doctrine. This can be summed up as the deterrence comprises those policies adopted by the nuclear weapon states such as the behavior of nuclear weapon state when it comes in conflict with the other states. Nuclear deterrence stands adamant on the way to counter the threat and challenge of the other states. But, David Dewitt discusses that 'reassurance' is more important than following the conventional method of 'deterrence' (David Dewitt, 1994).

### **Maritime Security Cooperation: The Framework**

#### **Maritime Security Cooperation: The Framework under United Nation Charter:**

UN discusses the element in a different way because of its staunch support to International Peace and Security. UN has adopted the policy of Law of Seas under UN convention that makes its name as UNCLOS United Nation Convention on Law of Seas. This convention furthers the idea of peace and cooperation for development of economic factor. The maritime security is the top most priority for sustainability of long term peace and security in the international realm. In this perspective, UN forwards the concept of International peace and security under the premises of Sea in general and warm water in Particular. Through this cooperation and coordination both the traditional and non-traditional threats can be countered as well. In this way the UN charter put forwards this description that when it comes to the realm of international affairs then all the states within the Indian Ocean Region need to cooperate and coordinate for the development and progress adding that all of them ensure international peace and security in the IO region.

### **Alternative Notion of Security**

The maritime security within the Indian Ocean calls for alternative set of security paradigms

ranging from National security to human security, and from environmental security to marine life security. All these diversified dimensions move the traditional policy makers from state-centric approach towards non-military centric approach. This is an idea that deviates from the conventional means and traditions. In addition, this adds more and more energy to look towards other dimensions including the military dominant perspective. For such securities as environmental and marine life security within the maritime domain, all the littoral states need to devise some concrete measures through an integrated framework policy that leaves no stakeholder outside. That is to say that the notion of security within the maritime domain brings under-consideration the holistic approach without having a tunnel vision to serve the interest of any particular state.

### **Dwindling spectrum between Trust and Dis-trust**

The Maritime doctrine dwindles between the trust and dis-trust. In fact like the all other fields the strict stance of India is observed in this maritime domain as well. That's why the trust and mis-trust are pursuit in one way or the other way as the two phases of a coin. Either one states trust the other state or the state mis-trusts the aim and ambitions of the other state. Not to talk about the offensive positioning of the state the state always looks for the security dilemma owing the constant and overwhelming response of threat perception of its neighboring state. In this perspective, the maritime doctrine dwindles between the trust and distrust (Senaratne, 27 February 2019). For the case in point, Pakistan and India have been the arch rivals and they have never got good relations and the relations have always been at the lowest ebb due to the everlasting impression of India's covert hegemonic ambitions.

### **Liberal's viewpoint:**

Liberalism enunciates about the good human nature(Sallust 1799) but with the passage of time it started reconciliation with the role being played by the anarchic factor as well as the international structure. Still, the persistence is about both anarchy and hierarchy that come into play. This new development is observed under the premises of neo-liberal institutionalism. These perspectives define the role of interdependence and international integration(Edward Deering Mansfield 2003) due to complex situation of economic and technological integration. In this way this theory more gives it affiliation towards the theory of functionalism. It can be stated that the role of functionalism is just because of the fact that the role of state actors as well as non-state actors have increased so much so that the integration has become the order of the day and the interaction between them influences the prospects of the other state to behave and react in certain ways. These dimensions have put forward newer aspects such as the transgression from their own borders towards the international sphere where the role of state as a sovereign body is limited for the involvement with the international actors as well as the part of that comes into play as an international entity(Strauss Dec, 2018). At the least these international commitments come in conformity with the internal elements of the state; in this way the line between external factors related to foreign policy and internal factors related to domestic domain(Phillips 2000) seems to get shrunk and minimized. Another prospect is the fall of military factor and rise of the non-military aspects.

### **Three Models of Allison:**

Graham T. Allison following the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 has designed three conceptual models of explanations that are framed under the below mentioned domains:

1. Rational Actor Model

2. Organizational Behavior Model
3. Governmental Politics Model (Allison 1969)

### **Rational Actor Model:**

Rational Actor Model is one of the three conceptual models or frameworks that has been forwarded by Allison keeping in view the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. This Rational actor model determines the prospects of logical consequences must be drawn before taking any sort of decision. In this context, the entire nation acts as a single entity and they behave as a unitary actor. The core idea is an extract from realist theory. The model puts forward the idea that the states acts as a single entity. Emphasize is led rational behavior with purposeful action.(Hammond 1992) In the case of Pakistan's maritime security, the foreign policy making is long drawn out of the consequences furthered by the hegemonic and evil strategies of India. The rational actor model suggests that the entire nation needs to stand on the same page for devising plans. The calculability, predictability and probability(Weaver April, 2005) must not falter at any given instant. Devoid of such policies can lead to drastic consequences and long term policy defects, which will only widen the gap between the neighboring states along with imbalance in the South Asian region? Since the inception of Pakistan on ideological basis, India has been planning diabolically to reunite the sub-continent (the disintegration of the eastern part is an example for the case in point). The founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam(Irshad 2018) made his all efforts to bring transformation in the people and society particularly the Muslim people. His frantic efforts brought reality to the dreams of Allama M. Iqbal. Qauid with his visionary thoughts had aptly stated that 'no one can undo Pakistan'(Fatima Jinnah 1987). Reflection of this thought divulges the narrative that Pakistan ought to opt choices with great estimation and calculation. Such a conception is only possible through the Rational Actor Model (RAM) where the choice is drawn keeping in view the logical action(Shahryarifar n.d.). Moreover, the entire nation stands united at the same page for this logical action and face the logical consequences.

### **Organizational Behavior Model**

The organizational Behavior Model enunciates about the policy formulation of the state's organizations. In this behavioral model various organizations utilize Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs)(Halifax Environmental Laboratory April. 2007) that assist in formulating foreign policy decision making. Those organizations have certain set of patterns that determine their culture and these organizations follow those cultural rules imbibed in their specific SOPs. Following those SOPs, the state organizations try to expand their potential for gaining optimum foreign policy outcomes. The foreign policy decision making at organizational level impacts the foreign policy outcome depending upon the flexibilities and vulnerabilities of SOPs (Edmund Prater n.d.)within that Organizational culture.

The organizational behavior model rightly furthers the example of British colonial legacy where the centralization of power within the bureaucratic model remained the adherent policy adopted by British for their two century rule in the sub-continent. Though the independence of Pakistan in 1947 was a change of entire mechanism, yet the colonial legacy could not be washed away from the organizational culture of this organization. The bureaucracy divulges the reflection of British colonial mindset.

### **Governmental Politics Model:**

Governmental model highlights the strategies adopted at the elite level are positioned at the top-

notched position of that nation. The influence and power of the leader is considered who makes decisions at governmental level. The individual in power corridor determines the narrative to be set for the initiatives to be taken by the whole nation. At the national level, such a decision is made by the head of the state or the leader of that nation. The governmental political model therefore, points out the flaws found at leadership level.

For this aforementioned model, the role of leader is quintessential. The decision making is furthered by the visionary objectives of such a leader. But, unfortunately, the issue of leadership rose with the sudden demise of the founder of nation Quaid e Azam as well as the first prime minister, Liaqat Ali Khan. This leadership void could not be filled by the predecessors, such a vacuum at the leadership level created problems in devising and executing plans. To this maritime security is no exception at all.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations:**

Finally, this can be concluded that the maritime domain has got much more importance and the states need to look towards the maritime strategies in order to cope up with the challenges to the states. Pakistan's Maritime domain(Grech 2008) remained devoid of policies and strategies owing to leadership void. Furthermore, the entire developments of Pakistan's maritime seem as a countering strategy to fight against the threat posed by Indian forces. Last but not the least; the conceptual models can be a stepping stone to fight against the hurdles and formidable challenges in the long run. Pakistan's Maritime strategies will set example to all the states in the comity of nations.(Wheaton 1863)

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