

# National interest, international institutions and security in a globalising world: an Indian perspective

Smruti S Pattanaik

*Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi*

smurtipattanaik@gmail.com

In an increasingly globalizing world where there are debates on global commons and how to draw a balance between the aspirations of the developing world with international regimes that are perceived as unsympathetic to the developing countries, for instance the climate change and WTO, have become a challenging task for the states. This is more visible in South Asia where the states are mostly developing states and are at nascent stage of democratisation. For Sri Lanka to emerge as a hub of Asia internal development is as important as its ability to engage with the global community and the international governance regimes. While pursuit of national interest and security is extremely important, Sri Lanka or for that matter countries of the region cannot achieve it single handedly. As inter-linkages are an inevitable process of globalization, it would be important for India and Sri Lanka to cooperate for democratization of global regimes that will provide more space for the voices of emerging countries to be heard and acted upon. Three issues that will affect Sri Lanka's emergence as a hub of Asia are: its own internal stability, infrastructure and economic development which will create an enabling environment for investment, and global governance regimes that will facilitate its emergence.

While Sri Lanka's internal problem relating to Tamil political aspiration has now got internationalised with the end of a brutal war, it from time to time has subjected the country to various international regimes exhorting the country to implement various resolutions that have been passed from time to time by the UN Human Rights organization. This is where the question about how to protect national interest and security while adhering to global norms becomes important. This issue needs to be looked at in a larger perspective in the context of South Asian states that continue to face challenges of state and nation building and as developing economies they follow certain protectionism towards the indigenous business enterprise as well as agricultural farmers who require subsidy to become competitive in the emerging market economy. Most of the countries of South Asia also need trade and investment and would not like the situation at home to become a stumbling block to attract global investment that *prima facie* looks at political stability as an important component.

National Interest and Security therefore needs to be seen in globalized perspective. While National interest begins with a presumption that it is the interest of the nation that

is supreme, the question that becomes pertinent is who defines the national interest? Can the pursuit of national interest be divorced from global politics or international institutions that regulate state behaviour resulting in an anarchical environment not conducive to world peace? The concept of security has also expanded to include non-traditional security interests which would need collaborative effort by global community. This would include both economic well being and security of state itself. In this context few questions can be raised to understand the phenomena of globalization and how it juxtaposes with national security and sovereignty. Can national interest be state centric, where security becomes synonymous with territorial integrity? Can national interest be divorced from regional context? Second, can national interest be divorced from the process of globalisation? Or in other words how loss of sovereignty – as it is defined in classical sense – can protect the state being a part of global governance regimes be it climate change or UN resolution relation to terrorism and terror financing. Finally, how do national interest and security interact with global governance regimes?

## I. SOUTH ASIAN CONTEXT

Some of the questions posed can be applied to the South Asian region where most of the states are new to international system. Most of the countries in the region are developing countries and each one of them has faced the challenge of nation building coupled with problems relating to economic development. The fragile institutional structures in most of the states have not helped the matter of state building. Given the fact that these states are relatively new states in international system, it is natural for the states to have adopted state centric security where the preservation of the state takes precedence over human security, demand for more political rights and issues related to greater democratisation and governance. While the sovereignty is extremely important, the process of globalisation has reduced its meaning in absolute terms. As Keohane defines, "Sovereignty refers to a legal status, a property of an organised entity in world politics. It does not imply that the sovereign entity possesses *de facto* independence, although as a political matter, the fact that an entity is sovereign can be expected to have implications for its power and its autonomy."<sup>1</sup> National interest is better served by participating in global governance regimes.

<sup>1</sup> Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two approaches", *International studies quarterly*, Vol. 34(4), December 1988, P.385

Whether it is economic regime like the WTO, or Climate Change Regime, UN and its various organs, especially those that deal with security and peace keeping operations, the states big or small or weak or powerful are bound by the structures. Perhaps the international system is better served by the global institutional framework that brings order to the anarchy framework propounded by realists. All these reflect that global regimes are geared towards stability of the states and preserving an environment that is conducive to economic growth and political stability. It also recognizes state as international persona. Therefore state's conduct in international relations becomes important and is expected to function within international norms. Thus values like human rights, just war, conduction of international trade assume critical importance as they affect international relations.

National interest and security cannot be divorced from regional context. Nature of the security has changed and has acquired transnational character. The first ring of any security would be the regional network where non-state actors taking advantage of porous border and ethnicity affinity tend to take shelter to carry out their activities or gain bases. Engaging the regional states would be important. While furthering national interest the nations need to be engaged in mutually beneficial relations. Or in other words it should be based on positive sum approach. Thus the state has to interact with its immediate geographical environment to protect its national interest and security. States in south Asia not only share porous or vulnerable borders, ethnic groups also crisscross the national boundary of the states rendering complexity to trans-border dimension of security. Such ethnic linkage facilitates smuggling of contraband, providing shelter to ethnic brothers turning internal affair of a state to bilateral matter. For example: the case of LTTE in Sri Lanka, the case of North East militants sheltering in Bangladesh and Myanmar and at one point of time Bhutan, the case of cross border militancy in case of India-Pakistan and Pakistan-Afghanistan. In most of these cases ethno-linguistic or religious affinity is a factor. Thus National interest and security of a nation state remains beyond the parameter of territorial boundary as terrorists and their infrastructure are global in nature. Global war on terror could be pursued with the cooperation of global community and the decision of international community to ban terrorist groups, take action against illegal transfer of money striking at the root of financial infrastructure which the terrorists have spawned due to global action. Sri Lanka has benefited from it. Institutions like the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) provides institutional framework for transnational threats that includes terrorism, money laundering and drug trafficking.

All the states of South Asia have now transited to democracy. Democratic transition creates hope for better governance and creation of political space for democratic dissent. Thus human security aspects have

become more important than before especially in post war reconstruction and development. Sri Lanka's post war efforts are geared towards responding to the humanitarian aspect of the conflict. Process of democratization that takes into account the long standing grievances that led to the vicious conflict would inevitably make the people as stakeholders in reconciliatory effort that would assure addressing genuine political grievances. Similarly, move towards democratization after the abolition of Monarchy in Nepal was one of the factors that have mainstreamed the Maoist in Nepal who were engaged in violence and insurgency to fulfill their political demands. The United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) played an important role in the disarming and integration of the Maoists. After the election in 2013, the government in Pakistan is trying to engage the radical Islamists in peace talks to find an end to the raging violence especially in the tribal area. It is also trying to deal with the Baloch insurgency though many considers the political package that was announced during the Pakistan People's Party regime as too less to fulfill the aspiration of the Balochis. In Afghanistan the Karzai government along with international community is engaged in talking to the Taliban for peace and stability in Afghanistan. In India, the government from time to time has held talks with groups in Kashmir, with insurgents in North East to resolve the situation there politically. In Bangladesh, attempts were made to resolve the Chakma issue in 1997 by the signing of peace accord. In Bhutan, the long standing Bhutanese refugee issue has been resolved after many western countries agreed to accept some refugees for resettling in their country. As it is evident in most of these cases there has been facilitation by international community or the neighbouring countries.<sup>2</sup>

Regionally, the countries of South Asia are engaged in greater regional cooperation to address transnational economic and security issues. Globalization is affecting the states of South Asia in many ways. The booming of internet network has raised new security challenges. Whether it is cyber crime, posting of hate material in the internet, usage of internet to commit economic crimes have increased making cyber security an important aspect of cooperation.<sup>3</sup> The movement of labour and remittances also has contributed to greater global connectivity. It has become a challenge to protect interest of the labourers

<sup>2</sup> For example: in case of Sri Lanka, there was international support to elimination of terrorism. India provided much needed intelligence inputs and naval assistance while China and Pakistan supplied arms. In case of Afghanistan there is international effort to bring peace after decades of civil war, in Nepal, with the effort of UNMIN the Maoist surrendered arms and rehabilitation and reintegration of Maoist has been successful, in case of India, Bangladesh government provided help by handing over insurgents who have taken shelter there facilitating talks between the Government of India and insurgents in Assam, In Bangladesh, India mediated the Peace accord in 1997 that facilitated the return of Chakma refugee and provided a framework for CHT council.

<sup>3</sup> Mandated by UN General Assembly resolution 65/230, the UN Office on Drug and Crime (UNDOC) study aims to assist Member States strengthen existing national and international legal responses to cyber crime.

who have now become a major source of foreign exchange earnings especially their working condition etc. Sometimes remittances have gone to fund radical outfits as well as separatists. There is also ideological affiliation that cuts across the boundaries of nation state and has been a source of threat. Most of these funds are transferred through illegal channel. Given the ethnic affinity that cuts across the state boundary such funds can be available to finance insurgent movements in another country. The funding network of the LTTE is well known. Insurgent groups like the United Liberation Front of Assam source their weapons through international network that involves more than one country. In such context national interest is better served through cooperation among states. When one emphasizes on cooperation the stress is put on institutional framework to make the cooperation effective.

While regional cooperation becomes imperative to address the issue, neighbouring countries will have their interest in seeing a problem resolved so that instability in the neighbourhood does not affect the stability of the region. While it may be in Sri Lanka's national interest to see the end of the war, it is also in the interest of India that the reasons for armed conflict do not germinate again due to lack of adequate initiative to resolve issues within the domestic political reality of the state. Given the geo-political location of India and its diversity it has emerged as an attractive destination for the refugees from the neighbouring countries as well as low skilled economic migrants. Democracy and pluralism in the neighbourhood would have salutary effects on India security. Any monolithic construction of nation state would in itself be divisive and any such conflict has the potential to draw India to the domestic politics of another country. Therefore, while neighbouring country's national interest may dictate to pursue a particular policy within their territorial boundary; it is also in the national interest of India to see that such policies do not have implications for India's stability or draws external power to the region.

Regional organizations are part of larger global institutional structure. It is hoped that regional organizations could facilitate interaction with larger multilateral institutions. Unfortunately within South Asia SAARC countries have not been able to act as a bloc to enhance a collective bargaining strategy. However in some case countries have joined their hand together to protect their interests. For example India and Pakistan joined hand together to apply for the patent of Basmati rice. India and China joined their hand together for a better deal on climate change negotiation keeping in mind the need of developing countries<sup>4</sup>. In the recent past

<sup>4</sup> The two countries will cooperate on mitigation policies, programmes, projects, technology development and demonstration relating to greenhouse gas emission reduction, which will extend to the areas of energy conservation and efficiency, renewable energies, clean coal, methane recovery and utilisation, afforestation and sustainable management of forests and ecosystem, transportation and sustainable habitat. See India China Ink Pact to Fight Climate Change, Economic Times, October 22, 2009, [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2009-10-22/news/28471328\\_1\\_climate-change-mitigation-policies-xie-zhenhua](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2009-10-22/news/28471328_1_climate-change-mitigation-policies-xie-zhenhua)

SAARC has established various institutional mechanisms to deal with transnational issues that affect security of states in South Asia. Though there are not adequate mechanism to address the issue of refugees and migration it can be taken within the broad category of trafficking to deal with the issue of illegal labour migration. Other transnational issues are addressed through regional framework. For example: SAARC home Ministers meet, coordination on drug trafficking and terrorism which would require a regional approach.<sup>5</sup> The Least Development countries of South Asia joined hand together to collectively bargain a better deal for trade when South Asia Free Trade was negotiated.<sup>6</sup> Bilaterally, also there are institutional framework like the annual defence dialogue between India and Sri Lanka, trilateral Naval cooperation between India, Sri Lanka and Maldives, bilateral dialogue between India Pakistan on eight issues which includes peace and security, Home Minister, Commerce Minister and Foreign secretary meet apart from meeting between two border security forces that are held regularly. Between India and Nepal and India and Bhutan there are institutional structures to address issues of mutual concern. With Afghanistan India has already signed a Strategic partnership Agreement, With Bangladesh and Maldives there exist development partnership Agreement. All these are institutional arrangements to enhance security interests of the states concerned. Engagement through BIMSTEC and IOR-ARC etc multilateral engagement. All these regional organizations are effect of globalization where the necessity of framing smaller regional grouping has become imperative. These regional grouping also work seamlessly with global institutional structure.

## II. NATIONAL INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

National interest is often defined narrowly by the states. While interacting with a world that is increasingly becoming global it becomes difficult to pursue narrowly defined national interest. All the states are part of some or other multilateral organisations. These multilateral organisations espouse common good. Therefore sovereignty bargain becomes one of the integral parts of multilateral organization. The UN charter embodies common good and values and principles that are part of global governance ethos. Freedom to act in a manner that suits the interest of a particular state in a global environment is increasingly getting constrained. Democracy, pluralism and human rights are becoming new buzz words that comes into conflict with

<sup>5</sup> On security SAARC forum provides for cooperation in the following matters 1. SAARC Coordination Group of Drug Law Enforcement Agencies, 2. SAARC Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk (STOMD), 3. SAARC Drug Offences Monitoring Desk (SDOMD), 4. SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, 5. SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism and its Additional Protocol, 6. SAARC Conference on Cooperation in Police Matters, [http://saarc-sec.org/areaofcooperation/cat-detail.php?cat\\_id=59](http://saarc-sec.org/areaofcooperation/cat-detail.php?cat_id=59)

<sup>6</sup> The special needs of the Least Developed Contracting States shall be clearly recognized by adopting concrete preferential measures in their favour on a non-reciprocal basis. See SAFTA agreement, <http://saarc-sec.org/Agreements/69/>

the states determination to preserve and defend its act within its territory. As preservation of territorial integrity becomes core to sovereignty, states own interest in how to determine conduction of war becomes its legitimate national interest. Yet, an achievement that involves international cooperation would involve international expectation and resultant pressure. The last phase of Sri Lanka's war that was achieved through international cooperation has become a contentious issue. While ending the war was in its national interest, issues arising out of conduction of war have become an international issue making the problem more complicated. Similarly conduction of war crime trial in Bangladesh is important for Bangladesh. But the procedure and conduction has of the war crime trial has brought international criticism. The election in Bangladesh has drawn international criticized and many in Bangladesh have questioned the legitimacy of the next government that will be formed after election in which the main opposition party has declined to participate. This brings in forth the understanding that how definition of national interest by a state cannot be sufficient condition to pursue a policy and it requires adherence to international norms. This is because behaviour of the state affects international political order.

In the context of economic wellbeing the developing countries often adopt a measure of protection to its domestic economic players who are at an embryonic stage to complete with Western market. Many a times the countries of South Asia have been subjected to structural reform detected by the World Bank and its agencies which is highly unpopular in many of the countries. Both investment and loan comes with pre-conditions that are not popular. Rooms for affirmative actions for weaker section are some of the policies that countries adopt taking into account the socio-economic condition of its masses. As a result many believe that most of the developing countries have emerged as countries that have become exporter to the developing countries and some of the time human rights become a major issue to put pressure on countries by threatening to stop import of material for Western market.<sup>7</sup> Yet, the countries cannot wish away these international institutions. World Trade Organisation has also brought certain norms in international trade by adopting anti-dumping measures and has taken up trade disputes between the nations. Thus the point here is that international institutions are important component of globalised world. States need to engage them to maximize national interest. To quote Koehane again, "But the effects of these institutions will not be politically neutral: they can be expected to confer advantages on those to whom their rules grant access and a share in political authority;

<sup>7</sup> For an interesting analysis of impact of IMF, world Bank and their Structural Adjustment policy see, Soren Ambrose, The Roots of Corporate Globalization in IMF/World Bank "Structural Adjustment" Policies, The Public Eye - Summer 2004 - Vol. 18, No. 2 [http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v18n2/ambrose\\_imf.html](http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v18n2/ambrose_imf.html)

and insofar as the transaction costs of making agreements outside of an established institution are high, governments disadvantaged within an institution will find themselves at a disadvantage in the issue area as a whole.<sup>8</sup>

Both the economic component and security of the state can be better realized through global cooperation. For example: investment by multinational cooperation, global financial structures like IMF and World Bank play important role in economic development. At the same time countries are encouraged to have global standard of labour, other labour laws that shapes countries labour market. Most of the south Asian countries are lead exporters of garments. Sri Lanka is a leader in garment export to US and Europe. International labour market has also been a major source of foreign exchange. Another instance that affects countries around the world is the issue of terrorism. Sri Lanka's success in decimating terrorism was a part of global war on terrorism. To root out any activities of terrorism in future, Sri Lanka needs further cooperation of the international community. While global cooperation requires institutional framework; analysts often differ on what constitute institutions and institutional norms and who defines it.<sup>9</sup>

The process of globalization has also brought revolution in the media, which shapes the thinking of the people. New media like the social media is much global in nature and often remains beyond the scrutiny of the state. So, the state is no more the only source of information for various developments within the state. The media plays an important role in shaping opinion on national interest and security. National interest and security are structural in nature and are subject to global order and international regimes. The states own position in the global order, values and norms of international regimes impinge on the national interest and pursuit of security. It is quite possible that the states may engage in national rhetoric to gain popular support to boost their election prospect but in reality there is very little that a state can do to evade international oversight or concern especially in the cases which have been internationalised. In real politics the power and influence of the nation state becomes important to withstand the pressure exerted by the international community through global institutions and its various coercive mechanism that includes international sanction.

III. WHY INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ARE IMPORTANT  
While realism speaks of anarchical world; liberal institutionalists have spoken of global institutions that secure the interests of the state in an anarchical world. Realists argue that states operating in an anarchical world. Neorealists argue that states are concerned with relative gain than absolute gain. Liberal institutionalists argue that

<sup>8</sup> Robert O. Koehane, "International Institutions: Two approaches", International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 34(4), December 1988, p.387

<sup>9</sup> Robert O Keohane, "International Institutions: Two approaches", International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 34(4), December 1988, p.383

institutions are rooted in interest and power. Neoliberal institutionalists also argue that on the issue of security the structural realist can follow neoliberal approach of gaining through cooperation.<sup>10</sup> States may not cooperate if they feel others will gain more than them. Institutionalists theory argues that "Institutions can facilitate cooperation by helping to settle distributional conflicts and by assuring states that gains are evenly divided overtime."<sup>11</sup> International institutions are created in response to state interests and their character is structured by the prevailing distribution of capabilities<sup>12</sup>. There are some who do not agree with the institutionalist approach to provide collective security where there are ideological affinities or some states may not agree to collective action due to various reasons.<sup>13</sup> One has witnessed this during the Syria crises and earlier on the issue of Iraq.

Realists begin with some general assumptions (such as states are the key actors, the international system is anarchic, and power is central to political life). To protect national interest a state can look at both the realist and institutionalist paradigms. The realist paradigm presumes a state of anarchy where states are trying to maximize their gain. For the weaker states the institutional paradigm would work better as the states can act collectively to forestall any measures that would affect their interest. Being part of institutional framework will entail bargain of sovereignty and would enhance national interest rather than undermining it. For example: the United Nations and its charter in which international peace and security are prominent. The UN recognises the state as sovereign nations yet on certain conditions the sovereignty is violated for greater interest which has been extremely controversial in the recent history. Its inability to intervene in Rwanda brought criticism and many consider the UN as an instrument that is used by a powerful country. Nevertheless, the UN system has been long in existence and it is important to reform the institution to response to the need of developing countries that are particularly vulnerable to various threats. Over a period of time the international multilateral institutions have emerged as credible actors especially when there is a divided opinion regarding a particular action.

Can the states of South Asia have a better security bargain regionally? For a regional cooperation organization to be functional and relevant the states need to cooperate, which would mean synchronising national interest for greater regional security. This would further mean giving

<sup>10</sup> See Powell "Absolute Gain and Relative Gain in International Relations Theory, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol.85(4), December 1991, pp.1303-20

<sup>11</sup> Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security*, Vol.20(1), p.45

<sup>12</sup> Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security*, Vol.20(1), p.47

<sup>13</sup> See John J. Mearsheimer, "The False promise of International institutions", *International Security*, Vol.19(3), Winter 1994-95, pp.30-31

up state centric approach to security. It would also mean introducing mechanisms to address the situation at home which would prohibit it to become an inter-state issue.

As it appears SAARC does not have any mechanism to protect a state if its sovereignty is threatened by another state. It has mechanisms against terrorism but that has remained largely non-functional due to disagreement on what constitutes terrorism and how to cooperate on that.<sup>14</sup> Intelligence sharing and sharing data on movement of suspected groups can address the issue to some extent. Both India and Sri Lanka shared intelligence and cooperated during the last phase of the war. These cooperations were beyond multilateral institutional framework. However, it needs to be emphasized that various UN legislation framed in the aftermath of 9/11,<sup>15</sup> the global outrage against terrorism and various international legal frameworks that are put in place to address the issue of money laundering and terror finance helped Sri Lanka's own effort to win the war against a terrorist organization like the LTTE. Therefore, it is in the interest of India and Sri Lanka to democratise international governance structure and get involved in multilateral forums.

Emerging countries should strive to establish global governance norms that will provide them greater say in international affairs.<sup>16</sup> Reform of the UN is only one of the aspects of global governance. At the same time the two countries need to play a proactive role in climate change and see that the cap on emission level should not affect industrialisation and economic growth. Other global regimes like the law of sea, international maritime laws as well as laws to regulate terror finance would influence the security dynamics. By cooperating with global governance mechanism, the national interest can be better served.

## REFERENCES

Ambrose, Soren (2004). "The Roots of Corporate Globalization in IMF/World Bank "Structural Adjustment Policies", *The Public Eye* - Summer 2004 - Vol. 18, No.2

<sup>14</sup> See Smruti S Pattanaik, SAARC at Twenty five: An Incredible Idea Still in its Infancy", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.34(5), Aug-September, 2010, pp.671-77

<sup>15</sup> Resolution 1373: This resolution calls on states to work together to combat terrorism. It compels states to refrain from providing financial and logistical support to terrorist networks, and it creates a committee of the Council to monitor state action in conformity with the resolution; Resolution 1377: calls on all countries to take "urgent steps" to put into effect resolution 1373.; Resolution 1566 (2004) The UN Security Council passes a resolution expanding the definition of terrorist groups and individuals to include entities other than those affiliated with Al Qaida. The resolution also sets up a working group to make recommendations on how to deal with entities associated with terrorist activities; Global Counter terrorism strategy 2006: "five Ds." Namely, to dissuade groups to resort to terrorism, to deny the means to carry out attacks, to deter states from supporting such groups, to develop state capacity to prevent terrorism, and to defend human rights in the context of terrorism and counterterrorism.

<sup>16</sup> See Robert Axelord and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions", *World Politics*, Vol.38(1), October 1985, p.252-53

- Axelrod, Robert (1985). "Achieving Cooperation under anarchy: Strategies and Institutions" *World Politics*, Vol.38(1), October 1985, pp.226-254
- Bayne, Nicholas and Stephen Woolcock eds, *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision-Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations* Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007
- Bergsten C Fred (1976). "Interdependence and the reform of International Institutions", *International Organisation*, Vol.30(2), Spring 1976, pp.361-372
- Cerny Philip G (2010). *Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism*, Oxford University press,
- Finnemore, Martha (1996). *National Interest in International Society*, Cornell University Press
- Harvey, David (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* Oxford University Press
- Haynes, Jeff (2003). "Tracing Connections between Comparative Politics and Globalisation", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (Dec., 2003), pp. 1029-1047
- Higgot, Richard (2000). "Contested Globalisation: The Changing Context and Normative Challenges", *Review of International Studies*, Vol.26, Vol.26, December 2000, pp.131-153
- Jervis, Robert, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the debate", *International Security*, Vol.24(1), pp.42-63
- Keohane, Robert O., "International Institutions: Two Approaches", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34(4), December 1988
- Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L Martin, "Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security*, Vol20(1), pp.39-51
- Keohane, Robert O (1998). "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?", *Foreign Policy*, no.110, Spring 1998, pp.82-96
- Mahbubani, Kishore (2008). "The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East", *PublicAffairs*, New York
- Mearsheimer, John J (1994). "The False promise of International institutions", *International Security*, Vol.19(3), Winter 1994-95
- Mittelman, James H (1998). "Tracing Globalisation and Environmental Resistance politics", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.19(5), 1998, pp.847-872
- Powell, R (1991). "Absolute Gain and Relative Gain in International Relations Theory", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol.85(4), December 1991, pp.1303-20
- Wendt, Alexander "Anarchy is what the States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organisation*, Vol 46(2), Spring 1992, pp.391-425

#### BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Dr Smurti M Pattanaik is a research fellow attached to the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi. She holds a PhD in South Asia Studies.