

“The Analysis of the Regional Sub-Systems” in International Relations: South and East Asia as a Regional Sub-System*

Uluslararası İlişkilerde ‘Alt Sistem Analizi’: Bölgesel Bir Alt Sistem Olarak Güney ve Doğu Asya

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Öz

Bu makalede Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplini içerisinde bölgesel dinamiklerin ön plana çıkarılmasını amaçlayan “bölgesel alt sistem” analizi teorik ve uygulamalı bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Bölgesel alt sistem analizinin temel hipotezleri kapsamında incelemeye tâbi tutulan Güney ve Doğu Asya bölgesinin kendi içerisinde özgün ve küresel sistemden ayrılan bir yapıya sahip olmasının yanında aynı zamanda küresel sistem ile önemli temas noktaları olan bir alt sistem olduğu kanıtlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışma sonucunda ulaşılan bulgulara göre Güney ve Doğu Asya alt sistemi, “güç dengesinin” diğer bölgelerden daha fazla geçerli olduğu, Çin in hâkim ekonomik ve siyasal güç olarak ön plana çıktığı bir görünüm sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güney Ve Doğu Asya, Çin, Alt Sistem, Bölgesel Güç, Güvenlik

Abstract

This study examines the “regional sub-system” analysis that aims to emphasize regional dynamics in the field of International Relations with a theoretical and applied approach. It has been aimed to prove that the South and East Asia region, which was subject to the examination within the scopes of the fundamental hypotheses of regional sub-system analysis, have a unique structure that differs from the global system, while having important contact points with the global system. According to the findings of the study, the South and East Asia sub-system exhibits a view where the “balance of power” is emphasized more than other regions, and where China emerges as the dominant economic and political power.

Key Words: South And East Asia, China, Sub-Systems, Regional Power, Security

Introduction

International relations is a network of highly complicated relationships where many actors, effects and processes move together, and all factors constantly modify each other.¹ Since the dependent and independent variables within this

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1 Bahadır Pehlivanlı, “Analiz Düzeyi Problemi”, *Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş, Tarih, Teori, Kavram ve*

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complex network exhibit a high-dimensional structure that is simultaneously and directly affected by regional and systemic developments, a problem of categorizing and abstracting the events emerges in the field. The most effective tool that is developed to clarify the diversity of actors, effects and processes and provide a more understandable picture, and to enable the systematic analysis of the facts that are examined, is to categorize the facts that are examined in different “levels of analysis.”² Indeed, the debates concerning the level of analysis in the International Relations literature allowed the methodological, epistemological and ontological topics to emerge with all of their dimensions. The basic problem in this debate is to determine *on what basis, on what kind of foundation* a behavior, event or situation should be explained.³

Thus, the selection of the level of analysis is considered as a factor that will directly affect the results of this study. In this regard, the level of analysis was first considered as a subject of investigation in the field of international politics in David Singer’s article titled “*The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations.*”⁴ Singer considers the *nation-state* and the *systemic level of analysis* as the two fundamental levels of analysis.⁵ However, the addition of studies at the level of individual in the field of *International Relations*, forces us to consider the level of analysis distinction in three dimensions: *individual, state* and *system*.⁶ Moreover, the “system analyses” that are conducted in the field of *International Relations* generally focus on the workings of the international system, the decision-making processes of relatively strong actors within this system, and the consequences of the actions of these actors. Thus, the systemic approaches in the field examine the global system holistically, and qualitatively and quantitatively neglect the studies in the level of regional sub-systems. The most important reason for this is the theoretical inadequacies concerning directly this *level of sub-system*.⁷

The first study concerning a specific geographical location in the field of International Relations is E. Haas’ study about the unification of Europe.⁸

Konular, (Ed.) Saban Kardas, Ali Balci, Küre Yayınları, 4. Basım, İstanbul 2015, p.543.

2 *Ibid.*, p.543.

3 Muhammed A. Ağcan, “Sosyal Bilimler Felsefesi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisi”, *Küresel Siyasete Giriş, Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kavramlar, Teoriler, Süreçler*, (Ed.) Evren Balta, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p.95.

4 J. David Singer, “The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations”, *World Politics*, XIV/1, 1961, pp.77-92.

5 J. David Singer, “Uluslararası İlişkilerde Analiz Düzeyi Meselesi”, Dilek Karakaya ve Birgül Demirtaş-Coşkun (çev.), *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, III/11, Güz 2006, p.16.

6 Faruk Sönmezoğlu, *Uluslararası Politika ve Dış Politika Analizi*, Filiz Kitabevi, 4. Baskı, İstanbul 2005, p.77.

7 *Ibid.*, p.87-88.

8 Bassam Tibi, *Conflict and War in the Middle East, From Interstate War to New Security*, Macmillan Press, 2. Edition, Londra 1998, p.22.

Studies that were conducted after Haas, and contributed to the development of the regional sub-system theory against systemic analyses are limited in number, but they constitute the cornerstones of the field. The study entitled "*International Relations and Asian Studies: The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia*" was published by M. Brecher in 1963, developed scientific criteria to define these regional sub-systems in the international system, and explained the characteristics of these sub-systems using a new method Brecher built his study upon the inadequacy of the international relations studies that focus on Soviet-American relations in explaining the international system. Brecher begins from Willam Fox's thought: "*we will never reach –a well-ordered World- by ignoring the differences between the elephants and the squirrels of international politics*)" and emphasizes the dangers of the thought that the system can be explained based only on the elephants' action.⁹ and emphasizes the dangers of the thought that the system can be explained based only on the elephants' actions.¹⁰

Departing from this point, Brecher suggests that, subordinate systems exist in international politics, in addition to the Global System and the Dominant System, that the global system cannot be understood only in terms of the relationships within the dominant system, and that there are at least five definable *subordinate systems* at present. He defines these systems as: Middle East, America, South Asia, West Europe and West Africa.¹¹

Brecher built upon the analytical method he suggested in his first paper which was published in 1969 with the title of "The Middle East Subordinate System and Its Impact on Israel's Foreign Policy." The concept was addressed in this article using the two contextual characteristics that Brecher used to define a "sub-system": *structure* and *texture*. "Structure" is used to illustrate the relationships between the units that constitute the system, while "texture" handles the larger surroundings - material, ideological and political- that impart functionality to this relationship.¹²

According to this theory, the structural features of a sub-system are defined by the level of power, power stratification, intensity of interaction, political, military and economic organizations, intensity of interaction, penetration of subordinate systems, and penetration by subordinate systems, while the textural features are the level of communication between the actors, the homogeneity of values, commonality of political systems and the political system's unit's domestic stability.¹³

9 W.T.R. Fox, *The Superpowers, The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union: Their Responsibility for Peace*, Hacourt Brace Publication, New York, 1944, p.3.

10 Michael Brecher, "International Relations and Asian Studies: The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia", *World Politics*, XV/2, 1963, p.217.

11 *Ibid.*, p.217-218.

12 *Ibid.*, p.218.

13 Michael Brecher, "The Middle East Subordinate System and Its Impact on Israel's Foreign

The analysis of sub-systems after Brecher was addressed by various authors, and examined in detail for various regions. The most comprehensive of these studies is Bassam Tibi's 1989 publication, which was translated into English in 1993: *Conflict and War in the Middle East, 1967-1991: Regional Dynamic and the Superpowers*. The study in which Tibi suggested the regional sub-system hypotheses for the first time is important in that it addresses *the super-power competition over regional sub-systems and the reflections of this competition in the global system*.¹⁴

In his next study, in which he comprehensively and analytically examines previous regional sub-system studies, Bassam Tibi states that the central assertion of the regional sub-system theory is that these partial regions of the international system have their own internal dynamics, while at the same time forming a part of the overall systemic configuration of World politics.¹⁵ The point that Tibi emphasizes is that regional sub-systems, while having a certain autonomy, are also united with the global system. A regional conflict, triggered by the respective regional dynamic, can thus have repercussions on the World political scene as a whole¹⁶

Bassam Tibi contributed an important perspective to the field of International Relations with the structural connection that he established between the political structure of the regional sub-system and the global system. According to this structural connection, regional sub-systems may be fragmented by locally, ethnically, culturally, politically or economically triggered conflicts. However, more important is the fact that the fragmentation of these regional sub-systems is reinforced by the superpowers' policies in these sub-systems. Tibi illustrates this hypotheses on the Middle East, and attempts to explain the fact that the superpowers made the most of this fragmentation by forming alliances with some local state actors against others, thus expediting regional crises, and that these regional crises may gain a global dimension.¹⁷

The purpose of this study, based on the theoretical framework identified above, is to examine the theory of *regional sub-systems*, which was previously applied to the Middle East to the South and East Asia region. The conclusion that we want to reach by examining the factors that are determined to define sub-systems in the literature for this region is to demonstrate that this region is a *sub-system* that has important points of contact with the global system, however that it also carries a unique structure and operating mechanism.

Policy, *International Studies Quarterly*, XIII/2, Haziran 1969, p.139.

14 Also see Bassam Tibi, *Konfliktregion Naher Osten. Eigendynamik und Großmachtinteresse*, Beck'sche Reihe, C. H. Beck, Verlag, München 1989.

15 Bassam Tibi, *ibid.*, (1998), p.25.

16 *ibid.*, p. 25.

17 *ibid.*, p. 37.

Thus, the first part of the study investigates the development process of the regional sub-system theory in the field of *International Relations*. Following the theoretical background, the proposition that the "South and East Asia region is a sub-system with its own unique relationship structure" is evaluated based on the "sub-system" model that was basically established by M. Brecher in 1963.¹⁸ This section examines the existence of South and East Asia as a sub-system based on the criteria developed by Brecher, and attempts to determine the dominant powers of the regional system.

The final section examines the effects of the regional dynamics of the South and East Asia region over the global system, and the competition zones in this region to analyze the connection points between the regional and global conflict zones. This analysis is mostly based on Bassam Tibi's study, and the method used by the author in his study was applied to the South and East Asia region. Thus, the validity for the South and East Asia sub-system of the proposition "superpowers try to establish zones of influence by acting through local powers in sub-systems that are locally, ethnically, culturally, politically or economically fragmented," which was defined by Tibi for the Middle East.

At the end of the study, it was observed that while the South and East Asia region developed unique internal political and economic relationship structures, it also was a sub-system that continued to be an important element of the global system. The states that constitute the South and East Asia sub-system, form a sub-system that establish effective regional economic organizations due to their economies that define shared meanings for political and cultural values, and that complement each other.

While the powerful actors of the system such as China and India are the most important elements of the system, the small states in the region are the actual determinants of the local and global interactions. Moreover, the most important development that will determine the rules of the region's politics in the long run is that China has started a process of regionalization that places itself in the center, and that makes peripheral states dependent on China.

The Analysis of Regional Sub-Systems in International Relations:

System analyses emerged as a counter argument to the conventional approaches that assume the *state* as the basic determinant for understanding the relations between nations.¹⁹ The behaviorists' attempts in the 1960s to make the field of *International Relations* methodologically more systematic provided the foundation

18 Brecher, "International Relations and Asian Studies: The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia", *World Politics*, XV/2, 1963, pp.213-235.

19 Davut Ateş, "Uluslararası Sistem", *Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş, Tarih, Teori, Kavram ve Konular*, (Ed.) Şaban Kardaş, Ali Balcı, Küre Yayınları, 4. Basım, İstanbul 2015, p.432.

for the *discussion of the level of analysis*.²⁰ Thus, authors who recognized that it is impossible to understand international relations solely through analyses based on states, such as Waltz, Rosecrance, Kaplan and Modelski, started addressing the area that states constitute with a “*systemic*” approach. According to this approach, the main elements that constitute the international systems are states, interactions between states, structural determinants that guide the acts of the states, and regional sub-systems.²¹ However, although these approaches that attempt to explain the global system as a whole and through its structural features accept the existence of regional sub-systems, studies at the regional sub-system level are limited in comparison to those at the level of states or the global system.²²

In this context, the first study that addressed the existence and structural mechanisms of the regional sub-systems was the article entitled “The Middle East as a Subordinate International System” dated 1958 by L. Binder. Binder emphasizes that the study of international politics has two main focal points. The first, are the studies that attempt to provide systemic explanations through generalizations that apply to all the actors of the international system. The second are the “area studies” that try to explain international politics through the foreign policy behaviors of states.²³ The most important assumption that lies at the basis of these explanations is that international politics has a global and holistic quality. Binder’s evaluation about the perception of international politics, explains the relationship structure of the bi-polar system that was dominant when the article was written. Binder based his approach on the fact that international politics cannot be explained solely through the policies of super powers or small states, concluded that the theories that systematizes the great power politics will fail to explain the policies of relatively weak states that he calls “uncommitted states.”²⁴

In light of this conclusion, L. Binder attempted to prove his theoretical conclusions by applying them to the Middle East policies of two super powers. For this analysis, he also considered the regional policies of the two super powers and the relationships between the countries in the region. The most important conclusion reached by Binder was that the political system that regulates the regional relationships in the Middle East was relatively independent from the dominant “bi-polar” structure of the global system.²⁵

20 Muhammed A. Ağcan, “Sosyal Bilimler Felsefesi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisi”, *Küresel Siyasete Giriş, Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kavramlar, Teoriler, Süreçler*, (Ed.) Evren Balta, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p.95.

21 Ateş, *Ibid.*, p.432.

22 Sönmezoğlu, *Ibid.*, p.87-88.

23 Leonard Binder, “The Middle East as a Subordinate International System”, *World Politics*, X/3, April 1958, p.408.

24 *Ibid.*, p.409.

25 *Ibid.*, p.427.

According to these evaluations by Binder, the areas outside the super powers are segregated into regions, and these regions are defined as sub-systems. These sub-systems have various degrees of political, social, cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious and economic similarities, and differ from other regions. Sub-systems that are thus defined also create a unique regional structure of order and conflict.²⁶

Many different methods and terminologies were developed concerning regional sub-systems in *International Relations* after Binder's study. Although this terminology is limited with area studies, there is no generally accepted definition of regional sub-systems.²⁷ Another study that addresses sub-systems is M. Brecher's study that was cited in the introduction. Brecher, like Binder built his study upon the inadequacy of the international relations studies that focus on Soviet-American relations in explaining the international system. Brecher begins from William Fox' thought: "we will never reach –a well-ordered World- by ignoring the differences between the elephants and the squirrels of international politics"²⁸ and emphasizes the dangers of the thought that the system can be explained based only on the elephants' actions.²⁹ Departing from this point, Brecher suggests that, subordinate systems exist in international politics, in addition to the *global system* and the Dominant System, that the global system cannot be understood only in terms of the relationships within the *dominant system*, and that there are at least five definable *subordinate systems* at present. He determines these systems as: Middle East, America, South Asia, West Europe and West Africa.³⁰

Although they depart from a similar point, Brecher clearly determined the position of sub-system analysis among global system studies and suggested scientific methods to analyze the sub-systems. For example, Brecher determined six criteria to explain the existence of a sub-system. A sub-system can be defined according to the following criteria:³¹

- Its scope is delimited with primary stress on a geographic region,
- There are at least three actors,
- They are objectively recognized by other actors as constituting a distinctive community, region or segment of the Global system,
- The members identify themselves as such,
- Regional actors have the capacity to use their powers both in the global and the regional system using a sliding scale of power in both

26 Özalp, *Ibid.*, p.50.

27 *Ibid.*, p.51.

28 Fox, *Ibid.*, p.3.

29 Brecher, *Ibid.*, (1963), p.217.

30 *Ibid.*, p.217-218.

31 Brecher, *Ibid.*, (1963), p.220.

- The units of power (regional organizations, etc.) are relatively inferior in capacity, compared to units in Dominant system (states, economic/political/cultural organizations, etc.)

Brecher built upon the analytical method he suggested in his first paper in his 1969 paper "The Middle East Subordinate System and Its Impact on Israel's Foreign Policy." The concept was addressed in this article using the two contextual characteristics that Brecher used to define a "sub-system": *structure* and *texture*. "Structure" is used to illustrate the relationships between the units that constitute the system, while "texture" handles the larger surroundings - material, ideological and political- that impart functionality to these relationships.³²

Accordingly, the structural features of a sub-system are the level of power, power stratification, intensity of interaction, political, military and economic organizations, intensity of interaction, penetration of subordinate systems, and penetration by subordinate systems, while the textural features are the level of communication between the actors, the homogeneity of values, commonality of political systems and the political system's units' domestic stability.³³

Another study that focuses on the analysis of sub-systems based on Brecher's structural and textural features is the *Konfliktregion Naher Osten. Regionale Eigendynamik und Großmachtinteressen* by Bassam Tibi, which was briefly mentioned in the introduction. Tibi reinforced the thesis that regional systems are interactional systems and that while they have unique systemic dynamics, they are also connected to the dominant global system. In this regard, the competition of great powers over regional sub-systems in order to gain influence also creates a basis for action in these systems, which are weaker than themselves. Regional sub-systems may be fragmented due to economic, cultural, local, ethnic or political conflicts. Great powers take advantage of these fragmented structures and may ally themselves with local actors against other local actors. Thus, a connection is established between local, regional and global conflict zones.³⁴

The interest of the international thought organizations and the academic world in Asia, are limited with economy- and strategic security-based studies on the rising powers of the region such as China and India. However, according to the 2013 UN Human Development Report titled *The Rise of the South*, three countries that are considered in the South like Brazil, India and China are expected to produce 40% of the gross product of the world by 2050.³⁵ In this

32 *Ibid.*, p.218.

33 Brecher, *Ibid.*, (1969), p.139.

34 Özalp, *Ibid.*, p.51.

35 UNDP, Human Development Report 2013, The Rise of the South, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf, (a.t. 01.11.2016)

analysis, the term *South* refers to peripheral countries that adopted capitalism lately, instead of a geographical segmentation, and it recently became one of the most emphasized concepts in the fields of International Relations and International Political Economy, due to the constant rise of Asian countries such as Japan, China, India and South Korea.³⁶

The late-industrialized countries of the *South* gaining an active and strategic position in the global system makes it necessary to analyze these changes in the system in two different dimensions that is global and regional, using different variables. Indeed, the small- and medium-sized Asian countries that develop a mutual dependency relationship with the global system are observed to be obliged to develop unilateral dependency relationships with China and India. It is argued that this unilateral relationship structure is a contemporary reflection of the “*Tribute System*” that dominated Asia before modernity. This system creates ties of subjection and it emerges as a historic institution that maintains China’s continuity in the area of international relations.³⁷ One of the predictions based on this point is that China will start a new regionalization process in Asia-Pacific, in which China is located at the center with a hierarchical order that reminds of the tribute system.³⁸ The validity of these guesses and predictions for Asia in general, and South and East Asia specifically will be examined in the following section, based on the sub-system analysis principles determined by Brecher in 1963.

New Parameters in Asia’s Definition as a Subsystem

Asia emerged as a new “center of power” in the global economic system since the 1990s and became one of the regions on which the area studies focused increasingly. In the last thirty years, the area studies in the field of International relations attempted to examine the economic rise of Asia in the macro level, and whether the economic growth models of China and India include these countries in the system, or if they will challenge the system along with their economic growth in the micro level. The shifting dominant paradigm in international politics after the Cold War era, also explains this interest in the economic rise of Asia. Indeed, the competition for economic security after 1990 in global politics, became as intense as the competition for strategic security, and the states made new definitions of power and interests based on *economic sufficiency*.³⁹

36 Ali Rıza Güngen, “Kalkınma, Eşitsizlik ve Yoksulluk”, *Küresel Siyasete Giriş, Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kavramlar, Teoriler, Süreçler*, (Ed.) Evren Balta, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p.448.

37 Ceren Ergenç, “Çin’in Yükselişi”, *Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş*, Ed. Şaban Kardeş ve Ali Balcı, Küre Yayınları, 4. Baskı, İstanbul 2015, p.656-657.

38 *Ibid.*, p.666.

39 Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak vd., *Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorileri*, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul 2012, p.111.

Asia constitutes almost 61% of the world's population⁴⁰, and emerges as an important focus of production and consumption due to its natural and human resources. This created the challenge of redefining the place of Asia, after America and Europe. Indeed, 31.5% of the global product exports, and 32% of the imports⁴¹ makes Asia a powerful economic center with the capacity of singlehandedly affecting the global system. Additionally, the strong economic, political and cultural relations that developed (or were developed) among the regional actors in Asia allowed the region to emerge as an effective center of power in the global system. Thus, the existence of a strong Asia "sub-system" is a reality with an independent internal relationships network, and the ability to influence the global system.

This study examines the existence of Asia as a sub-system based on the criteria developed by Brecher, and attempts to determine the dominant powers of the regional system. To this purpose, we examine the factors that determine the structural and textural characteristics of sub-systems, as defined by Brecher in his 1969 article.

Structural Characteristics

Level of power and Power stratification: According to Joseph Nye and D. Welch, power is the capacity to influence others to obtain the desired results.⁴² It is assumed that this capacity involves some fixed and potential resources. According to this, history, geography, population and culture constitute the fixed data; while elements such as economic, technological and military capacity constitute the potential data.⁴³ Thus, population, economic size, military capacity and economic growth data were used to determine the levels of power of the states that constitute the East, South and Southeast Asia regions.

Table I. Human, Economic and Military Capacities of Asian Countries (2015)

Countries	Population 1 (thousand)	GNP2 (million dollars)	Military Expenditure 3 (million dollars)	Economic Growth 4(%)
China	1,376,049	10,866,444	214.787	6.9
India	1,311,051	2,073,543	51.257	7.6
Japan	126.573	4,123,258	40.885	0.5

40 World Bank, World Development Indicators, Population, http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?Code=SP.POP.TOTL&id=af3ce82b&report_name=Popular_indicators&popularitytype=series&ispopular=y, (e.t. 19.09.2016).

41 World Trade Organization, International Trade Statistics 2015, https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/its2015_e/its2015_e.pdf, (a.t. 22.09.2016).

42 Joseph Nye ve David A.Welch, *Küresel Çatışmayı ve İş Birliğini Anlamak*, (çev. Renan Akman), Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 3. Basım, İstanbul 2013, p.55.

43 Davutoğlu, *İbid*, p.17.

South Korea	50.293	1,377,873	36.435	2.6
Afghanistan	32.527	19.199	199	1.5
Pakistan	188.925	269.971	9.510	5.5
ASEAN	632.305	2,431,969 ⁵	38,703 [*]	4.7 ⁶

Examination of Table I reveals that China has much larger figures than the other countries in the region in terms of human, economic and military capacities, which constitute the elements of the power of a country. While all these elements are components that constitute the level of power, the power stratification that is specified in Brecher’s model of analysis is also an important factor that determines the operation of sub-systems. The role of the Chinese diaspora in the neighboring countries, the amount of direct investment that China transfers to these countries and the structural features of mutual trade results in the focusing of China’s elements of power over neighboring countries.⁴⁴ Brecher finds that China’s vital role in the South and East Asia sub-system is similar to the role of Macedonia in the Greek city-states system, and Russia in 19th Century Europe.⁴⁵ Thus, an analysis of the South and East Asia sub-system that does not include China will not be complete. This simile also needs to be evaluated in terms of the economic and political organizations that are active in the region. In this regard, the intensity of interaction of member states and China’s dominant role in the region will be addressed based on ASEAN and APEC organizations.

Regional Organizations and Intensity of interaction: ASEAN was established in 1967 with the Bangkok declaration, and aims to end the conflicts in the region, and prevent them from happening again.⁴⁶ The Organization took a decision in 2003, to prioritize the establishment a more integrated community until 2020. The goal that was set for the first stage is to establish a single market where money, services and qualified labor roam freely.⁴⁷

Contrary to ASEAN, APEC was established to economically integrate the countries in the Asia-Pacific region, and to increase the volume of free trade.⁴⁸ The organization that was established in 1989 with the initiative of two

44 For the share of Chinese diaspora in the population of the surrounding countries, and their contributions to the GDPs of these countries, see: Alexander Larin, “The Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia: gains and losses”, (16.01.2014) Russian International Affairs Council, RIAC, http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=2989#top-content, (a.t. 27.02.2017).

45 Brecher, *Ibid.*, (1963), p.220.

46 The Organization was established by Indonesia, Malaysia, Philipinnes, Singapore and Thailand, and Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia joined later. Özge Onursal Beşgöl, “Yerelleşme, Bölgeselleşme ve Bütünleşme”, *Küresel Siyasete Giriş, Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kavramlar, Teoriler, Süreçler*, (Ed.) Evren Balta, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p.537.

47 *Ibid.*, p.537-538.

48 T.R. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, APEC, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/asya-pasifik-ekonomik-is-birligi-forumu.tr.mfa>, (e.t. 02.11.2016).

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countries now hosts twenty-one important members of the global economy, and is still an important actor for both local and global economies. Table-3 presents the shares of these countries in the global imports and exports, total population and GDP for 2015, in order to view their positions in the global system.

Table 2. Human and Economic Dimensions of Regional Organizations (2015)

Regional Org.	Number of Members	Total Population (thousand) Ratio to the total global population	Total GDP (million dollars)	Total amount of imports (million dollars) and share in the global imports	Amount of exports (million dollars) and share in the global exports%	Direct Foreign Investment Flow ⁷ – (million dollars)
ASEAN*	10	632.305 %8.6	2,431,969	1,087,970 %6.5	1,181,889 %7.13	132.833 %10
ASEAN +3 PRC- Jap-S. Korea	13	2,185,220 %29.7	18,799,544	3,861,033 %23.2	4,594,983 %27.7	273.322 %22.2
APEC	21	2,852.8618 %38.8	43,478,1729	8,313,68110 %50	8,328,28311 %50	651.802 %53

*First five data for ASEAN are found at <http://asean.org/resource/statistics/asean-statistics/>

Examination of Table 2 reveals that the ASEAN organization with 10 members is an important organization in the global system with its more than 630 million population and 2.431 million dollars GDP. With its 2.431 million dollars of GDP in 2015, ASEAN became the eighth largest economy in the world after USA, EU, China, Japan, Germany, United Kingdom and France.⁴⁹ Moreover, ASEAN was responsible for 6,5% of the global imports and 7,13% of the global exports, and constitutes one of the more important economic zones within the global system by combining economies at very different levels from each other.⁵⁰

The trade volume of APEC makes the organization more important than ASEAN in the region. With its population of almost three billion, APEC hosts approximately 40% of the world's population and it is responsible for 50% of the global imports and exports. APEC combines the small economies with the industrialized, advanced economies of the Asia-Pacific region, and is

49 World Bank, GDP, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=CN-1W-US-EU-JP-FR-GB-DE>, (e.t. 07.11.2016).

50 Nilcomborirak, *Ibid.*, p. 71.

especially important in terms of combining the economies of South and East Asia with the global system.

The two organizations have different roles in the regional and global interactions of South and East Asia. Additionally, since the members are exclusively from the South and East Asia region, it would be useful to reach consistent conclusions about the region through ASEAN. The figures for the imports and exports of the organization (Table 3) with China, Japan and South Korea, which constitute the largest part of the trade of ASEAN countries amount to a quarter of the global imports and exports. This data allows us to conclude that ASEAN is an organization that reinforces the commercial interaction among the countries of the region, and that it is also a dynamic center of the global economic system.

Table3. ASEAN trade data (2015)

ASEAN	Export (million dollars) 1,181,889,0		Import (million dollars) 1,087,969,8		Total (million dollars) 2,269,858,9
Share of Intra-ASEAN exports in total exports	%25.9	Share of Intra-ASEAN imports in total imports	%21.9	Share of Intra-ASEAN trade in total trade	%23.9
Share of Extra-ASEAN exports in total exports	%74.1	Share of Extra-ASEAN imports in total imports	%78.1	Share of Extra-ASEAN trade in total trade	%76.1

*Source: http://asean.org/storage/2016/06/table18_as-of-30-Aug-2016-2.pdf, (e.t. 05.10.2016)

The share of member countries in the total exports, imports and foreign trade of ASEAN is approximately 25%, while the share of non-member countries is approximately 75%. From this perspective, the low levels of intra-organization trade may be interpreted as a weakness of the regional activity. However, examination of ASEAN's partners in total foreign trade disproves this interpretation.

Table 4. Shares of ASEAN's Foreign Trade Partners (%)

Countries	Share in ASEAN's exports	Share in ASEAN's imports	Share in ASEAN's foreign trade
ASEAN	25.9	21.9	23.9
China	11.3	19.4	15.2
Japan	9.6	11.4	10.5

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USA	10.9	7.6	9.4
AB-28	10.8	9.2	10.0
South Korea	3.9	7.0	5.4
Taiwan	2.8	5.6	4.2
Hong Kong	6.5	1.3	4.0
Australia	2.8	1.7	2.3
India	3.3	1.8	2.6
Share of Top 10 Countries	87.9	87.0	87.5
Others	12.1	13.0	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source: ASEAN, http://asean.org/storage/2016/06/table20_as-of-30-Aug-2016-2.pdf, (e.t. 05.10.2016)

As evidenced in Table 4, while China, Japan and South Korea have an important place in ASEAN's foreign trade, there are significant interactions with USA and EU, which are global economic actors. The most striking data in the table is the fact that the role of China in ASEAN countries foreign trade cannot be denied. The mutual trade between ASEAN and China is a direct result of China wanting to increase its interactions with the member states. China-ASEAN Free Trade Area (CAFTA) and the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreements (ACFTA) that stipulate increasing mutual trade between China and ASEAN are some of the most important examples of these efforts.⁵¹ ACFTA consists of three separate agreements, and it was concluded with the execution of the agreement concerning product and goods trade in 2005, service trade in 2007 and mutual investments 2010.⁵² Indeed, following this agreement, ACFTA became the third largest trade organization after NAFTA and EU with its 12% share in global GDP in 2010.⁵³

These figures that we use to determine the internal dynamics and intensity of interaction of the region that we define as South and East Asia indicate that ASEAN is an important factor of regional interaction on its own. Moreover, according to 2015 statistics that are published by the World Trade Organization, Asia's internal trade volume is the second largest in the world after EU. This indicates the level of the regional intensity of interaction that Brecher prescribed for sub-systems.

51 Siyang Zhao ve Zhenjiang Zhang, "The Political Economy of Energy Resources Between China and ASEAN States: Opportunity and Challenge", *The Chinese Economy*, XLIX, 2016, p.461.

52 Qiaomin Li, Robert Scollay, Sholeh Maani, "Effects on China and ASEAN of the ASEAN-China FTA: The FDI Perspective", *Journal of Asian Economics*, XLIV, 2016, p.2.

53 Li, Scollay and Maani, *Ibid.*, p.4.

Table 5. Regional and Intra-Regional Trade Shares in Global Goods Exports - 2014

Regions	North America	South and Central America	Europe	CIS	Africa	Middle East	Asia	World
North America	39.2	28.8	5.6	3.4	6.8	10.1	9.2	13.5
South and Central America	5.4	24.1	1.7	1.8	2.8	2.2	3.1	3.8
Europe	16.9	16.0	68.7	42.6	34.7	29.4	13.5	36.8
Commonwealth of Independent States	0.9	0.9	5.7	25.6	2.4	2.9	2.4	4.0
Africa	1.2	3.8	3.0	0.4	15.4	2.3	2.8	3.0
Middle East	3.1	1.5	2.2	1.3	5.6	14.5	12.7	7.0
Asia	33.3	24.9	13.2	24.7	32.4	38.7	56.4	32.0
World	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source :https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/its2015_e/its15_world_trade_dev_e.pdf, p.41, (a.t. 05.10.2016) trade report for 2015 contains data for the year 2014.

According to the WTO report, the share of the trade that Europe conducts internally to the total trade is 68.7%, thus Europe is the first in intra-regional trade. According to the statistics, Asia was the region with the second largest intra-regional trade after Europe with 56.4%. This data is important because it demonstrates the "intra-regional intensity of interaction" factor, which is one of the structural features of the model that Brecher developed for the analysis of regional sub-systems.

The structural factors that determine the existence and basic features of a sub-system in the model that Brecher developed for the analysis of sub-systems in international relations are: level of power, power stratification, regional organizations, intensity of interaction, and the penetration of this system to the sub-systems. Examination of all these features for South and East Asia reveals that China's level of power and intensity allows it to be a regional power with the capacity to influence surrounding countries, and that the regional powers have high-intensity of interaction relations among themselves through ASEAN. Following the examination of the quantitative

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data in Brecher's model, we will also examine the qualitative data, which are defined as textural features.

Textural Features

Commonality of Political Systems, Units' Domestic Stability and Homogeneity of Values: The textural features are among the factors that Brecher used to determine the qualities of sub-systems will be examined based on "political system, stability and common values" since they are measurable.

As evidenced by Schedule-1, the lack of violence, political stability, and government effectiveness factors that the UN measures with values between -2.5/2.5 reveal that Afghanistan and Pakistan are the less stable countries, and the less effective government is North Korea.

Additionally, Japan and Singapore are the most stable countries and have the most effective governments based on the same criteria. On a regional basis, Asian countries have completely different and differentiated political systems such as parliamentary republics and single-party communist systems, and have Buddhism and Hinduism as a common belief, albeit not as unified as in the continental Europe and United States.

Political stability is a very important criterion for the hypothesis of this study, which is that South and East Asia constitutes a sub-system that is relatively independent from the global system, and that has its own strong internal dynamics. The political stability factors that is examined in Schedule-1 and that constitutes one of the basic inputs of Brecher's sub-system analysis reveals that 21 of 28 countries have a score lower than 1.0. Indeed, small South and East Asian countries that are governed by mostly unstable governments become open doors for the struggles to create circles of influence of regional great powers first, and then global actors. However, this fact does not make the existence of a sub-system questionable: they rather emerge as strategic elements where the regional sub-systems contact the global system. In the study we previously mentioned, Bassam Tibi⁵⁴ reinforced the thesis that regional systems are interactional systems and that while they have unique systemic dynamics, they are also connected to the dominant global system.

According to Tibi, the competition of great powers over regional sub-systems in order to gain influence also creates a basis for action in these systems, which are weaker than themselves. Regional sub-systems may be fragmented due to economic, cultural, local, ethnic or political conflicts. Great powers take advantage of these fragmented structures and may ally themselves with local actors against other local actors. Thus, a connection is established between local, regional and global conflict zones.⁵⁵

54 Also see, Bassam Tibi, "Konfliktregion Naher Osten..."; *Beck'sche Reihe*, C. H. Beck, Verlag, München 1989.

55 Özalp, *Ibid.*, p.51.

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Proving Tibi’s words, countries in South and East Asia are homogenous in terms of beliefs, lifestyle and social values, while they have a significantly fragmented structure because of the economic and ethnic structure and political conflicts.

This structure pushes the region’s states to ally themselves with global powers against regional conflicts. At this stage, the fact that China attempts to pull these countries to its sphere of influence by exercising soft-power politics towards the countries in the region, constitutes the point of contact between China and great powers, and determines the operation of regional politics. As we addressed the textural features of the South and East Asia sub-system, we will examine the position of the South and East Asia sub-system in the global system, based on Tibi’s hypothesis that explains the creation of the connection between the global system and regional systems.

The Position of the Asian Subsystem in the Global System and Regional Dynamics

As we assume that the current international system is transforming into a multipolar // polycentric structure, we observe that the Asian regional system emerges as one of the economic centers of the global system. The first wave of the rise of Asia started in Japan, and the process expanded to South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan, which was “newly industrialized economies,” then included ASEAN countries.

The *second wave* started with the economic rise of China at the beginning of the 1990s, and this rise caused the revitalization of the global geopolitical calculations that focus on South and East Asia. Indeed, while the first wave that was led by Japan only caused economic growth and interaction, the second wave led by China caused the economic and political dependence of the countries in the region to China, and reinforced China’s motivation to be the determining actor in the Asia-Pacific foreign policy.

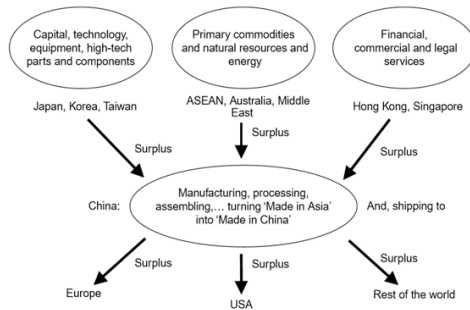


Figure 1. Regional economic rise and integration in the second wave of the economic rise of East Asia led by China

Source: John Wong, “A China-centric Economic Order in East Asia”, *Asia Pacific Business Review*, Vol.19, No.2, 2013, p.288.

As observed in Figure 1, the countries in the region provide raw materials to China, and import finished goods from China, and this makes Asia's economic rise directly dependent on the continued economic growth of China. Another element that affects the economic growth of Asia is the capacity of China to resolve and shape the complex geopolitical issues in the region.⁵⁶

East, South and Southeast Asia hosts 53% of the world's population and is responsible for 27% of global imports, and 31% of global exports according to 2015 data, and attracts 32% of direct global foreign investment, surpassing other regions in global trade.⁵⁷ The vital importance of South and East Asia for the global economy and the perpetuation of the current trade flow depends on the security of strategic points on the land and sea routes that are used to transport goods and energy to the region. This constitutes the direct cause of the conflicts between regional and global powers over Taiwan and Malacca Straits, the island son the Southern China Sea, and the countries around the Indian Ocean. The conflicts between China and other coastal countries over the islands in the Southern China Sea, and the military bases that China is constructing in the disputed zones adversely affected China's relations with both the countries in the region, and with the USA. However, China attempts to turn the position that its relations with the countries in the region will provide in its relations with USA to its own advantage with strategic moves.

At this stage, China's most important move against USA, Japan and India is the amount of direct foreign investment towards the countries in the region, and the adoption of important infrastructure projects in these countries. China was the third largest foreign investor after USA and EU in 2015 with 187 billion dollars, and 62% of its direct foreign investments were made in Asia, 13% in Latin America, 6% in Europe, 4% in North, 3% in Africa and 3% in Oceania.⁵⁸

Additionally, the fact that the sphere of influence of China, the top foreign trade partner of ASEAN countries, is expanding caused the USA to take action for the region. USA has been spending its diplomatic energy to develop

56 John Wong, "A China-centric Economic Order in East Asia", *Asia Pacific Business Review*, XIX/2, 2013, p.292.

57 37% of the flow of global direct foreign investment in 2015 was in America, 29% in Europe and 3% in Africa. UNCTAD, Foreign Direct Investment, 1970-2015, <http://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=96740>, (e.t. 14.10.2016).

58 OECD, FDI in Figures, October, 2016, <http://www.oecd.org/daf/inv/investment-policy/FDI-in-Figures-October-2016.pdf>, (e.t. 28.02.2017). Carlos Casanova, Alicia Garcia-Herrero and Le Xia, "Chinese Outbound Foreign Direct Investment", BBVA Research, Hong Kong, June 2015, https://www.bbvarsearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/15_17_Working-Paper_ODI.pdf, (e.t. 25.07.2015). "Riding the Silk Road: China sees outbound investment boom, Outlook for China's outward foreign direct investment", March 2015. [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/ey-china-outbound-investment-report-en/\\$FILE/ey-china-outbound-investment-report-en.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/ey-china-outbound-investment-report-en/$FILE/ey-china-outbound-investment-report-en.pdf), (e.t.28.02.2017).

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its relations with ASEAN for the past seven years, and is also developing its relations with countries such as Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia, that are involved in the South China Sea problem, in addition to formalizing its relations with ASEAN on this issue.⁵⁹

The most important extra-regional power that is trying to increase its sphere of influence through double alliances with the countries in the region is USA. The USA’s South and East Asia policies involve preventing the domination of a single power in the region, and eliminate the risk of interruption of maritime trade. To prevent the domination of a single power in the region, the USA is increasing its mutual trade volume with the countries in the region, and signing security agreements with countries in strategic positions such as Vietnam, Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia.

The increase in the mutual trade volume of the USA and the countries in the region is significant. The mutual trade between USA and East Asia was 508.5 billion dollars in 1997, it reached 940.4 billion dollars in 2007 to constitute 30.2% of total USA trade. The mutual trade of USA with the EU was 601.6 billion dollars in the same year.⁶⁰ The total trade of USA with ASEAN countries in 2015 was 212.343 billion dollars, and the USA was the third in the total ASEAN foreign trade with a share of 9.4%.⁶¹

In addition to forming mutual economic dependencies with the countries in the region, another important aspect of USA’s presence in the region’s politics is its military presence. The US Navy currently has 368,000 military personnel in Asia-Pacific, and it took the decision to increase its Pacific fleet by 30% in 5 years, and plans to position 60% of its navy in this region by 2020. In that regard, the most important allies of USA in the region against China are Australia, Philippines, and Singapore. Especially the Force Posture Agreement (FPA) signed with Australia in 2014, and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) signed with Philippines, are arrangements that will ensure the permanence of US presence in Southeast Asia.⁶²

The Asia-Pacific policies that were transformed during the Obama administration became more emphasized after Trump was elected. It would be reasonable to assess the new US President Donald Trump’s rhetoric

59 Mira Rapp-Hooper, “China’s Short Term Victory in The South China Sea”, *Foreign Affairs*, 21 March 2016, p.3.

60 CSIS, The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security strategy for the Obama Administration, February 2009, https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/issuesinsights_v09n01.pdf (e.t.24.02.2017).

61 ASEAN, http://asean.org/storage/2016/06/table20_as-of-30-Aug-2016-2.pdf, (e.t. 05.10.2016).

62 The US Department of Defense, The Asia-Pacific Maritime Security Strategy, 2015, https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/NDAA%20A-P_Maritime_Security_Strategy-08142015-1300-FINALFORMAT.PDF, (e.t.24.02.2017).

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that constantly blamed China before and after the election in this light. An interesting point in Trump's rhetoric is that these accusations are not purely economic. Approaches that contrast with the "One China" policy that the USA adopted since 1979, and phone calls with the President of Taiwan are testing the limits of China's red lines. However, the fact that he reconfirmed the "One China" policy in his meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping,⁶³ indicates that Trump's rhetoric and the actions in the international system are not consistent.

China responded the policies of the Obama administration through changes in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The fact that China, which was distant to the idea of expanding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization gladly welcomed India and Pakistan, with which China still had issues, in the Tashkent Summit on June 24, 2016, suggests that this is a counter move to the strategic attack of the USA.⁶⁴ The full membership process of Iran, which currently is an observer, may be reevaluated to stand against the new order being established by USA after the Arab String, to expedite the multipolar world order requests of the China-Russia-Iran axis.⁶⁵ The change in the organization's outlook on expansion is of a structure that may change the regional balance dynamics.

Its activity in regional organizations, its increasing economic influence in the region, its increasing military activities in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean indicate that China is emerging as the dominant power in the region. At this point, the relations of China, which is the determining power of the South and East Asia sub-system, which itself is one of the most important economic centers of the global system will have the capacity to directly influence the political atmosphere of the regional sub-system. Moreover, the existence of a regional power that will maintain its relations with Asian countries based on "hot in economics, cold in politics," due to its own internal political and economic issues may cause the regional order in East Asia to go on in uncertainty and instability.⁶⁶

The definition of issues such as economic relations, environment and energy security as the "new security" issues caused these issues to become new areas of conflict between states. Indeed, even the neo-liberal theory that predicts that the "new security" features of international politics will create mutual dependencies between states, suggests that the mutual dependency process may turn into conflict if not managed well. Based on this theoretical

63 Michael H. Fuchs, "Trump's China Policy is a Paper Tiger", *Foreign Policy*, 22.02.2017, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/02/22/trumps-china-policy-is-a-paper-tiger/>, (e.t. 27.02.2017)

64 Sajjanhar, "India and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization", <http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/india-and-the-shanghai-cooperation-organization/>, (e.t. 26.07.2016).

65 Unver Noi Aylin, "Iran and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization", *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs*, XXV, No.1/2, June-December 2012, p.54.

66 Wong, *Ibid.*, p.286.

perspective, in countries such as China and India, that have large populations that cannot distribute the increasing wealth in a socially balanced manner, the possibility exists that fragilities will increase and regional relations will be negatively affected.⁶⁷

At this stage, the competition between the important actors of the regional sub-system such as China, Japan and India mostly affects the small surrounding countries. Indeed, the current policies of regional and global actors on the small states in the South and East Asia sub-system confirm an important premise of the sub-system analysis. The sub-system premise is that when a strong regional actor finds itself in conflict with another, similarly strong actor, this actor will pressure its weaker neighbors to join in its coalition.⁶⁸ Additionally, the small but strategically positioned states in the region constitute an important component of the struggle for influence among not only regional powers such as China and India, but also the global struggle of actors such as China and USA. Indeed, the competition between China, India, Russia, USA and Japan about the domination of strategic points in the region causes all these powers to develop alliance and security relations with smaller countries.

Based on all this information, the South and East Asia sub-system with its position that dominates international petroleum and natural gas transportation lines, its leading economic structure in global goods exports and imports, its constantly increasing energy demands, its legal framework that is organized for international finance and investment centers, is one of the economic centers of the global system. Due to this feature, the internal dynamics of the system have the potential to affect economic, political and strategic positions in the global system.

Conclusion

In this study, with reference to the basic principles of the sub-system analysis that Brecher set out in his article published in 1963; "*South and East Asia geography is a sub-system that has unique relationship structure within itself*" hypothesis has been examined. As stated in Brecher's article in mention, for a system to be defined as a sub-system, it is required to possess the capacity to influence the global system while being influenced by the global system of that particular region. According to the findings arrived at the conclusion of our research, it has been observed that as South and East Asia sub-system develops original political and economic relations within itself at the same time it is a system which continues to be an important component of the global system. Consequently, the states forming the South and East Asia sub-system constitute a sub-

67 Jeremy Black, *Great Powers and the Quest for Hegemony*, Routledge, USA, Canada 2008, p.190.

68 Singer, "*Uluslararası İlişkilerde Analiz Düzeyi Meselesi*", p.18.

system which brings together effective regional economic organizations through complementary economies, which have adhere common meanings to political and cultural values.

At this stage, the most fundamental point separating the South and East Asia sub-system from the global system and making it unique emerges in the functioning of the regional political system. Accordingly, the South and East Asia sub-system provides a viewpoint that “balance of power” rules apply between states, that small states can survive by pursuing a policy of balancing between relatively strong regional actors and which are used as an important deterrent to military threat.

While the powerful actors of the system such as China and India are the most important elements of the system, the small states in the region are the actual determinants of the local and global interactions. So much so that; China and India are pursuing a regional containment policy against each other, trying to spread their influence over small states in the regional power rivalry. In addition to that, the most important development that will highlight the rules of regional politics in the long run, which stands out in the context of the ongoing regional relations of South and East Asia within the framework of balance of power rules; is the fact that China has instituted a regionalization process centered on itself, in which peripheral countries have developed various dependencies onto it.

As a result of this process, China and India finding their selves in a regional/global power struggle may result in political/economic pressures on small states in the region. Such pressures, due to the requirements of India’s current economic and political conditions, will lead the peripheral countries to a policy of balancing with China. However China’s economic dominance over the peripheral countries will necessitate that these countries only produce alternative policies with the US or Russia, and thus the functioning of the regional system will become open to the effects of the global system.

The 21st Century international system, where local and regional disparities are waning, globalization spreads from individual life to governance, needs a new framework from the point of view of local and regional politics. This viewpoint does not require the discovery of the new one, but requires more integration of the discipline of the regional perspective, which has been neglected in the literature. At this stage, the fundamentalism and existence of terrorist organizations with high regional influences presents us with the urgency of understanding the local and a necessity to analyze this locality in a more in-depth manner.

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Supplement- Table-1:

Political Systems of Countries, Internal Stability Levels and Belief Systems Asia (2014)

Country	Government Type ¹²	Political Stability and Absence of Violence 13-2.5/2.5	Government Effectiveness	Belief System ¹⁴
Afghanistan	Presidency Islam Republic	-2.45	-1.34	Islam %99
Bangladesh	Parliamentary Republic	-0.87	-0.77	Islam %89 Hinduism %10
Bhutan	Constitutional Monarchy	0.99	0.27	Buddhism %75 Hinduism %22

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Brunei	Islamic Monarchy	1.26	1.08	Islam %78 Christian %8 Buddhism %7
Cambodia	Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy	-0.03	-0.67	Buddhism %96 Islam %2
China	Single Party Communist System	-0.46	0.33	Buddhism %18 Christian %5 Islam %2
India	Federal Parliamentary Republic	-0.96	-0.20	Hinduism %79 Islam %14 Christian %2
Indonesia	Presidency Republic	-0.36	-0.01	Islam %87 Christian %7
Iran	Theocratic Republic	-0.90	-0.41	Islam %99
South Korea	Presidency Republic	0.18	1.17	Christian %31 Buddhism %24
North Korea	Communist	-1.09	-1.64	Buddhism Confucianism
Lao	Communist System	0.45	-0.38	Buddhism %66 Christian %2 Other %31
Country	Government Type	Political Stability and Absence of Violence-2.5/2.5	Government Effectiveness	Belief System
Malaysia	Federal Constitutional Monarchy	0.33	1.13	Islam %61 Buddhism %20 Christian %9
Maldives	Presidency Republic	0.88	-0.36	Islam
Mongolia	Semi-Presidency Republic	0.86	-0.41	Buddhism %53 Islam %3 Christian %2
Myanmar ¹⁵	Presidency Republic	-1.06	-1.27	Buddhism %89 Christian %5 Islam %4
Nepal	Federal Parliamentary Republic	-0.70	-0.83	Hinduism %81 Buddhism %9 Islam %4
Pakistan	Federal Parliamentary Republic	-2.43	-0.74	Islam %96
Philippines	Presidency Republic	-0.70	0.19	Christian %82 Islam %5
Singapore	Parliamentary Republic	1.22	2.19	Buddhism %33 Islam %14 Taoism %11

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Sri Lanka	Presidency Republic	-0.25	0.08	Buddhism %70 Hinduism %12 Islam %10
Thailand	Constitutional Monarchy	-0.90	0.33	Buddhism %93 Islam %5
Timor-Leste	Semi-Presidency Republic	-0.21	-1.15	Christian %98
Vietnam	Communist System	-0.00	-0.06	Atheist %81 Buddhism %8 Christian %6
Japan	Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy	1.02	1.81	Shintoism %80 Buddhism %66

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