

Regional Powers and World Order in the Post Cold War Era

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Abstract

The end of the cold war has changed world order in terms of the distribution and structure of power in international system. Following the growth of regional powers and international system's shifting from bipolarity to multipolarity, regional powers, undertaking key tasks in the crisis management, are likely to play an active and determining role in new world order and change world management trends with a view to securing their region as well as their own interests. According to this article, the end of the cold war between the East and West and transition to multipolar structure has carried opportunities for the newly emerging regional powers as regards the enhancement of their capabilities in the management and establishment of regional order as well as entrance to the global decision-making structures. This article reviews the nature of regional powers, their reasons to support regionalism, and the role of the regional order in re-defining the world order.

Keywords: World systems, Regional power, Regionalism, Regional order, World order.

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Introduction

The international system was affected principally by the policies, balance of power and interests dictated by the two superpowers within the cold war. Other states, subject to their interdependency with either blocks (East or West), would have defined their interests in line with one of the two superpowers' interests. The end of the cold war, figured out as the end of the bipolar world and beginning of managerial changes in superpowers' politics and behavior(Vaezi, 2010: 7-9). The changes in the distribution of power and gradual empowerment of other regions and powers in the international system have exposed the world order to new revolutionary changes, which is no longer merely fixed and managed by the superpowers. It is appreciably bound by interests as well as the governing order of other regions.

Moreover, significant advances in the information and telecommunication technologies, which improved the flow of information significantly; impressive promotions in transportation system, which hit long and immeasurable geographic distances of land, sea and air; besides the industrialization of the labor and manufacturing sector in the third world caused a wave of globalization undergone around the world and forced the relentless and dynamic changes of the world order. The development of theories such as the end of history or the deterritorialization in recent decades reflects the theorists' profound attitudes towards globalization and its speedy pensiveness(Hettne, 2012:50-52).

Bjorn Hettne and Samir Amin in separate articles in regionalism and globalization emphasize that regionalism is interdependently associated with globalism. In Hettne views, regionalism has been shaped in the context of globalization and is a response against irregularities and the turmoil brought about by globalization. Samir Amin considers the regionalism as the most effective response as well as solution to overcome the problems associated with globalization and capitalism. Globalization and regionalism both follow the integrity in life, in two separate intellectual schools of thought. Globalization is set to move people to an integrated level of life which is in

compliance with global standards and form the global integration among people around the world, regardless of the political and geographical boundaries. However, regionalism seeks such human and political integrity within the geopolitical borders, not in the global universe (Hettne, Inotai, & Sunkel, 2012).

In his article titled as "Globalism and Regionalism: The Costs of Dichotomy", Ralph Pettman emphasizes on globalization and regionalism as the key concepts which assist the eloquent and clarified understanding of the world around us. According to him, issues and challenges of the world around us would end with regional and global consequences, neglecting each of which would deter us from finding operational solutions to resolve the world crisis. Pettman points out issues such as global warming, hole in ozone layer, air pollution, skin diseases, water crisis and thousands of environmental issues that are not restricted to a particular region and thus insists that sorting out the globalism and regionalism cannot help fixing such issues (Pettman, 2012:313-316).

Also, many studies have been done on the regional powers' impulses for role-playing in the regions as well as share-taking in the decision-making structures of the world order. Making a reference to the role of south regional powers - namely India, Brazil and South Africa- and their ambition to change the world structures, Philip Nel states in "Redistribution and recognition: what emerging regional powers want" that they are on one hand seeking prestige and respect as well as credibility and recognition and on the other hand wish to balance against great hegemonic powers such as the U.S. in order to take part in the United Nations Security Council, as the highest ranking place to display a governments' prestige and credibility, while keeping their position as the leader of their region (Nel, 2010b).

In "Cooperative hegemony : power , ideas and institutions in regional integration", Pedersen, vowing that a region without a regional hegemony is bound to be fragmented and waned, puts more weight on the formation of

cooperative regional hegemony. He counts four advantages of regional balance (esp. economic one), stability, open access to resources, and free flow of the political or economic ideas and theories in the regions which hold on to cooperative hegemony (Pedersen, 2002). In "'Regions' and their study: wherefrom, what for and where to?", pointing out the characteristics of the regions and regional communities, Rick Fawn raises Gilpin's classification of regionalism (into benevolent vs. malevolent regionalism) and discusses that well-willing regions are best solutions available to prevent the formation or expansion of disputes and conflicts, and offer appropriate policymaking. Unlike Pedersen, Fawn does not put emphasis on the existence of a regional hegemony (Fawn, 2009).

David Lake, in "Regional hierarchy: authority and local international order" studies the security and economic hierarchy in regions. He investigates the formation of hierarchies in a range from Empire at one end, in which subordinates are restrictedly controlled from top to bottom, to diplomacy at the other end in security hierarchy and from dependency to free trade in the economic hierarchy. (Lake, 2009) Philip Nel, in "Introduction: special section on regional powers in a changing global order" refers to the fact that the structure and governance of the world order is changing in a way that traditional organizations such as the Bretton Woods, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are facing changes, influenced by the new developments in the international system. Emerging powers as well as newly- raised institutions such as IBSA¹ or BRICS and other Asian or African institutions, which have followed significant economic and political progress in recent decades in international, continental and regional levels, are demanding their partnership in global decision-making procedures. Also, Arab and some African countries are concerned that their interests are waived or subsumed under other regions' interest or benefits according to the new world order (Nel, 2010a).

1. India, Brazil, South Africa

Enormous studies have been done regarding the regional powers and their growing desire for role-playing in the international politics as well as growth of the regions' role in defining the international regimes and politics, and their efforts to influence the world order. As the outcome of such research and studies, which also regard the structure and power distribution in the international system, no appreciated perspective can be drawn for the future of world order by sorting the globalization and regionalism out or viewing one against the other. Instead, paying attention to international events, distribution of power in the international system, and formation of world order pertaining to global and regional developments are decisive.

Consistent with notable developments in the regions' progress and regional cooperation based on trade, security, and political agreements and increase of the regions' role in the redistribution of power in international order, this article highlights the role of the regions and regional powers to establish a regional order and so to influence world order. So as to answer the main question, i.e. how do regions and regional powers form the regional order and so influence the world order?, regional powers and their qualifications, their aspirations and needs, and the relation between such determinants and the world order and great powers will be defined in the beginning and continued with surveys on the regionalism, regional order and the role of the regions and their governing power in redefining the world order.

Regional powers

In this section, we will answer to questions as regards regional powers, their motives and performances. What are the determinant factors in recognition of regional powers? Does it make a state qualified for role taking in international level if it simply has the feature and capacity pertaining to a regional power in its possession? Moreover, what do regional powers claiming?

In *Politics of Power*, White distinguishes dominant, great and small

powers from each other. According to him, regional great powers can pursue their interests in a confined area of activity but the point is that they possess such capacity which provide them with an opportunity to turn to a middle power in the international system. He defines power in terms of military force. Power, power relations and its key role in politics and governments' relations have been also noticed in a number of theories of international relations; in "power transition" in particular, the power hierarchy is the core theme of the studies. In the hierarchy of power, great powers are posited on top and middle and small powers are accordingly categorized in the lower levels (Nolte, 2007: 6-7).

Different categories and classifications have been theorized to identify regional powers. In general, the regional power is the one that is superior to other states of the region in terms of significant financial and economic capabilities and capacities. Waltz outlines governments' systematic power in the following four features: the power to 1- maintain the independency, 2- choose the method and ways to track the interests, 3- determine the apt policies and behavior against weak states, and 4- shape the behavior of other states. Waltz believes that in order to detect and determine the extent of the powers of states in a region, it is necessary to study the distribution of power in a RSC¹, the regional power enjoys a specific geographic advantage in a specific area, is able to confront the regional alliances, and not only manages many of the region's affairs under its influence but also is known as a great power in the international level. (Stewart-Ingersoll & Frazier, 2013: 70 & 89)

Nolte offers a perfect classification as regards indicators of regional powers and related criteria, which is briefly shown in the following Table(Nolte, 2007: 16-18).

1. Regional Security Complex

Indicators of Regional Power	
1. Boundaries	- Geographical borders: official documents
	- Economic Borders: trade and investment flows, border crossing
	- Political-ideational boundaries: membership in regional organizations, official documents, press coverage, etc.
2. Leadership claim	Is there any articulated and official claim for regional leadership? Indicators:
	- Official documents
	- Elite survey data connected with the regional power
3. Regional Powers' Sphere Of Influence	Does the regional power have a significant influence on the geopolitical delimitation and political-ideational structure of the region? Indicators:
	- Construction of regional organizations
	- Official discourse of regional power, influence of regional power
4. Resources	Economic power resources
	- GDP, GDP per capita, ...
	Military power resources
	- Relative military power including armed forces, equipment, Power projection inside and outside the region (such as Participation in international and regional military missions, weapon systems)
	Demographic power resources
- Population, labor population	
Ideological power resources	
- Foreign attraction through attraction of foreign students, and cultural attraction, ...	
- Political-organizational power resources	
- Stable political institutions, consensus among political elites in the regional power	
5. Regional Position	Regional power's economic interactions
	Indicators:
	- Trade statistics (participation in regional trade, bilateral trade patterns),
	- Investment flows (participation in regional investment, ...)
	regional power's political interactions
Indicators:	
- Presence of the regional state's embassies in the country of regional power, regional power's influence in the political organizations of the region.	
Regional power's cultural interactions	
Indicators:	
- Language training, foreign students, media, influence on cultural trends, ...	
6. Influence in Regional Affairs	Indicators:
	- Positions or influence of the regional power on different regional policy-making areas.
7. Influence on the Regional Governance Structures	Indicators:
	- Structure of regional organizations, regional power's Positions and influence over decision-making in the regional governance structures
8. Regional Security Agenda	Regional power's influence on the regional security agenda. Indicators
	- Is there an official regional security agenda? - Extent of Regional power's official Influence over regional agenda
9. Recognition	Is the state's status as a regional power recognized and respected by other regional and international powers? Indicators
	- Recognition by other regional powers (participation in forums of regional powers, coordination with other regional powers in international forums)
	- official recognition/denial by other countries in the region through documents and declarations
	- Relationship with the USA/EU or other regional/international leaders)
10. Representation of Regional Interests in International Forums	Indicators:
	- participation in international organizations (document, press coverage)
	- Participation in agenda setting in international politics (forcing the regional interests in the international topics of consideration)

How do regional powers act, what are other power's status against them, and what are their expectations from the regional and international governments? The wider is the regional power's sphere of influence, the less chances of winning are supposed for the regional alliances against the regional power. Besides, the regional power needs not to apply unnecessary force and power to gain exclusive privileges in the region. As regards the material resources, military power, the span of military force, military high expenditures and national productivity capacity for the production of military weapons are measured(Lemke, 2010: 5-7).

Any state with notable military force can create its temporary sphere of influence and control. But only when a military power fully enhances and exposes its economic capacities (including gross domestic product (GDP), Gross National Product (GNP), purchasing power, technology and industrial infrastructures), follows a satisfactory level of diplomacy and possesses considerable geopolitical and demographical advantages compared to other regional states, it has the privilege and superiority to turn into a regional power. However, In addition to the above items, the supposed state should be willing to act as the region's leader and endeavors for the establishment of order, peace, and political stability in the region in accordance with the standards of world governance(Mulugeta, 2014:7-8).

International anarchical structure would not necessarily prevent regional states from instituting cooperative relations. According to David Lake, authority and hierarchy shape the governments' international relations. The political power and authority include multiple resources (religious, traditional ...) considering which governments feel committed to follow the order and regulation of the dominant regional power. In this sense, they accept the dominant power's role as the one responsible for the regional order and security and believe that the dominant power's laws and regulations comply with their own interests as well.

He believes in relative nature of power hierarchy. That is A can manage

the security relations of B (for instance, dominant government A prevents B from coalition with C) but it cannot dictate the security issues to him (i.e. A cannot force B to ally with him to go to the war against C) So power hierarchy does not mean that A can manage all behaviors of B, instead it can apply relatively varying degrees of authority on B. The more the B behaviors are under the control of A, the more forceful and powerful are the hierarchy. Therefore, the hierarchy is an ongoing variant, which is pertinent to change, based on the number of behaviors of B that can be controlled by A. The more B is independent of A or enjoys more authority and sovereignty over its political decisions or is less affiliated to A when joining coalitions we can be certain that the something similar to Westphalian sovereignty is shaping. But the more is B dependent on A in terms of political, economic, and social issues to the extent that B has no right or authority in making its internal decisions, the more forceful is the hierarchy which would ultimately lead to its most powerful type, i.e. the emperorship in which B is completely controlled by A in terms of economy and security(Lake, 2009: 38-39).

Thus, the perceived regional role assumed by regional powers would highly encourage cooperation between other regional powers in order to comply with the rules and order created by the regional power, which eventually increases the role of the interests and values of the region, and the regional power in international politics and world order. In "Regional Powers and Security Orders", three general roles have been defined for regional power which include leadership, custodianship and protection. Three special features of the leader in the region, or in many cases the regional hegemon, are as follows: First, trying to create appropriate procedures to address "common regional concerns and interests", i.e. Saudi Arabia's peace plan among the Arabs and Israel in case of Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders. Second, laying out the regional security issues and problems, i.e. Russia agenda to highlight the Taliban security

threat to the Central Eurasia. Third, providing the perspective, vision and strategy to achieve common regional objectives through establishment of intra-state security organizations such as Shanghai Cooperative Organization (2001). Fourth, forcing to create acknowledged collaboration, partnership and cooperation among governments of the region (Stewart-Ingersoll & Frazier, 2013:122-128).

Custodianship regional power, pays attention to the internal as well as security issues of the region, implements crisis management strategies to defend the region when facing a security threat, identifies and prioritizes regional destabilizing factors, manages the regional security threats directly or indirectly through its own resources and experts, and keeps the mobilization of resources and setting up alliances in its agenda (Ibid: 156-164). Regional power in protective role is the one who locates and resides in the region, detects a security threat outside the region, identifies and determines about the security threats to quickly react against such threats, considers quick response as well as the use of resources for defense or deterrence purposes against security threats as its agenda, considers taking the role of a mediator between the regional and international actors, directs the security concerns and threats in a way that can be transformed according to the regional interest. Subject to the region's status, the existing crisis and relative efficiency, regional powers may take any of the above different roles at different times; there is no necessity to play all mentioned roles simultaneously in order to be recognized as the regional power and succeed in guiding the priorities, values and interests of the region (Ibid: 196-204 & 334-335).

Despite possessing all obligatory capacities to be known as a regional power, it can practically turn into a regional power and take the leading role in the region only when its regional dominance and capabilities is credited and recognized by the other regional actors (states) Yet, in spite of being a regional power in terms of military equipment and economic superiority as

well as the necessary regional credibility and respect, it may lack the tangible and substantial power at the international level. Philip Nel names it as recognition, which includes intersubjective trends through which a government is regarded as a respectful member of the society (community) and is identified. Recognition goes beyond the prestige and is defined as a mental process that includes the identity and interests of the states. Therefore, in addition to prestige, it consists of values and interests of a state which may not simultaneously be consistent with the global interests (Nel, 2010b: 953-954).

Considering the strategic position, credit and capacities, which assumed or received from other states, regional powers define a distinguished role as well as accountability for themselves that helps establishment of order in the region and encourages other regional and international governments to follow and comply with the ruling order. Such powers, like the South regional powers would like to take roles that are more demanding in the international system and base the changes in the system. Regional leaders are representatives of a region. They define the outlook and expectations of a specific region. Therefore, they expect to receive relative trust pertaining to their capabilities, which can affect the redistribution of wealth, prestige and power in the global political economy, and to be considered as more effective players in global governance.

Some 25 years ago, Stephen Krasner stated that every developing country is looking forward to increasing its wealth and power. The recent regional powers are also seeking to eliminate inequality in the distribution of power, wealth and earning exclusive privileges in the global political economy for themselves and their allies as well as non-allies, in line with making changes in some international regimes and shaping a new international economic order. The UN Security Council considers as the best place to display a country's prestige in international politics. For this reason, some emerging powers such as Brazil and India have called for a permanent membership in

the Security Council. This way, they wish to increase their reputation, prestige and share in the international system(Ibid: 953-957).

The regional hegemon or power is capable of taking the role of regulating the regional policies, defining and keeping track of the benefits and threats, establishing the security, peace, and cooperation in the region, and ultimately creating a distinctive regional order that, as per the new features of distribution of power in the international system, influences the world order or management and its components. By the means of their mediating role in the region, the regional powers can follow their region's interests, reinforce them in world management agenda, and help the elimination or reduction of their region's threats while chasing peace, security and order in the region. In its new approach, international system pays special attention to the role of the regions, and in particular the performance of the region's dominant power. Many of commercial, economic, and political activities, coalitions, and many international decisions done in accordance with the existing order and interest of the regions. Before addressing the patterns of regional order and their role in the global order, the regions and their important features in determining the regional power and its role in regional and global order will be discussed briefly.

Regions and New Developments in International System

In order to provide a general definition of a region, two important factors should be considered which include the geographical limit of the region and the recognition of the region's identity and its functions by its member states. As per the Correlates of War Project (COW), world countries were divided into six large regions of the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Australia and Pacific Islands. According to Lemke, which considered the military equipment and interactions among regions and the ability to transfer such equipment to each other's capitals, 22 regions of war and peace were

presented which are much smaller than those of above six regions. In other dividing methods some put their basis the presence of a regional power (PRP) and introduce five main regions based on five regional powers included as South America (Brazil), Southern Africa (South Africa), Middle East (Iran), South Asia (India) and East and Southeast Asia (China)(Lemke, 2010: 5-6).

Bjorn Hettne mentions following features for regions: 1- Region includes "almost a unique geography whose physical and natural boundaries specifies its limits and is mainly recognizable through its ecological features." In terms of social dimension, it should be inhibited by the human societies. 2. Region is a "social system that suggests the existence of different intra-regional arrangements among human groups with natural differences". People are affiliated to each other and to the overall political stability in the region for the sake of their security. 3. "Organized cooperation in economic, cultural, political or military areas" within the framework of regional organizations is considered a necessity in order to institute the stability and order in the region. 4- Region is like a civil society, which promotes the social communications, organizational contexts and values convergence throughout the region. 5- Region is an "active player with distinguished identity which enjoys legitimacy and is capable of role-playing and decision- making" in various matters of the region (Hettne, 2012: 61-63).

In order to study, identify, define and specify the role for the regions, not only the geographical features and country resources, but also states' interactions as well as their political, cultural, commercial alliances in international system are taken into consideration. The study of the regions has increased in different categories... More than 50% of the world's trade exchanges take place in regions subject to specific regional trade agreements (RTA). The World Trade Organization also confirms that the highest volume of trading has accomplished in the context of regional trade agreements. As per definitions provided by political economy, regionalism

is shaping through the official trends of coalition between two or more governments. It is different from the regionalization, which is related to the growth of economic interdependence in a specified geographic region (Ravenhill, 2004: 117).

Undoubtedly, the economy and business interactions play a noticeable role in the establishment of order in the regions, but the importance of the regions and their internal order goes beyond the cultural and economic arrangements of the region. Regional trends have gradually transformed the power structure and its distribution in the international system. World order is being affected by the developments within the regions. Regions are included in the additional layers of governance which can provide solutions for some international problems and uncertainties and help the eradication of the world's security, development, and ecological problems or threats, which have come to existence due to globalization. Regions have also provided helpful solutions and cooperation when deciding over important cases, such as the water or land disputes among governments (Fawn, 2009: 6 & 13).

Regions have always been part of international relations. The first wave of the regionalism dates back to the decades of 1950 to 1970 and its third wave began in 1980's which is considered as the new regionalism by many of the scholars of international relations and international political economy. Some believe the first regional economic cooperation happened within the periods between the two wars while some others believe that regionalism has been the permanent feature of the global security and economic architecture of the world since World War II. The continent of America started regionalism from the 19th century. The Arab League was the first signs of the Arab Middle East tendency towards regionalism, after the Second World War II; however, it has not achieved any significant success. In Europe, the European Union initiated regional convergence with Western European countries. During recent decades, various perspectives of the

regionalism have been provided. Particularly after the collapse of the cold war and the growth of new business opportunities related to the foreign policy of the countries, many of the reluctant governments moved towards regional cooperation, the establishment of regional order and reduction of regional disputes. For example, isolate China turned to cooperation with Russia and other states of Central Asia in order to expand regionalism, Japan turned out to be active, even Iran who was politically isolated due to its ideology got engaged in regional cooperation and partnership with 10 countries through establishment of its Economic Cooperation Organization (1992) (Ibid: 6-9).

The termination of the cold war was a commencement for expansion of regional cooperation from military and security collaboration to political, economic, social and cultural alliances. During recent decades, we have been witnessing increasing growth of the regions and regional cooperation, especially growing importance of regional orders in shaping global policies. As discussed in the following sections, global powers' roles have been gradually diminished in the regions in line with developments in international system. Great powers have stopped manipulating the regions' issues and dictating their interests around them. Regional powers have gained access to the chance of taking parts in the international system in order to take shares in the formation of world orders in view of their needs and interests while insuring the pursuit of peace and security in the region.

Regional Order -World Order; Regional Powers' Role

After the end of the cold war, world powers' role or their desire to enter into other regions' issues declined, as a result, regional powers have gained a much responsible role in modeling the world security and order. Barry Buzan and Oli Waever believed that after the end of cold war states act basically on three general theoretical trends which are: neorealism, globalism, and regionalism. Both believe that reduced competition among world powers in the pursuit of their own interests in other parts of the world

at one hand, and the countries' internal dynamics at the other hand were the reasons for the major powers to intervene less in military involvement and strategic competition of the problematic regions of the world and allow that nations- states manage their military-political relations without the intervention of the great powers. After the cold war, the latitude and complexity of the regions and regional powers have been extended. States and regional powers, combining the elements of the neoliberalism and globalism which jointly reflect both territorial and security issues, establish hierarchical relationships which are known as Regional Security Complexes (RSC)(Buzan & Wæver, 2003: 6& 10-11). In the long run, the performance of the RSC's as well as the dominant powers' behavior result in the creation of the order or chaos in the regions and especially the global system' management.

Organizing the anarchic structure of the international system, which lacks any central power, has always been one of the most important concerns for scholars of International Relations. How is it possible to institute some kind of structural order in this anarchic system? How is it possible to maintain this order or re-define it according to international developments? Is this order dictated to smaller states by the global structure and world powers or all the states and regions are involved in its formation? Unlike the cold war era in which paying attention to international level and its effect on national security have been led to the neglect to regional arrangements, during recent decades, regions and regional powers have been increasingly taking roles in regional and global interactions and world order and security are organized by the performance of such powers. In the era of globalization, threats varied widely in terms of complexity in a way that hardly can a single state (especially a minor one) deter it and, therefore, the states are more encouraged to move toward multilateral interaction and cooperation, especially in the regional scope (Stewart-Ingersoll & Frazier, 2013: 14). Environmental threats such as global warming, air pollution, water crisis,

infectious disease, and terrorism can be simply handled through regional cooperation and establishment of international institutions.

By means of their capacity and regulating existing procedures and regimes in the regions, regional powers are eager to convince other regional states to follow them in order for modifying and swaying the global arrangements in line with their objectives and interests in new international order. In order to pursuing the regional order, several regions took part in commercial order patterns, or better to say economic cooperation. Concentrating on their economic (GDP per capita) as well as trade growth, they became dynamically engaged in international trade interactions and consequently transformed the world order. The foundation of the European Union and EUR currency zone were mainly based on economic interactions which" enabled European Economic Community to pass regulations that are binding for all members equally " (Mittelman, 2012: 91) .Monetary fund and the regional cooperation groups such as D-8 or regional trade agreements which are created for the purpose of mutual commercial benefits are examples of regional economic convergences that follow the consistency in the regional trade policies and order, gradually link the region with the global monetary and financial policies, and cause the regions to influence or get influenced by them. Also, the regional existing cultural interactions and proximity, such as the cultural similarities between Nordic countries, are the motives for commercial and cultural cooperation within the region which will eventually facilitate the political cooperation between the states and establishment of order in the region.

Security is one of the most important dimensions of the global order. Political instability, insecurity, emergence and growth of terrorist groups, economic and social turmoil in a region would disturb and shake the order in the region and neighboring regions, provide the condition for the presence of global powers and change of regional structures compliant with the goals dictated by the dominant powers. No doubt, regions and their actions have a

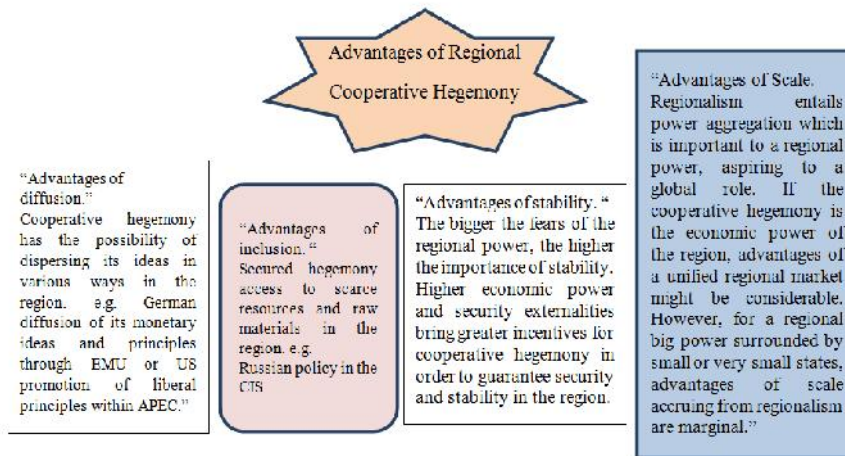
significant impact on global security. Several researches have been done investigating the security order in regions. According to Morgan, security order consists of the managerial patterns for order establishment in a RSC. He believes that war is the most serious security threat and counts five different types of security order, which include power restraining power, great powers concert, collective security, security community, and convergence. Barry Buzan and Waever have categorized RSC's based on the patterns of amity and enmity. In his definition of regional security orders, Ayoub draws a spectrum that begins with regional order at one end, which moves toward regional security, social security and community security at the other end. Security community presents the strength of socio-economic relations among the members, shaped as per common norms and values. Stewart and et al, define regional order as a combination of "governance arrangements, such as regulations, codes, and institutions, among single units of a RSC which are offered in order to increase the predictability of the interactions and achieve common securitized values as well as collective unsecured factors (Stewart-Ingersoll & Frazier, 2013: 47-49).

Owing to the increased role of the regions in the global order and security, regional powers can take a significant role in establishing order in the regional as well as international system. When the regional power reaches a degree of power and recognition in the region that other regional states support its right as the regional regulatory authority, they feel obliged to comply with the rules of the dominant state and satisfied to cooperate with the hegemon. This harmony and reception creates such a regional order that, serving the interests of the dominant power, offers much more advantages for the rest of states in the region. David Lake put them in four items under the title of the effect of hierarchy on performance of dominant state and sub-states.

First, the sub- state spends less for social order and the defense force in

proportion to its gross domestic product (GDP), leaves such parts to the dominant state, and deposits its resources in helping other internal infrastructure. This is an encouraging advantage, which causes some governments overlook their sovereignty rights. Second, The economic and commercial interests; the sub- states, enjoying less commercial and security risks enter an open trade with international system. The more extensive the hierarchy, the more advantages are included because states gain more of economic and commercial advantages, with the acknowledgements to operating in shared commercial regulations and regimes. Third; in case of security crisis, the dominant power would support the sub- states, however, it is not the same for non-related states. Fourth; due to the costs of war, sub-states would, normally, not engaged in wars with other states unless in coordination with the dominant state which is generally symbolic. E.g. when Latin American states entered the world wars I and II following the U.S.A(Lake, 2009: 39 & 40).

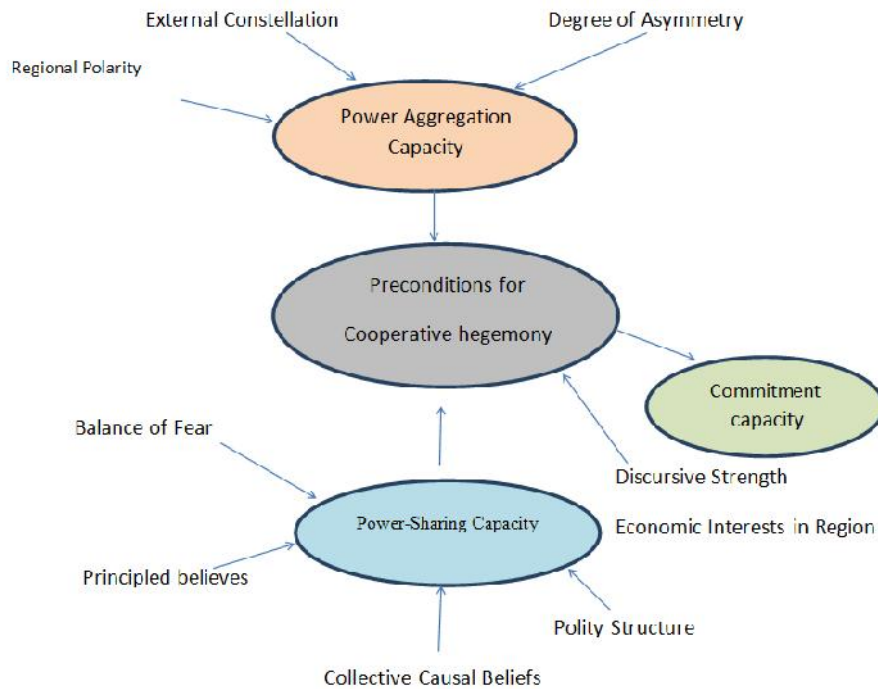
Categorizing four strategic hegemonies of unilateral, cooperative (which paved the way for federalism and security communities), Empire and concert, which can be adopted by regional powers, Pedersen highlights cooperative hegemony and indicates four advantages of it as per below figure(Pedersen, 2002: 682 & 685-686).



Elsewhere, Pedersen stresses that before turning to a cooperative hegemon, the regional power needs to complete three essential stages. Below, you will see the relationship between the three prerequisites with regional power and adoption of cooperative regional hegemony (Ibid: 687-695).

The essential preconditions for cooperative regional hegemony

1- Power aggregation capacity 2- Power-sharing capacity 3- Commitment capacity



Power aggregation capacity refers to the capacity of the regional power to attract a considerable number of regional states' alliance to his political projects. As shown in the chart above, it is determined by some external materialistic as well as psychological factors and leadership skills of the regional power.

Power-sharing capacity refers to capabilities of the regional power in power sharing with other neighboring regional states through common institutions. This plays a substantial role in the attitude of other actors in the region, deterrence for coalition, and formation of the balance of threat against the regional power. Lahteenmaki and Kakonen believe that

governments always tend to hold a legitimate control over violence and power and benefit from it whenever needed to establish internal social security and guarantee security in exterior borders. Therefore, the great powers are always seeking to increase their power and follow their interests and in case of being confronted with an external threat such as terrorism or economic recession, they would pick out some sort of coalition, such as convergence or integration or interdependence (Lahteenmaki & Kakonen, 2012:351-352) .On this basis, regional power reduces risk of other states' coalition against itself by power-sharing. For example, Indonesia in ASEAN and Germany in the E.U. has adopted such an approach.

Observation of above pre-conditions significantly helps recognize regions, regional powers, and regions' capacities for taking parts in world order. For example, in spite of high interaction capacities in terms of shared values in the Nordic region, weak regional institutionalism is noticed which is due to the weakness of dominant state in terms of power aggregation capacity. Besides, the region lacks the power-sharing as well as commitment capacity. Sweden, for example, is not quite interested in Nordic region's activities. In South America, despite their weak military equipment, Brazil and Argentina have been both successful in power-sharing capacity, which was accomplished through democratization and moving towards integration. In case of Japan, the power aggregation as well as power-sharing capacity is weak due to the region's multipolarity and Japanese exclusive national ideas and attitudes respectively. However, Japan's commitment capacity is substantial (Pedersen, 2002: 695-696). Improving their capacities and capabilities, as well as acquisition of the necessary pre-conditions for turning to a regional hegemon whose procedures are acceptable by all the regional states, regions and regional powers are gradually moving towards global integration and persuading the world interests corresponding to their own benefits. Regional economic and security order plays an essential role in this scenario. Regional powers who were successful in the establishment

of the internal order in the regions have always been demanding greater participation in defining and managing of the world order .

India, Brazil and South Africa, in spite of their differences in historical background, experiences and existing policies have emerged effectively at the regional and global level. The three governments are in quest of some changes in some of the international regimes, establishment of a new international economic order, and elimination of disparities in the distribution of power, wealth and exclusive privileges in global political economy for themselves and the rest of the world. Brazil, though known as a middle sized-power, is strong enough in terms of the regional economy and military force. It has more than half of the population, GDP and land of South America. India, with one sixth of the world's population and a growing economy and global gains, is recognized as an emerging global power. Africa, with only 6% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa, but the third GDP of the region, is considered as a leading middle-sized power in the region (Nel, 2010b: 956-957).

With the intention of increasing their access to global markets for trading their goods, capital and services as well as attracting foreign investment and facilities, the above- mentioned three regional powers take effective roles in the global redistribution of power. All three are willing to strengthen South-South and South-North cooperation and restore domestic economies of themselves as well as their neighboring countries. In fact, as their global perspective, they are pointing to resist against the inequalities, aggressive measures of some states, which break other states' dignity and respect, or some of the privileges of the permanent members of the Security Council. For example, India and South Africa have intensely struggled against racism; India convinced the General Assembly of the United Nations Security Council to condemn the U.S. racist actions against the Indians in South Africa. (ibid: 968) Being simply a regional power does not provide any basis for further conflicts or superiority among states; it is the behavior

and attitudes of the regional power on the subject of the power exposure and adoption that does matter. But the method— whether the empire, hegemonic or cooperative, positive or negative— which the regional power adopts for keeping track of its regional policies matters. In fact, the regional powers implemented method would base the cooperation or non-cooperation of other regional actors as well as the regional stability/instability or order/chaos (Mulugeta, 2014: 33).

Considering geographical positions, the material capacities and interactions among regional states, regions are subject to experiencing varying degrees of stability/instability, security/insecurity, cooperation/ non-cooperation. When there exist high degrees of security, stability and cooperation among the countries in a region and regional regimes and procedures are highly valued and guaranteed by its members, the region's role and interests as well as its contribution to world stability increases. In addition, such region can help the stability, security and order in the international system, while pursuing the redistribution of global power and wealth in accordance with its interests. The regional powers and their perceived roles before other powers as well as regional actors are also other factors that play a decisive role in creating stability, security and regional order.

A regional power may significantly be an economic and material power and temporarily takes the control of the region in the hands, but lacks the compulsory aptitudes due to a variety of reasons, such as the weakness in the implementation of soft power and diplomacy or in dealing with regional coalitions, and therefore, misses the leadership role in the region. Consequently, we will face a disordered region, which lacks any kind of regional legitimate regimes or economic and political cooperation. Providing the necessary conditions for security excuses and concerns for other regions, such instable regions recall for the intrusion of trans-regional and international powers, as a result their interests and

security concerns would easily fall below those of the other global and other regional powers. It seems that in recent decades, the regional actors have properly realized the importance of regional integration and regional powers try more to achieve some sort of cooperative hegemony in the regions. In fact, states have concluded that regions and regional powers may have access to the international structure, resources and communities and contribute to the distribution of power and World order in line with their interests, simply through establishment of regional stability, security, cooperation, and peace.

Conclusion

The international system continues to maintain its anarchical nature, and power has reserved its core position in the international relations and politics. Power distribution is the key factor in the international system, and states, trying to influence the structures of decision-making pertaining to redefinition and management of the world order, contribute to the distribution of world power and wealth. They are serious to influence the world orders consistent with their interests, values and wishes through extremely influencing the international system. In fact, persistent anarchy in international systems, affected by the actors' behavior, is also dynamically changing. Since the collapse of the bipolar structure of international system and then the new power polarity in the world, a new order is shaping which is bound to changing. Considering the ongoing developments in the telecommunication and information technology, which incredibly hastened the speed and integrity of the political and information processes, the states have accessed to instruments through which their speed of influence on each other and on the international system has particularly increased. World order is the most important element in order to keep the world in stable and secure status, which is recently influenced by the regions' role. Improving their economic, political, and military capacities, regional powers attempt to secure their identity and interests inside the anarchic system and define the

new world order as per their region's interests and values.

The reason behind regionalism is not the concern of this article. We are not discussing if regionalism formed in response to globalization, or as the regions' effort to seek a solution for the globalization challenges, or perhaps the changes in the structure and polarity of the international system as well as system's turning from unipolarity to bipolarity or multipolarity instigated the activation of the regional powers. What matters is that we are witnessing that regional powers, especially the emerging powers such as India, Brazil and South Africa, have put a lot of effort to get on the path to economic growth and help the economic development of themselves as well as their regional neighbors. Contributed successfully to the region as well as world economic development, such emerging powers' future perspective is aiming at stabilizing their regional leadership on one hand, and balancing against great hegemonies, like the U.S., claiming the necessity for the redistribution of power as well as demanding credibility and recognition in the international system on the other hand.

Regional organizations and powers believe that world powers and the globalization doctrine fail to meet their needs. They believe that inequalities in the distribution of power, wealth, respect and recognition have prompted the regional powers to take steps for obtaining respect, prestige, credibility as well as chasing their interests in the international system. For such reasons, the regional powers pursued establishment of mutual political-security interdependence, which would consequently lead to the creation of stable regional policies and cooperation in a peaceful and ordered region. A region or RSC, such as the Middle East, may comprise of a collection of several regional powers. What matters is that various regions of the world should be committed to a regional security order to maintain stability, security, economy, culture and social welfare in the region. In order to help the world stability and order, the regions need, in the first step, to keep a faith on the stability of the regional regimes, procedures, cooperation and

interactions.

Regardless of the adopted regional security pattern by the states or namely regional powers, whether convergence, security community, the hegemony, cooperative hegemony or ..., adherence to such kind of cooperative pattern is simply the ultimate key to meet the interests of the region in international system and help the region out of the margins. In the new structure and methods of management in international system, regions and their governing order would be taken seriously and play an important role in the redistribution and sharing of power and wealth. In newly developed structures of international system, world stability and international order is increasingly influenced by the regions' governing rules. Indeed, World order patterns follow the management practices and performances of regional powers that are aspiring to a global role.

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