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#### Intro into Regional Security

Regional Security Complexes Věra Stojarová

#### Concepts

- Security complex
- Region
- Regionalism
- Regionalisation
- Globalism

#### Security complex

- •Group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.
- •Cultural and racial characteristics may be contributing factor but are not principal in defining security complexes

#### Region

- •Means that a distinct and significant subsystem of security relations exists among a set of states whose fate is that they have been locked into geographical proximity with each other
- •E.g. European regional subsystem

#### Local balances of power

- are important features of the security environment
- •However, can be easily distorted by great powers vis a vis globalisation and external influences

#### Regionalism

- 'a state-led or states-led project designed to recognise a particular regional space along defined economic and political lines'
- even though 'the state is most often one of the regionalising actors, [nonetheless] equally important are NGOs, new social movements, media, companies as well as a range of actors based in the second economy of the informal sector

#### Regionalism – two waves

- old: the late 1940s and ended in late 1960s and early 1970s state-centric, internally focused and imposed from above
- new: began in mid 1980s and in particular 1990s. In contrast to classical regionalism, the new regionalism involves non-state actors, and is more open, *extrovert* and more comprehensive.

#### Regionalisation

- growth of societal integration within a region and to the often undirected processes of social and economic interaction'
- Regionalisation is a process that can occur even without regionalism.
- the process of regionalisation can only be understood within the context of globalisation.

#### Globalisation

- stretching of social, political and economic activities across political frontiers, regions and continents
- globalisation produces both negative and positive effects
- some observers view regionalism as an integral part of globalisation others as concepts 'bouncing' against one another

#### regionalism in theories

- For realists international organisations are nothing more than interstate institutions, therefore it is irrelevant whether such institutions are global or regional
- neo-liberalists believe that regionalism is useful as long as it leads to free trade
- neo-marxists mainly draw on the theory of imperialism ('as a structural relationship between countries from the centre and periphery'.)

#### Regional Trade Agreements

- (a) USMCA (NAFTA) based on the USA,
- (b) the EU,
- (c) East Asia based on Japan.
- Some research shows that most of the trade is within rather than between regions
- D) AfCFTA
- South America (CAN, MERCOSUR..)



### Regionalism - results

#### Regionalism: results

- 'goods and services flow as well as OC terrorism
- Creates winners and loosers
- Stronger states use (abuse), exploit the weaker ones.
- New regionalism subjects hundreds of millions of people to permanent underclass This not only denies people their basic which could lead to future instability
- Can consolidate state-building and democratisation
- Can help to manage negative effects of globalisation

#### Buzan and regional security

- Amity among states friendship, support
- Enmity among states fear, suspicion

#### Buzan and regional security

- •Lower level security complex without great powers and not overreaching the region
- Higher level security complex with great powers whose power overreaches the regional complex

# Bufffer zones and states "inbetween"

•States which occupy position between neighbouring security complexes

#### Buzan and his comprehensive analytical famework for security analysis

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|--|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Levels   | Analytical focus                      | Issues   | Examples   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Domestic   | Weak/strong state                     | -degree of socio-political cohesion Domestic political violence  | Strong states: Japan, Sweden<br>Weak states: Sri Lanka,<br>Lebanon   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regional   | Local/regional security complexes     | -security interdependence -amity/enmity -polarity -civilizational area -subcomplexes -domestic spillover                                     | India/Pakistan Iran/IRaq Israel/Palestina Mono/bi/multi -South America Gulf, Balkan Kurds, Palestinization |  |  |  |  |  |
| Inter-regional   | Boundaries of indifference            | Cross-boundary links -boundary change  | -Pakistan S. Arabia<br>-Gulf/S Arabia  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Global   | Higher level, global security complex | Great power polarity, rivalry<br>Penetration:<br>To domestic level<br>To regional level<br>Overlay<br>Adjacency to local security<br>complex | Cold War  US and Panama Superpowers and Middle East Colonial period Europe 1945-90 China/SE Asia           |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |                                       |  | China /S Asia  |  |  |  |  |  |

Key questions: - what are the security dynamics at each level for any given case?

<sup>-</sup>How do these dynamics interact with each other?

<sup>-</sup>What is the relative weight of each level in determining the security situation as a whole?

# Securitisation on different levels of analysis

| Dynamic/se ctors                   | military | economical | enviro<br>nment<br>al | societal | political |
|------------------------------------|----------|------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|
| global                             | **       | ***        | ****                  | **       | ***       |
| Nonregiona<br>I<br>subsystemi<br>c | **       | **         | **                    | **       | *         |
| Regional                           | ***      | ***        | ***                   | ****     | ****      |
| Local                              | ***      | ****       | **                    | ***      | **        |

\*\*\*\* dominant securitisation, \*\*\*subdominant securitisation, \*\*small securitisation, \* no securitisation

#### Regional hegemony/rivalry

 Haftel (2013) finds that regional hegemony (Buzan and Wæver 2003) increases security cooperation, while rivalry between major powers in the region (Colaresi et al. 2007) limits it.

#### Security governance

 'an international system of rule, dependent on the acceptance of a majority of states that are affected, which through regulatory mechanism (both formal and informal), governs activities across a range of security and security-related issue areas' (Webber 2002: 44).

#### Security governance

- SG functions: institution building and conflict resolution
- SG employs two sets of instruments:
- the persuasive (economic, political and diplomatic)
- and the coercive (medium to high-intensity military interventions and internal policing.
- four categories of security governance emerge: assurance, prevention, protection and compellence.

# Security governance Instruments

Persuasive

Coercive

OC, environment)

Institution building

Prevention (e.i.
Democratisation
promotion, civil-military
relations, mediation
migration, aid,
poverty, root causes of
conflict)

Protection (health security,terroris,

Conflict resolution

**Assurance** 

(policing missions, border missions, economic reconstruction) Compellence

(projection of force, military doctrine, ability to use force)

# Global security governance 5 conditions Jervis 2002

- national elites must:
- eschew wars of conquest and war as an instrument of statecraft;
- accept that the cost of waging such a war is perceived as outweighing any conceivable benefits;
- embrace the principle of economic liberalism rather than conquest or empire;
- establish domestic democratic governance;
- and respect the territorial status quo.

# Global security governance 3 barriers by Keohane 2002

- cultural, religious and civilizational heterogeneity on a global scale.
- absence of a consensus on beliefs and norms at global level.
- absence of an institutional fabric that is thick enough to meet the challenge of governance.

#### New era of Globalisation

- global financial crisis of 2008-09
- the spread of swine flu
- the rise in the price of oil to \$140 per barrel
- the breakdown of transatlantic solidarity over lraq
- the effects of the Indian Ocean tsunami and Hurricane Katrina
- the terrorist attacks of 9/11
- COVID-19

#### Main sources of threat

- territorial conflicts
- the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
- regional rivalries
- terrorist activities,
- the fall-out from 'failed states'
- organised crime

#### Main sources of threat

- Asia
- Latin America
- Africa
- Europe

#### Regional security providers?

- USA
- EU, NATO
- BRICS
- MINT

### USA – approach to security

#### USA's approach to security

- Cold war, bipolarism, usa role
- But yugoslavia
- But 9/11 and war on terror
- Obama return to multilateralism
- Clinton vs. Trump vs. Biden

### NATO – approach to security

#### NATO's approach to security

- Cold war
- Art. 5 common commitment
- IFOR, SFOR, Kosovo war, KFOR, Macedonia, ISAF
- Afghanistan, Libye

# EU – approach to security

#### EU's approach to security

- New threats, non-conventional
- terrorism, OC, migration, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure
- Post-conflict state and institution building
- Ambition to become global player but
- ESDP vs. NATO vs UN

# Brazil – approach to security

#### Brazil 's approach to security

- On the path to become great power
- Little war experience (19th century)
- Defence ministry under civilian control in 1999
- Region on the margin of the world significance
- 3 crucial areas for Brazil security:cybernetics, nuclear technology, space technology, also indigenous production of military hardware
- Prioritize permanent membership in UNSC
- Participation on UN peacekeeping missions (haiti)
- Tries to act as mediator in regional disputes

#### Brazil 's approach to security

- UNASUR 2009
- South American Defence Council (CDS) 2012
- Strategic partnership with the EU 2007
- Successful story in attracting FDI –BRIC
- Energy security: the cleanest energy mix in the world in 2008 48% of energy came from renewable resources
- Environmental security: deforestation of amazon

### Russia – approach to security

#### Russia's approach to security

- Recognition changing nature of security threats but hard security dominates the agenda
- Rejects good governance, promotion of democracy and rule of law leads to destabilisation
- Human security absent
- State sovereignity and non-interference
- system of global governance in the form of a concert of great powers based on national interests rather than on shared values.

### India – approach to security

#### India 's approach to security

- 'strategic partnerships' with the US, Russia, China, Japan and the EU,
- 'Look East' policy
- and engage with the world as 'a responsible power'
- Modernisation of armament, poverty reduction
- Security agenda:1.Pakistan,2.China,3.poor training and equipment

### China – approach to security

#### China's approach to security

- Multilateralism and UNSC
- regional security dialogue
- Concern nuclear programme in the regional countries, north korea
- Cyber security

# South Africa – approach to security

# South Africas 's approach to

- Regional power, rule maker
- Threats: poverty, unemployment, the HIV/Aids pandemic, poor education, the lack of housing, the absence of adequate social services, and the high level of crime and violence,
- the 'defence of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the promotion of regional security in Southern Africa'
- external threats are largely non-conventional They are transnational in nature or the indirect result of political instability in the region.

#### **Seminar: Presentations**

- time for one presentation is 10 15 minutes
- the content
- presentation skills
- sources and
- ability to accelerate discussion are under assessment consideration.

# Seminar – sketch security analysis of selected region

- European Union
- Visegrad countries
- USA
- Central Asia
- Andean region
- South-East Asia
- Balkans
- Caucasus
- Middle East
- Korean peninsula

Actors, motivations, capabilities, threats, issues Military/political/societal/econo mical/environmental dimensions

Higher level/lower level security complex

security interdependence

- -amity/enmity
- -polarity
- -buffer zone
- -subcomplexes
- -domestic spillover