A Study of British Regional Security Structure in the view of Regional Security Complex Theory

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Abstract. Security is one of the most important theme in international relation. This paper introduces three main analysis paths of security study and indicates deficiencies of each one applied in analyzing security issue, thereout, it elaborates four elements and theoritical framework of Regional Security Complex Theory. The paper then goes into case study analysis by application of such theory, it examines three Regional Security Complexes of Britain and indicates elements, themes and order of them. Finally, the paper evaluates key factors in each Regional Security Complex for ensuring sercurity of Britain.

Keywords: Regional Security Complex, Regional Security Structure, Britain.

1. Introduction

Security study, embraced features of the Cold War, focused on military deterrence, has been sprung up in American since 1940s. A tendency in the form and nature of regional security has taken on diversification and complication after collapse of bipolar structure. Obviously, the reason was ascribed to two aspects, first, with the world political structure shifted from bipolar to unipolar, made theme of security shift from ideological and military conflicts in traditional security to negotiation, cooperation in institution in new security. Second, science and technology with high-speed development is tying every part closely around the world, subsequently, a series of emerging problems, environment security, economy security, energy security, cyber security, refugee settlement and et cetera. Meanwhile, problems of traditional security, such as, ethnic issue, religion issue and strategic weapon issue, have erupted again. Videlicet, international relations need new path, theory and methods when it is facing transformation of its core [1].

2. Research Paths of Security Study

2.1 Realism Path

There are three research paths of security study, realism, liberalism and constructivism. First, realism path of security study, motivated by thoughts of Niccolò Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, is destined to hold that nation state rationally seek maximal power for its own survival security under a precondition of world structure, the anarchy. John Mearsheimer's offensive realism and Stephen Walt's defensive realism all stand behind that international system causes security problem regardless of a divergence between them, acquiring power by competition or cooperation [2] [3]. On the contrary, classic realism of Han Morgenthau and neo classic realism of Gideon Rose stress that the nature of nation state causes security problem, also, divergence between such two schools is that the former one believes nation state is single [4] [5], rational and hoggish actor, and the later one believes nation state contained many influential element, for instance, identity and preference of policy maker.

2.2 Liberalism Path

Development of liberalism path is twists and turns, throve after the First World War, it fell down and rose up until Cold War ended due to the unavoidable Second World War. The origin of liberalism path is Immanuel Kant's thoughts, together with specific world context, that is, people hope to a peaceful world after tragedy of the First World War. Thus, it considers that cooperation and understanding among actors can be achieved by institutions, besides, it puts non-nation state and

super nation state actors into key roles in international relations, further, nature of nation state and national elites decide security results [6]. Merely, Liberalism path lacks theory construction and underlines universal value of west group, is criticized as an imperial ideology.

2.3 Constructivism Path

Constructivism Path, characterized by role, rule, culture and international society, has increasingly played an important role in security study since 1980s. Constructivism Path emphasized that identity is as important as material in security study compared with focus of Rationalism Path, such as realism and liberalism paths. Role of actor is constructed by language and institution, and the role delimits security [7]. In other words, Security is produced in actor's practices in international society. Alexander Wendt divided international society into three cultures of anarchy, Hobbs cultures, Locke cultures and Kant cultures, respectively correspond to hostility, rivalry and peace. However, critics often consider it is hard to observe that the construction of roles and other basic conceptions, the only way is elaboration of researchers, and such construction is not just decided by cultures.

2.4 Other Paths

There are Historical Materialism Path and Criticism Path except above three paths. The previous one underlines economic power and points out class and contradiction, production and value, these two pairs of relation is core of it. The later one underlines a question what will happen if nation state does not offer security to people. Realism Path depended on nation state and power, Liberalism Path depended on non-nation state and institution, Constructivism Path depended on nation state and identity, Historical Materialism Path depended on class and economy, Criticism Path depended on interior of nation state, they enrich security study, but, they all depended on one abstract concept. A reality is geographical boundary, as a basic elements, is usually overlooked. Neighbors are more important than trans-regional nation and Regional Security Complex Theory with multi-elements, remedy oneness and abstraction of path and excessive trans-regions of object.

3. Theoretical Introduction on Regional Security Complex Theory

Regional Security is core problem in Burry Buzan's academic research, and his major academic achievement is Regional Security Complex Theory, also, makes security situation appear grand scene under a shift on global power structure from *2 + x* of the Cold War and decolonization to *1 + x*, hereinto, *2* and *1* means superpower and *x* means great power. However, His patter of geographical boundary division and surmise of not western nation states is discussible.

The definition of Regional Security Complex is a group of units that an important security process and non-security process closely tighten them together so that one of them could not simply handle security by himself. Briefly speaking, the security is what actors make it. Thus, he divided the Regional Security Complex into many complexes, such as, North America, Europe, Post-Soviet, and the Middle East Regional Security Complex, Western Africa Primary Security Complex, the horn of Africa preparatory Regional Security Complex, Asian Super Complex constituted by South Asia and East Asia Regional Security Complex, also, other Secondary Regional Security Complex [8].

The analytical procedure of Regional Security Complex has four steps. First, to ensure basic elements of Regional Security Complex, such as, geographical boundary, structure of anarchy, polarity and role of units. Second, to ensure type of Regional Security Complex, Standard Regional Security Complex with no global great power but leading intra-area great power, Centric Regional Security Complex with single leading global super power, Great Power Regional Security Complex with more than one leading global great power, Super Regional Security Complex with more than one Regional Security Complex, Pre Regional Security Complex and Proto Regional Security Complex. Third, to ensure insulator between Regional Security Complex and region are whether overlay or penetrate by great power, or, it still is unstructured. Last, to analysis possibility of development and change of Regional Security Complex to forecast and understand the security order

in such region through the region's four levels, domestic level, regional level, interregional level and global level.

4. Critical Analysis of Regional Security Complex Theory

There are still many deficiencies on Regional Security Complex Theory. First, condition for delimiting Region Security Complex is ambiguous. Burry Buzan attempted to put neighbors into one complex by enumerating theirs security processes and non-security processes, which cased geographical boundary is neither consistent with religion, culture, politics and civilization boundary, or the boundary is transitory and reluctant. That is, it probably gives rise to that geography of Regional Security become insignificant and security is not connection among neighbors. Thus, does security decides geographical boundary or does geographical boundary decides security? For example, boundary of the Middle East Regional Security Complex is consistent with boundary of Islam, besides, Egypt in the eastern Mediterranean, as a member of Sub Regional Security Complex of the Middle East Regional Security Complex, had a war with Libya, which in Maghreb Regional Security Complex, also, a Sub Regional Security Complex of the Middle East Regional Security Complex, but why these two nation state does not categorize into same Sub Regional Security Complex? Second, different Regional Security Complex has different theme. For example, the theme is sub nation state security of three Regional Security Complexes in south of Sahara, non-traditional security is the theme of Europe Regional Security Complex and theme of Caucasus Regional Security Complex is ethnicity and religion. If partition of different security groups depended on different levels, it is better to directly analysis the specific level that played main role in security rather than the overall analysis. If not, there could be countless complexes, such as, Pacific Rim Regional Security Complex with trade security, combined by China, Japan, Australia, American and Canada, or Strait Regional Security Complex with politics security, combined by Mainland China and Taiwan. Therefore, after all, Hoogensen made a conclusion that regions become mere dances among states [9].

5. British Regional Security Complex

Britain, subject to geographical conditions, is a famous offshore balancer for the continent since Britain became a nation state. British offshore balance strategy is maintaining the balance of power in the continent, restraint a powerful hegemonic European country to appear. If a European country has potential to become a hegemonic country, Britain will join forces with other continental countries against it. Such as against the Armada of Spain, Napoleon's France, Germany in the First and Second World War and against Soviet after the Second World War. Britain never has an aspiration for join European Union based on Such Strategic consideration, but a will to cooperate with them. Thus, what are British security concerns if it is taken account of Regional Security Complex Theory?

5.1 Basic Elements of British Regional Security Complex

The first step for analyzing British Regional Security Complex is to ravel out geographical boundary, structure of anarchy, polarity and role of units according to Regional Security Complex framework. In scope of British geographical boundary, Winston Churchill clarified the Three Concentric Circles Strategy [10], which fundamentally takes British geographical boundary as British security boundary. More precisely, Britain sits on the dot of three concentric circles and the first circle is British Empire and the British Commonwealth; the second circle is all English-Speaking Countries, especially Britain and American special relations; the third circle is a united Europe. Yet, Britain had an enormous financial deficit and payment imbalance, together with structural problem in the Three Concentric Circles Strategy, such as there is a nationalism and decolonization in the first circle, inequality in Britain and American special relations in the second circle and France is a potential protagonist in the three circle, all brought about a failure result of the Three Concentric Circles Strategy. However, although the empire collapsed with the secession of countries in the South Asian

Sub-Continent and countries in the Middle East, also, the dissolution of Imperial Preferences, this strategy still has experiential value for security analysis.

What is British geographical boundary of British Regional Security Complexes? The first British geographical boundary closed in the British Isles, as a truism, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is assembled by England, Wales, Scotland and North Ireland with treaties, in other words, the British Isles is the core after British Empire collapsed and the British Commonwealth loosed. The political unity of the British Isles is the key theme in the British Isles Regional Security Complex, and there are two security issues, one is the Scottish Independence and one is North Irish Independence. The second and third British geographical boundaries are closed in the Atlantic and Europe, respectively, and these two complexes have a large shared proportion. The Atlantic Regional Security Complex, militarized, is assembled by American and most European countries with military theme and primarily aimed to guard Western World to avoid military threaten and attack from Russia. The European Regional Security Complex is assembled by France, Germany, Britain and other European Countries with political and economic theme, strengthen power of each member by means of constitutional union. The last and less observable complex is the British Commonwealth, assembled by all members of the British Commonwealth in the world, due to its friability, such a complex is not necessary.

In the British Isles Regional Security Complex, taking the economic scale as the parameter for confirming the pole [11], see the table below,

Table 1. Four Entities' Economy Comparing

Years/ € million	England	Scotland	Wales	Ireland	North Ireland
2015	2,243,470	196,980	86,352	255,815	53,262

GDP per capita of England is 11times to Scotland, 25 times to Wales, 9 times to Ireland and 42 times to North Ireland, thus, it is obviously that England, as a main body of Britain, has a dominant role in the British Isles Regional Security Complex. Besides, because of ethnic and religion issues in formation of Britain, together with modern economic issues, as a contractual binding union, Britain has interior political problem, such as 2014 Scotland Independence Referendum and Irish Republican Army which is active in the North Ireland. Although result of Scotland Independence Referendum stopped Scotland Splitting off Britain, the parliament of Scotland acquired autonomies, which means process of split still going. Similarly, force of unified Ireland stopped violent means, replaced by political means, does not represent they abandon the North Ireland. In short, political separation is the top security issue in the British Isles Regional Security Complex. The type of he British Isles Regional Security Complex is standard model, dominated by just one regional great power, Britain, as well as, a global great power. Ireland is neither a global great power, nor regional great power. There is a remarkable feature in the Atlantic Regional Security Complex, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. That is, the theme of Atlantic Regional Security Complex is military security, taking the defense expenditure as the parameter for confirming the pole [12], see the table below,

Table 2. Defense Expenditure

Years/ $ billion	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total	1,012	966	920	883	871
American	726	686	645	611	594
The Rest	286	279	275	272	277

American defense expenditure annually takes near 70% of total defense expenditure, apparently, American has a dominant role in the Atlantic Regional Security Complex. More importantly, the object of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is Russia. Thus, the Atlantic Regional Security Complex connects with the Post-Soviet Regional Security Complex via military security, which is stretched from bipolar structure. The theme is polybasic in the European Regional Security Complex. The type of the Atlantic Regional Security Complex is centric model, dominated by just one global

super power, American. Britain, France and Germany are although either global great powers, or regional great powers, they are not global super power compared to American. Also, the Atlantic Regional Security Complex is a Super Regional Security Complex, because it connects with the Post-Soviet Regional Security Complex by military security.

The significance of European Union is economic recovery and political unity, also, controlling Germany since it united, circumstances change with the passage of time, Germany is no longer danger and Britain has to joint into this union with Imperial Preferences fell and unfair right and obligation in European Union. Today, humanitarian crisis broke out and Britain could not enjoy benefit from the union but endless duties. Brexit for taking off such endless duties, is the primary task for Britain, after all, British voice is not louder than France any more after it missed a leading opportunity. Taking GDP Growth as the parameter for confirming the pole, see the table below. The type of the European Regional Security Complex is great power model, dominated by more than one global super power, Britain, France and Germany. they are all global great powers. In addition, European Union does not has European Army, national defense security relied on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and national defense force of each members, meanwhile, expansion of European Union involved with Eastern Europe, which is part of the Post-Soviet Regional Security Complex, thus the European Regional Security Complex and the Post-Soviet Regional Security Complex structured a Super Regional Security Complex. British economy is gradually dropping down [13].

Table 3. European Countries by GDP Growth

Years/ %	1985	1995	2005	2015
Total	2.6	2.7	2.1	2.3
Britain	4.2	2.5	3.0	2.3
Germany	2.4	1.7	0.7	1.7
France	1.6	2.1	1.6	2.3

5.2 Security Order of the British Regional Security Complexes

North Ireland is an insulator between Britain and Ireland, overlaid by Britain. Eastern European countries are insulators between the Atlantic / the European Regional Security Complex and the Post-Soviet Regional Security Complex, penetrated by Western countries, and part of Eastern European countries are overlaid by Western countries. These insulators are the sources of security threat, such as, violence in North Ireland, Color Revolution and Missile basement in Eastern Europe. The Atlantic / the Europe Regional Security Complex is relatively stable, only two varieties is France exits NATO and Britain exits EU, however, these two varieties does not impact the basic order in such two security complexes. Therefore, it can be concluded that the British Isles Regional Security Complex is putting political security as the major theme, hence, any changes in such complex is unacceptable to Britain. The Atlantic Regional Security Complex is basic on military theme, mainly gets military support from American for protect the free world so that Britain will absolutely accept American military order. The European Regional Security Complex relies on political and economic issues, and if Britain does not get any benefits from political and economic area in such complex, it will exit.

6. Conclusion

First, modern security is turning to diversification and complexity. It is beneficial to analysis regional security and non-global hegemony country by Regional Security Complex Theory based on geographical boundaries. Second, Four basic elements of Regional Security Complex Theory, together with the definition on types, insulators, overlay or penetration are useful for constructing a theoretical framework for analysis security issues. Third, main theme of the British Isles, the Atlantic and the European Regional Security Complex is political, military and economic respectively. North Ireland, Eastern Europe and the economic benefit are the key security issues in respective complex.

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