



Global Non-Traditional Security Observation



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Editor's Note

My great hope is that you will read the complete Chinese Views of Non-Traditional Security issue 18. It really needs no introduction, but it does need engaged readers through which to come alive. It remains dedicated to focusing on how current events and NTS challenges are creating space in international security.

The global food crisis has remained a leading trending topic in the domain of NTS. The inundation of countries around the world is becoming more glaring, possibly catastrophic, and likely longer lasting. In my view, the untenable situation our global agriculture and food network finds itself in can be tied to three core causes: weather, COVID-19 and the Russian/Ukraine conflict.

Rapid population growth is also playing its part; according to the U.N., worldwide population is expected to reach 10 billion by 2050, roughly 30% higher from today. Astonishingly, it is also estimated that 70% more food will need to be produced to fully nourish this growth.

In the academic area, a paper published “Forging a New Security Order in Eurasia: China, the SCO, and the Impacts on Regional Governance”. It claims that the SCO’s mandate has also expanded from its original focus on the “three evils”—terrorism, separatism, and extremism, to include a broad range of issue areas covering energy security and cooperation, economic development, and other emerging non-traditional security challenges.

As we always claim that NTS challenges need multilateral attention, which has been ratified recently by Indian National Security Adviser – Ajit Doval. He stated that the maritime domain was a multilateral construct and that a nation “cannot unilaterally decide” in the maritime domain. He also flagged new threats — sea, cyber and space — while stating that threats of yesteryears would play a definite role as also the growing threat of non-traditional security threats.

I hope you will continue to explore the dynamics of NTS at all – national, regional, and global – levels.

*Imran Ali Sandano
July.31th, 2022*

Think-tank Tracking

Forests, Trees, and Agroforestry: Their Roles in India's Sustainable Development and Climate Action

Ecological security: climate security

By Rajiv Chaturvedi, doctor, Environmentalist.

And Alexandre Strapasson, Research Fellow, Energy Expert.

And Amit Garg, Professor in the Public Systems Group at Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad, Energy Expert.

Forests, trees, and agroforestry have a key role to play in India's sustainable development and climate action, however, climate change has already started to unfold and adversely impact vulnerable populations, including forest dependent communities in India and other developing geographies. Based on this background, this paper first reviews the goals of the Paris Agreement and the difficulties encountered in its implementation, holds that lofty long-term pledges in absence of matching short-term actions may not be very helpful for our planet's sustainability. The paper then forecasts India's emissions under different scenarios until 2050. The first scenario is to maintain India's current policies (India is a relatively low real emissions country). The second scenario, termed as “Development First” scenario, is built around India's key developmental ambitions of Atma Nirbhar Bharat (self-reliance) etc.. By comparing the two situations, this paper finds that major benefits could be obtained through sustainable land use practices nationwide. However, lack of data availability and sometimes lack of data sharing mechanisms can adversely affect research in these areas. There is an increasing need for innovative forestry informatics tools and integrated databases towards a more effective climate action.

Source:

Forests, Trees, and Agroforestry: Their Roles in India's Sustainable Development and Climate Action | belfercenter(belfercenter.org)

Preparing Southeast Asia's youth to enter the digital economy

Population security: population quality

By Dio Herdiawan Tobing, lead researcher, Educational expert

ASEAN's digital economy holds great promise, and the ASEAN youth, as the future of the country, must enter the digital economy. However, despite more jobs being created in the digital economy, ASEAN youth have faced unprecedented employment vulnerability due to the global pandemic. Against this background, this paper analyzes how the pandemic is challenging the employment of ASEAN youth. Firstly, the employment situation facing young people of ASEAN had still not fully recovered from the fallout of the 2008 financial crisis, and the COVID-19 has made employment even more depressed. Secondly, the disruption of schools and formal education institutions due to COVID-19 has reduced the digital skills proficiency of ASEAN youth, while training institutions are less popular due to their high cost and low visibility. As a result, the situation has been aggravated by the mismatch between the skills possessed by the current youth labor force and their inability to forecast the potential skillsets that are in demand. Last, this paper introduces the policies developed by ASEAN leaders to enhance the capacity of youth in the digital economy and provides policy recommendations.

Source:

Preparing Southeast Asia's youth to enter the digital economy | Asia Pathways(asiapathways-adbi.org)

Protecting victims of climate-induced migration and displacement in South Asia

Ecological security: climate security

By Pritha Datta, research scholar, Environmentalist.

And Bhagirath Behera, professor, Environmental Economics Expert.

And Dil Rahut, senior research fellow, Environmentalist.

South Asia, one of the most climate-vulnerable regions, is home to a quarter of the world's population. With its high poverty levels, the region is extremely susceptible to climate change-induced displacement and migration, and climate migration shows

no sign of slowing down. This paper first points out that the origin of climate change-induced migrants is rising sea levels and the decline in agricultural productivity. Then it predicts the destinations for climate migrants are places with better climatic conditions for agriculture as well as cities that will provide them with better livelihood opportunities. Moreover, it introduces categories of climate migrants: climate migrants can be classified as either short-term (temporary and seasonal) or permanent migrants based on their temporality. Climate-induced migration can also be voluntary or involuntary, depending on the intention of migration. Last, this paper provides policy advice for countries to improve livelihoods and reduce climate migration, including emergency investments, sustainable livelihood options for disaster victims, and international dialogue.

Source:

Protecting victims of climate-induced migration and displacement in South Asia | Asia Pathways(asiapathways-adbi.org)

The United States Does Not Permit More Immigration Than the Rest of the World Combined

Population security: population quality

By David J. Bier, associate director, legal immigration expert.

This article concentrates on the phenomenon that at least ten times more immigrants went to other countries than went to the United States during the most recent 5 year period available, but new numbers from the United Nations (UN) show that even this figure was too generous to the United States. By visualizing and analyzing data concerning share of the increase in immigrants worldwide from increase in immigrants in the U.S. (1990-2020), and net increase in immigrants worldwide and net increase in immigrants in the U.S. (1990-2020), this article emphasizes that the United States ranks low in terms of net immigration and foreign-born share of the population compared to other wealthy countries, and it is losing the race for talent around the world. Other countries are increasing immigration, and the United States has gone the opposite direction. Lastly, this article proposes that congress and the administration need to seize the opportunity to change this dynamic.

Source:

The United States Does Not Permit More Immigration Than the Rest of the World Combined | cato(cato.org)

Who are the 1 million missing workers that could solve America's labor shortages?

Economic security: labor shortages

By Dany Bahar, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development Expert.

And Pedro Casas-Alariste, Research and Policy Manager, International Economic Affairs Expert.

In light of the recent immigration tragedy, this paper argues that America's immigration policy should be reevaluated, including not only adopting a more humanitarian approach to border policies, but also learning to embrace the immigrants: in the context of an aging American workforce, immigrants can complement the American workforce. According to the latest data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, this paper finds that there are a lot of job openings in the United States right now, which contributes to the sluggish growth of the US economy. But at the same time, the United States continues to deport immigrants from Mexico and Central America -- the vast majority of whom are young men and work in occupations that clearly overlap with those in high demand in the United States. Therefore, this paper argues that if the United States wants to grow and compete in the global economy, American politicians and policymakers must act to transform the energy and resources poured into keeping these immigrants away into creating enough legal pathways for these migrants to join the American labor force without further delay.

Source:

Who are the 1 million missing workers that could solve America's labor shortages? | brookings(brookings.edu)

The gender dimensions of global value chains

Cultural security: feminist issue

By Aarthi Ratnam, Associate Research Fellow, Feminist Expert.

This article focuses on the low-paying, unstable roles primarily occupied by women in the global supply chains and labour markets that have been weakened and negatively affected by the COVID-19 pandemic and the Ukraine crisis. While the Global Value Chain (GVC) boosts exports and productivity, women are often constrained to the informal roles which are the first to be affected in times of crisis thereby exposing

GVCs as gendered-structure. In view of that, this paper highlights the current impact of women's unemployment on supply chains and showcases the economic benefits of including them as agents contributing to the broader development. This article argues that gendered policymaking is more than a social cause; it is economically beneficial and can improve the global economy and trade, creating a positive circle of development. To improve the circumstances, this article proposes that including the dismantling of GVCs as gendered structure as part of recovery can provide women with opportunities for skill development, job security, and higher wages. Also, it can be seen that female participation in the GVC unlocks access to new markets and increases innovation, which adds to GDP growth.

Source:

The gender dimensions of global value chains | ORF(online.org)

Egregious Licensing Rule Holds Working Mothers Back in Tennessee

Cultural security: feminist issue

By Vanessa Brown Calder, associate director, family policy expert.

This article discusses about Tennessee's licensing requirement for would-be lawyers, an example of how occupational licensing holds parents back, especially mothers. Under state law, lawyers with part-time work experience must either take time off to prepare and sit for another exam or else they are prohibited from practicing law in the state. This article points out the fact that law students routinely spend months preparing for the exam and even take out loans to cover the thousands of dollars to successfully complete it, which hits working mothers especially hard: of the 21.4 million voluntary part-time workers in 2016, 67 percent were women. Therefore, this article criticizes that Tennessee's licensing rule holds some of these women back and contributes to the fear that many women have that they will be penalized for going part time or taking leave from work while their children are young. In the end, this article appeals that the admission by motion rule requiring full-time work should be changed to allow for greater flexibility for mothers, parents, and any other lawyer that chooses to work part time in the years to come.

Source:

Egregious Licensing Rule Holds Working Mothers Back in Tennessee | cato(cato.org)

How Environmental and Climate Injustice Affects the LGBTQI+ Community

Social security: vulnerable groups

By Mikyla Reta, Senior Policy Analyst, Energy and Environment Expert.

This article focuses on the relationship between racial justice and modern-day environmentalism and the fight against the climate crisis. By viewing environmental justice through the lens of the most marginalized communities, this article holds that LGBTQ+ people have long been subject to a disproportionate burden of pollution compared with cisgender heterosexual people. To help paint a more holistic picture of environmental justice, this article examines LGBTQI+ people's exposure to environmental pollution and hazards, vulnerability to extreme weather, and their situations of health and health care under environmental pollution. It finds out that among young adults ages 18–25, LGBT people have a 2.2 times greater risk of homelessness than non-LGBT people, and LGBTQI+ populations are also at higher risk for certain medical conditions that can worsen the health impacts of environmental pollution. Lastly, this article concludes that The fight for climate and environmental justice is inextricably linked to the fight for racial justice, economic justice, women's justice, health justice, and LGBTQI+ justice. To combat these compounding crises, policymakers must begin to view them as interconnected and interdependent.

Source:

How Environmental and Climate Injustice Affects the LGBTQI+ Community | CAP(americanprogress.org)

How Should U.S. Cybersecurity Policy Develop?

Regional security: Domain security

By Adam Segal, Director, Network Security Expert.

This article concentrates on a debate among the uses and efficacy of cyber operations during the conflict, which is sparked by the war in Ukraine. This article firstly overviews the past discussions concerning cybersecurity and stresses how closely intertwined cyber and information operations are. Moreover, this article pays attention to the norms of state behavior in cyberspace that are more useful in binding friends together than in constraining adversaries. Furthermore, this article proposes evolutionary suggestions in

view of the “defend forward” position developed by Cyber Command under the Trump administration along with targeted diplomatic pressure and self-imposed restraints on some U.S. offensive operations. This article proposes that the efforts to disrupt adversary hacking operations should be paired with a clear statement that the United States will not conduct destructive attacks against electoral and financial systems. Also, to address the problem of states that actively harbor cybercriminals or ignore third parties using their digital infrastructure in offensive and criminal campaigns, the United States and its coalition partners could set a policy similar to the response to international terrorism.

Source:

How Should U.S. Cybersecurity Policy Develop? | CFR(cfr.org)

Confronting Reality in Cyberspace: Foreign Policy for a Fragmented Internet

Regional security: Domain security

By Adam Segal, Director, Cybersecurity Expert.

And Gordon M. Goldstein, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Cybersecurity Expert.

This report starts with illustrating that the utopian vision of an open, reliable, and secure global network has not been achieved and is unlikely ever to be realized. Nation-states conduct massive cyber campaigns, and the number of disruptive attacks is growing. Adversaries are making it more difficult for the United States to operate in cyberspace. This report believes that although the modern internet remains a backbone for critical civilian infrastructure around the world, the United States cannot capture the gains of future innovation by continuing to pursue failed policies based on an unrealistic and dated vision of the internet unless the United States can establish a new foreign policy for cyberspace. This report lists a number of major findings including data is a source of geopolitical power and competition and is seen as central to economic and national security, etc.. Based on the findings, this report offers several recommendations accordingly, which involves building a digital trade agreement among trusted partners, agreeing to and adopting a shared policy on digital privacy that is interoperable with Europe’s General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), resolve outstanding issues on U.S.-European Union (EU) data transfers, etc..

Source:

Confronting Reality in Cyberspace: Foreign Policy for a Fragmented Internet | CFR(cfr.org)

Webinar News

Conflict, COVID, and Climate Dramatically Exhausting the Food Security Challenges



German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and CGIAR organized a webinar on “Addressing the Global Food Security Crisis: Strengthening Research and Policy Responses”. Dr. Ali Imran participated and represented Saint Pierre Center for International Security (SPCIS).

Webinar discussed Russia's invasion of Ukraine and increased food and input prices at the global level, with the strongest impacts felt by the poorest in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia-Pacific. The World Food Program projects that the conflict could put an additional 47 million people at risk of acute hunger worldwide. The impacts of this crisis are unfolding

as countries cope with the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, more frequent and damaging extreme weather events caused by climate change, and other conflicts.

The speaker, Martin Fregene, Director, Department of Agriculture and Agro-Industry, African Development Bank said Ukraine and Russia war has sharply increase both equate and chronic food insecurity. Food supply in African continent has been affected by COVID-19 and climate shocks. But the latest loss of supply of an estimated 30 million tons of food coming from Russia and Ukraine has posed a prominent human catastrophe.

He said the world has scrambled to respond

to the crisis. The UN Global Response Group meets weekly to look at short falls and solutions in fertilizer and food. Germany has also established Global Alliance for Food Security (GAFS). This alliance is to catalyze an immediate and coordinated response to the unfolding food security crisis. France has also announced a food and agriculture resilience mission to boost agriculture production and ensure the most vulnerable countries have access to food. While, African Development Bank has launched African Emergency Food Production Facility Program. Its 1.5 billion dollar short term intervention to raise production of wheat, maize, rice, and soybeans to compensate the last supply from Ukraine. The African Development Bank and many other development partners are actually working to turn the crisis from the food crisis of Ukraine war into the transformation of African agriculture.

Sebastian Lesch, head of division, Sustainable Agricultural Supply Chains, International Agricultural Policy, Agriculture, Innovation, German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) said that we believe Russian invasion of Ukraine is humanitarian disaster; it is causing terrible suffering, destruction with traumatic repercussion for beyond the Ukraine borders. Prices are sky-rocketing and food, fuel and fertilizer are becoming unaffordable for millions of poor people. He said it is a triple crisis of conflict, Covid, climate change, and it's dramatically exhausting the food security challenges. After years of progress hunger has been on the rise again since 2015. Now, the war against Ukraine is turning an already dramatized situation into a disaster. According to World Food Program and other sources, many more people are fac-

ing starvation or death in the coming months. These crises need to be opportunities for the acceleration of the necessary transformation of the agri-food system towards resilience and sustainability. As inspired by Global Alliance for Food Security, the G-7 group has committed to additional 4.5 billion dollars to protect the most vulnerable from hunger and malnutrition.

Johan Swinnen, Global Director, CGIAR Systems Transformation Science Group & Director General, IFPRI speaking to webinar, said that around 134 million people across 53 countries experienced a food crisis or worse in 2021. Russia-Ukraine conflict was the primary driver of the food crisis in 2021, even accounting for the economic effects of COVID-19. However, the causes of food crises are often closely interlinked with Conflict, Climate, and Covid. This is a culmination of several crises and it is truly global.

He believed that a global crisis requires global solutions/approach. A crisis with short/medium/long term components requires short/medium/long term solutions/approach. The crises reinforce the transformation and resilience agenda and the need to invest structurally in global solutions.

Sonja Vermeulen, Global Director for Genetic Innovations, CGIAR said that apart from Ukraine crisis, we need to think about future crises. We need rapid multiplication and dissemination of seed varieties, prioritized by national agricultural research systems, and registered and released by partners in targeted countries. In the next three years, faster and more resilient development and delivery of market-demanded varieties, will require more

agile breeding systems and seed systems that respond rapidly to crisis, and remain stable in the face of crisis.

Sory Ouane, Senior Adviser to the Chief Executive Officer of the African Union Development Agency (AUDA)-NEPAD said that Russia-Ukraine conflict has affected African population. These crises prove to be a wakeup call for Africa's food supply chain and fertilizer shortage challenges that could lead to food production. At the recent African Union summit in Lusaka, the leader extensively discussed short, medium, and long-term measures for food security.

He claimed that Governments have started to support local food production and facilitating small holder to access fertilizers locally. Investment in local production, transformation, and processing capacity we needed to promote climate, smart agriculture and the use of fertilizers while supporting the development of local and regional value chains.

Francine Picard Mukazi, Co-founder and Director of Partnerships, Shamba Centre for Food & Climate said that we all know that we are in a situation where we need to react quickly. We need to ask ourselves that, how we are responding to those crises. The science and research is very much needed for the food security. She emphasized that we know there are short, medium, and long-term solutions, but we need result/responses now. But, we need to develop collective efforts to deal with such crises, and find solutions as soon as.

The policy webinar analyzed immediate and longer-term responses to food security and ended with the questions and answers session.

Frorefront Research(CSSCI)

Global Data Security Governance and Action Strategies for China's Participation in the Era of Digital Economy

QUE Tianshu and WANG Ziyue

Severe data security risks are now interwoven with the complicated international situation, as a result of which countries battle for an upper hand in laying down rules as regards data security governance, giving rise to the problem of how to address global data security issues. Although international actors have realized the importance of data security governance, a unified governance framework for global data security has not been fully constructed. The current global data security governance consists merely of trade rules and other unilateral or multilateral frameworks. Hence, challenging governance problems continuously emerge at the individual, societal, economic and national security levels, which inevitably leads to different interests claims from different governance subjects as well as fragmentation of rule systems, insufficient effectiveness of mechanisms and weak governance. In the meantime, data hegemony enjoyed by a few individual countries has made it more difficult for international actors to reach a consensus on this matter. Therefore, it is absolutely imperative that global data security governance should be further underlined and strengthened by the international community. In response, China has attached greater importance to issues related to data security. However, due to its late start in the field of data governance, China still faces a series of challenges such as imperfect legislation, limited technological innovation capabilities, insufficient international cooperation and weak governance. Therefore, China needs to comprehensively and systematically analyze the major risk factors affecting data security, accurately grasp the development trend of global data security and further optimize its strategy choice in global data security governance.

Source:

阙天舒, 王子玥. 数字经济时代的全球数据安全治理与中国策略
2022,40(01):130-154+158.DOI:10.14093/j.cnki.cn10-1132/d.2022.01.006

Editor: Xu Wen

The Impact Path of Artificial Intelligence on Shaping the Composite Strategic Stability: A Model-Based Examination

CAI Cuihong and DAI Liting

With the advancement of technology and time, the framework of strategic stability has produced significant changes. Viewed from the developmental lineage, the research perspective of strategic stability theory has undergone a transformation from nuclear strategic stability and military strategic stability to composite strategic stability. A new-era model of composite strategic stability can help establish a platform for discussing relations between theories and facts. This paper, by virtue of such three major chains as strategic capabilities, strategic behaviors and strategic intentions, intends to analyze the composition and interaction of key elements of composite strategic stability, and select artificial intelligence which is the most representative disruptive technology in today's world as a case study to analyze the path of its impact on the composite strategic stability model. The significance of artificial intelligence lies in its potential to break the interval between national strategic capabilities, strategic behaviors and strategic intentions, and affect composite strategic stability both positively and negatively via the all-round penetration effects on strategic capabilities, the two-way guidance effects on strategic intentions, and the dynamic intervention effects on strategic behaviors. However, the impacts of AI on strategic stability are negative in most cases. These findings have important practical implications for a better understanding of the impacts of AI on strategic stability as well as for maintaining strategic stability and upgrading AI governance capabilities.

Source:

蔡翠红, 戴丽婷. 人工智能影响复合战略稳定的作用路径: 基于模型的考察 [J]. 国际安全研究, 2022, 40(03): 79-108+159. DOI:10.14093/j.cnki.cn10-1132/d.2022.03.004.

Editor: He Xiangning

Scholars Interview Series

Gazi M Hassan:

Inflation exacerbated by Russian-Ukrainian conflict will affect food insecurity



Gazi Hassan is a Senior Lecturer in Economics at the University of Waikato. He is also a Research Associate in the Centre for Applied Macroeconomic Analysis (CAMA) at the Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University, and a Visiting Academic at the Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society, Oxford University. His research field is broadly development macroeconomics, specifically looking into overseas migration of manpower from developing countries and the consequences of international remittances. He is currently working on research projects investigating how inflowing remittances at the household level could be a source of finance for sustainable development goals, in particular, climate adaptation costs and clean energy expenditures in poor coastal countries. With the war in Ukraine, food and fuel prices have spiked, as Russia and Ukraine are big exporters of many commodities. Several economies in Europe and Central Asia, the Middle East, and Africa are almost entirely dependent on Russia and Ukraine for wheat imports. For lower-income countries, disruption to supplies as well as higher prices could cause increased hunger and food insecurity. And disruption to supply chains could broadly intensify inflation pressures. In this context, the Center conducted an exclusive interview with Gazi Hassan, hoping to understand his views on monetary security and food security in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

Inflation exacerbated by Ukraine war will affect food insecurity and trigger social insecurity. But it will affect different countries differently, given their internal and external conditions. The vulnerability of households can be lessened through policy measures. But not all countries have the full capacities to do, so some risks remain.

The global economy had enjoyed decades of low inflation since the 80s. Whether or not explicitly targeting inflation officially, achieving stable and moderate inflation was the objective of monetary policy. Globally we enjoyed low and stable inflation due to the globalization of the world. Some pundits even predicted the end of inflation until the Covid19 pandemic hit and disrupted the world order. Because we inherited globally low inflation at the beginning of the pandemic, the central banks worldwide felt confident with aggressive and ultra-loose monetary policy supported by the expansionary fiscal stimulus. Perhaps the idea was that even if the inflation goes up in the short term, it can hopefully be brought back to the target in a couple of years. However, it now seems that inflation expectations are not anchored, and the high inflation is likely to stay for longer.

Notably, inflation in emerging markets and developing economies reached its highest level since 2011. In most cases, inflationary episodes dismissed as temporary earlier are now looking permanent. The war in Ukraine has made the jobs of world central bankers harder. Not only that the war a significant shock for global commodity markets, but it has disrupted the factors that also affect inflation structurally. In that case, traditional monetary policy tools will be inadequate to bring inflation within the target

soon in emerging and developing economies. The effect of inflation across countries is not uniform. Rising food prices significantly affect people in low- and middle-income countries since they spend a larger share of their income on food than people in high-income countries. The added pressure the war places on an already high inflationary episode poses many risks for the lower-income countries, including food insecurity for vulnerable households and social and political unrest due to widespread shortages and competition for resources. However, prudent government policies at the household level and macro level can reduce the risk of exposure to high inflation and enhance income growth to minimise the social insecurity arising from conditions of high inflation.

Food insecurity in low-income countries became an issue even before the Ukraine war. Studies by World Bank, FAO, and other international agencies have found a sizeable number of people running out of food or skipping meals in the first two years of the COVID-19 pandemic. Recently the Global Network Against Food Crises, also confirmed large increases in the number of people facing acute food insecurity in 2020-2021. Ukraine war has exacerbated the situation, although not all low-income countries are affected equally. The Pacific Island Countries most affected by climate change are more vulnerable to inflationary exposure because their growth prospect is still forecasted negative compared to other developing countries.

The capacity of governments to help alleviate the vulnerability of the households is subject to many conditions, including abilities to raise funds internally and externally and the extent

of the foreign exchange reserve. The degree of vulnerability of the households is dependent on the exposure to the high food, energy and fertiliser prices at the retail level and how the prices are affected by the country's exposure to the external economic conditions. Governments can provide subsidies on wheat and oil or withdraw import duties to lessen the bite of inflation for the households at the retail level. But not all low-income countries can successfully implement such policies because giving subsidies or withdrawing import duties can put pressure on the budget. It depends on the government's fiscal condition and the ability to borrow from the domestic market without constraining the private sector.

Because energy, food and fertiliser are imported into most low-income countries, the development of external economic conditions is another source of vulnerability. The Ukraine war has affected the external conditions of countries through commodities disruption, availability of foreign finance, and overall global confidence. For example, given current conditions, suppose a country can finance a high import volume of wheat or oil through foreign borrowing or from its international reserve in the short term. In that case, it is financially resilient to a negative disruption. Countries that can't secure financing through reserve or borrowing are more vulnerable. The problem would intensify for the countries already running a large current account deficit, with a weak currency and a substantial sovereign debt. Households in these countries have greater risk exposure to higher import prices of essentials because of large devaluation. Governments can make policies to defend their currencies with capital control measures, revaluating domestic investments

and selectively intervening in the foreign exchange market.

Governments can also initiate blunt price control policies on food or energy prices at the retail level by effectively determining a ceiling. While it may be effective in the short term, historically, price controls have created more distortions and haven't worked properly without strong governance and regulatory support. The most robust policies to alleviate food and social insecurity target small and medium farms by focusing on the supply side. These policies aim to increase productivity and generate income growth to raise short-term food production at the grassroots level. With support from the private sector, the government can help make available cheap financing for investment in farm equipment, seeds, and fertiliser.

Editor: Li Yuhan

James Sperling: EU Energy Security and the Russo-Ukrainian War



Jim Sperling is professor of political science at the University of Akron. He has taught at Akron since 1988. Prior to that time, he held appointments at Davidson College and the James Madison College, Michigan State University. He teaches World Politics and Government (the introductory course to comparative politics and international relations), International Politics and Institutions, and Comparative Security Policy. His publications have explored various facets of German foreign economic and security policy over the course of the postwar period as well as the problem of the new security agenda, global security multilateralism, and regional security governance in the contemporary international system. His publications include the coauthored NATO's Trajectory into the 21st Century (Palgrave 2012) and EU Security Governance (Manchester University Press 2007) and so on.

Since the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the European Union has taken many measures to support Ukraine, while at the same time trying to gradually get rid of its dependence on Russian energy. In response to this situation, the Center conducted an exclusive interview with Professor Jim Sperling to learn about his understanding of issues related to EU energy security in the context of Russia and Ukraine.

The Russo-Ukraine war underscored the dangers of Europe's excessive upon Russian oil and natural gas imports. Europe's vulnerability has two dimensions: first, the Russians could impose an embargo of oil and gas exports that could cripple the European economy; and second, the asymmetrical dependence within Europe on Russian fossil fuels allows the Putin government to pursue a weakest link strategy to pry apart the EU and NATO, particularly the latter. The current European reliance upon Russian oil and natural gas is paradoxical: it represents the European efforts in the 1970s to diversify their sources of energy in the wake of the OPEC-induced oil crisis in 1973/1974. The OPEC embargo and differential supply of oil to European nations was linked to a nation's position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a linkage that the western states sought to sever via the diversification of supply. Moreover, the Dutch suspension of natural gas contracts to offset the oil embargo had the secondary effect, particularly in Germany, of demonstrating that energy security was best served with a diversified supply of natural gas regardless of the source. The turn to the Soviet Union as a major source of oil and natural gas reflected the calculation that the Soviet Union had always fulfilled their contracts with western European companies and governments.

Today, the EU imports 41 percent of its natural gas and 37 percent of its oil from Russia. As important, the EU only provides 13 percent of its natural gas and 3 percent of its oil consumption. The overall level of individual European nation's natural gas dependency is staggering: 13 member states import between 50 and 100 percent of their natural gas from the Russian Federation, including Germany (59 percent).

Dependence of Russian oil is less severe: only eight member states import more than 50 percent of their oil from Russia. Of the major European states, only France has a low level of dependence on Russian fossil fuels. European dependence on Russian oil and natural gas after 1990, however, would have appeared to be mutually beneficial and a safe bet: Russia oil and natural gas production and reserves make it the world's third and second largest producer of each, respectively; there had been no diplomatically-motivated disruption of supplies to western Europe; and the construction of the pipelines connecting Russia with its European market and the energy network connecting the EU member states was assumed to be so mutually beneficial that the Russian supply and European demand for fossil fuels was effectively ring-fenced from diplomatic or geopolitical conflicts. Moreover, the dependence of the EU on Russian imports reflected both geographical propinquity and a complex pan-European pipeline system connecting energy-poor Europe with energy-rich Russia. The Russo-Ukraine war has not only negated those calculations and compelled the EU to seek alternative sources of energy, but may cause incalculable damage to the Russian economy if the EU goal of zero imports of Russian gas and oil by 2030 is realized.

Some claim that the regional and geographic distribution of energy resources and regional energy dependencies are embedded in geopolitical security complexes. This assumption is plausible on first blush, but the fungible nature of fossil fuels, the small number of major oil and natural gas producers, and structure of the energy market more generally effectively free consumers and suppliers from regional

security complexes. Europe could be viewed as an exception: it would not be unreasonable to assume that post-Cold War pipeline system linking the Russian and EU energy markets locks both parties into an exclusive relationship. Yet, Russia could find alternative markets for fossil fuels in the event Europe reaches the unlikely decision to embargo Russian oil and natural gas imports. If China and India, for example, were to become alternative markets owing to lower prices or strategic calculation, it would not only blunt the impact of the EU embargo on Russia but also have a neutral impact on the global supply unless China, particularly, were to simply expand its strategic oil reserve and continue to purchase OPEC oil for current needs. The EU is already seeking alternative sources of supply from the Gulf of Guinea and the Caspian Sea, and undertaking measures reducing the demand for both natural gas and oil.

EU energy security will remain precarious so long as the EU depends imports for 80 percent for natural gas and 97 percent for oil. The challenge facing Europe today is largely an artifact of the Russo-Ukrainian war. Were it not for that conflict, there would be no short- or medium-term concern over the security of supply (although concerns over the excessive dependence on Russian fossil fuels would have continued, especially within NATO). The EU's import dependency on Russian supply has become especially problematic in 2022: the EU and NATO are unable to implement an embargo on Russian exports underwriting their offensive in Ukraine and Russia could conceivably stop exports of oil and natural gas that would impose unacceptable pain on virtually all EU member states, thereby breaking the

remarkable political cohesion of the West. Yet, the expectation in Washington and Kyiv that the Europeans, especially those in eastern and central Europe, absorb the inevitable economic shock of an embargo is unreasonable and counter-productive; it could undermine rather than support EU and NATO efforts to support Ukraine militarily and diplomatically. What Washington and Kyiv can expect is that Europeans undertake short-term policies reducing the current level of demand for Russian oil and natural gas.

The International Energy Agency published a set of recommendations on 3 March 2022 that would reduce the level of Russian natural gas imports by 50 percent (80 billion cubic meters) by the end of 2022. The recommendations range from the non-renewal of contracts with Gazprom expiring in 2022, a greater reliance on alternative sources of liquefied natural gas (LNG), efficiency savings, and accelerating the production of wind and solar energy. In a contemporaneous publication, the EU Commission issued REPowerEU that identified the long-term goal of reaching 'independence from Russian gas well before the end of the decade' by adopting 'new actions to ramp up the production of green energy, diversify supplies and reduce demand'. The Commission estimated that these policies would save 170 bcm of annual natural gas consumption—a savings in excess of current Russian imports—by 2030. It estimated that 60 bcm of LNG could be imported from more secure and diversified sources (the US, Norway, Azerbaijan, Gulf of Guinea, and Qatar among others), while the balance would be derived from substituting biomethane, hydrogen, reduced consumption, and renewables for Russian natural gas. RE-

PowerEU also deepened the securitization of energy with the designation of gas storage facilities as a critical infrastructure and expectation that the EU member states fill their natural gas storage facilities to at least 90 percent of capacity—a move that would absorb or soften any future supply shock.

The invasion of Ukraine has had any number of unexpected and untoward consequences for Putin's Russia, the most important of which is the renewed cohesion and purpose of the NATO alliance and the likely future membership of Sweden and Finland in it. The decision to achieve total energy dependence from the Russian Federation has yielded a double benefit: many of the goals and policies of REPowerEU will not only free the EU and Europeans from the Russian threat of disrupted energy supplies, but also accelerate the EU's contribution to mitigating the climate crisis. The severing of the energy relationship with Russia does pose a potential downside: if the European goal of no longer importing natural gas succeeds, how will an immiserated post-Putin Russia escape another bout of revanchist authoritarianism?

Editor: Wang Xuotong

Researcher Column

Yu Xiaofeng: “Harmony in Diversity” —— The Exploration of Chinese-style Globalization



Yu Xiaofeng is a professor and director of the School of Public Administration at Zhejiang University, and the director of the Center for Research on Non-traditional Security and Peaceful Development at Zhejiang University. His main research areas are non-traditional security and public crisis management, he is the author of "Non-traditional Security and Public Crisis Management", "Ethics of International Relations", "Harmonism: A Chinese Paradigm of International Relations Theory", and so on.

Compared with traditional Western international relations theories, it is more explanatory of the historical past, transcendent of the real dilemma and inclusive of the future development. The theoretical construction of the Harmony Doctrine provides a unique Chinese perspective for international relations theory, and is also recognized by more and more international people, providing a new direction of exploration for the transformation and upgrading of international relations theory. The realization of the blueprint of "peace but different" requires the consensus and practice of all countries in the world, and international cooperation and construction.

Yu Xiaofeng, Chairman of the Academic Committee of our Center.

The phrase "Harmony in Diversity" comes from the Analects of Confucius, "The gentleman is harmonious but diverse, the villain is the same but not harmonious." The term "Harmony" refers to pursuit of harmony, speaking in harmony, and acting in harmony; the term "Diversity" refers to not conspiring against the way, not agreeing without principle, and not trying to make peace without compromise. "Harmony in Diversity" is not only a metaphor for the way of a gentleman, but also the key point of Chinese civilization, and the value base of Chinese globalization exploration and reconstruction of world order.

"Harmony in diversity" is the basic state of existence of all things in the universe, in line with the " Tao " of heaven. The universe is a whole of harmony, the "quantum of harmony" is the constitutive essence of the evolution of all things. Modern physics proves that quanta are the smallest "blocks" of the universe, and that all matter and life are aggregates of quanta, and each particle in the quantum world has numerous paths through the "set" test channels to achieve its "Quantum entanglement's "long-range correlation and instantaneous synchronization" is a manifestation of its "summation" nature.

The "Harmony in Diversity" is a manifestation of the law of "Quantum Harmony" and the value of "Group Harmony", expressing both the Chinese people's pursuit of "Baohé Taihé" (保合太和) It also expresses the inclusiveness and mutual appreciation of Chinese civilization to other civilizations. The Chinese have always attached importance to the principle of "When harmony is achieved, all things can grow and

develop. If they are identical and consistent, they cannot develop and continue." (和实生物, 同则不继), recognizing the symbiotic diversity of civilizations; they have also always attached importance to the principle of "The reason why soup tastes delicious is that the taste of soup is made up of different condiments." (合羹之美, 在于合异), advocating exchange and mutual appreciation of civilizations.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, there was the world's first alliance system among nations, and in the Qin and Han Dynasties, there was the "unity in diversity" of the Chinese nation with cultural identity as the bond. And since the Tang Dynasty, there were reciprocal and voluntary tribute relations with neighboring countries. In coexistence with the world, the most important characteristic of Chinese civilization is introversion and defensiveness, emphasized "peace" more than "contention", and pursuing "peace is the way of the world" (和也者, 天下之达道也). Historian Arnold Toynbee's book "A Study of History" explains the rise and fall of dozens of civilizations using the "challenge-response" model, and finds that it was the "Harmony in Diversity" approach to survival that contributed to Chinese civilization.

The concept of "Harmony in Diversity" is increasingly recognized, praised and respected by international figures. In Henry Kissinger's book "On China", when comparing Chinese and Western civilizations, the Chinese chess is specially drawn on the book, emphasizing that the "strategic flexibility" of coexistence and victory in Chinese chess is different from the "goal specificity" of all-win, all-lose chess,

which has greater tolerance. Chess is an absolute "win" by constantly "eating pieces", leaving the opponent with no way out, while Chinese chess is a relative "win" by constantly "taking up space", so that both sides have the winner. According to Professor Lanan Ke of the London School of Economics and Political Science, terms such as "harmony" and "commonwealth" are distinguish with "international", "security" or other mainstream concepts of international relations or other mainstream concepts of international relations, and reveal their "normative soft power", and take a "China or the world" (天下) perspective to understand the world, reflecting the Chinese "world order view ". In the future, there is a possibility of a "Chinese peace order" based on the concept of the world system.

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their "normative soft power", and take a "China or the world" (天下) perspective to understand the world, reflecting the Chinese "world order view ". In the future, there is a possibility of a "Chinese peace order" based on the concept of the world system.

The greatest effect of "Harmony in Diversity" is to dissolve "heterogeneous conflicts". The difficulty of building a community of human destiny lies in "how to deal with the different levels of existing 'heterogeneous' factors: both the historical legacy of civilization, culture, religion, ethnicity, society and other heterogeneous factors, and also the conflicts and confrontations caused by history, geography, interests, resources, systems, methods and even misunderstandings. conflicts and confrontations into a heterogeneous present here and there, and also heterogeneous possibilities due to different visions and pursuits of future directions." In international affairs, the U.S. often takes a hegemonic stance to dictate, coerce, exclude and suppress the heterogeneous world, and is accustomed to judging others by its own values and institutional standards. Europe, on the other hand, in the historical process of integration of the "Coal and Steel Community", "European Community" and "European Union", faced with heterogeneous conflicts, has formed a "contractual" "legalism". In the face of heterogeneous conflicts, Europe has developed a strategy of transferring sovereignty characterized by "contractual", "legal" and "institutionalized", which is more inclusive, shared and reasonable than that of the United States.

In contrast, China's efforts and contributions to resolving heterogeneous conflicts are more

unique. For example, the five basic principles of "peaceful coexistence" in dealing with national relations, the "setting aside sovereignty and joint development" approach in dealing with island disputes, the "one country, two systems" strategy in dealing with the return of Hong Kong and Macau, and the "one country, two systems" strategy in dealing with major powers. The "one country, two systems" strategy for the reunification of Hong Kong and Macao, the principles of "non-conflict, non-confrontation" and "benign interaction, win-win cooperation" for the relations between major powers, and "dialogue without confrontation, tolerance without exclusion" for international affairs. "genuine multilateralism" in international affairs, and the "new security concept", "Asian security concept" and "global security concept and "global security concept". According to Ke Lan'an, the development and changes of China's diplomatic philosophy are all examples of holistic thinking in solving heterogeneous problems, reflecting a flexible methodology with internal logic that makes use of the ambiguity of differences to achieve the "commonwealth" of "harmony but differences".

However, there is always a gap between the ideal and the reality. In the twenty-first century, humans are in a dilemma, the wave of globalization and the echo of counter-globalization are colliding with each other, the new pneumonia epidemic is raging all over the world, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is continuing, populism is raging, and humans are once again wandering at the crossroads of where to go. Is the future of humanity a "one world, two systems" competition? Or is it a game between "Chinese globalization" and "American cold peace"? Or is it a competition between "true multilateralism"

and "pseudo-multilateralism" (i.e., small-circle multilateralism, selective multilateralism, and multilateralism that prioritizes one's own country) or an alternative? In the face of the confusing chaos of the world's unprecedented changes, the negative view is that this is a "reversal of globalization", a "challenge to globalization", a "setback to globalization". Positive people think that this may be the beginning of "deep globalization" and "re-globalization", the arrival of a "selective globalization", and the change from "alternative globalization" to "complementary globalization". Perhaps it is more likely to be the beginning of "Chinese globalization".

Henry Kissinger's book "World Order" is devoted to the question of "whether a world order can be established in the present era. He argues that "the shaping of very different histories and values into a common new order" depends on the development of "a global, structural, and legalistic culture" and "a vision of order that transcends any one region or country. . With its unique civilizational concept of "equality, mutual appreciation, dialogue and tolerance", "Harmony in Diversity" provides the world with a universal "culture of harmony" and an ideal "view of order". The concept of "order". The concept of "peace but not difference" will change the concept of violence and the structure of "balance of power" based on force to the concept of consultation and the structure of "win-win" based on peace and harmony; It will change the "power calculation" premised on the possession of interests and characterized by hegemonic intervention, and replace it with the "reciprocity and harmony" premised on the common destiny and characterized by participatory governance. In fact, China is

making efforts to build a community of human health, human security, global development, and Asia-Pacific community with a shared future. In fact, China is making efforts to build "human health community," "human security community," "global development community," and "Asia-Pacific community of destiny."

The realization of the blueprint of "Harmony in Diversity" requires the consensus and practice of all countries in the world, as well as international cooperation and joint construction. For China, the most urgent task is to do its own job: to adhere to the national policy of reform and opening up, to be more harmonious with neighboring countries, to have more harmonious relations with regional powers, and to maintain "positive interaction and win-win cooperation" with global powers; to provide more economic and cultural public goods to the world, and to take more responsibility for global governance. As the value base of Chinese globalization, "Harmony in Diversity" will eventually become the new core concept that supports the world order, providing the basis of legitimacy for sustainable world peace and a source of cohesion for diversified world development.

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Global Non-Traditional Security Observation

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