

# Global Non-Traditional Security Observation

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# Editor's Note

*This issue is dedicated to exploring emerging NTS issues and their impact on global stability. Our team of expert contributors has meticulously researched and analyzed NTS topics to provide you with comprehensive insights. Our articles and interviews shed light on important and most tending NTS issues, as well as the innovative approaches being taken to mitigate these challenges.*

*A new book entitled “Age of Danger: Keeping America Safe in an Era of New Superpowers, New Weapons, and New Threats” has been published. It argues that the threat of terrorism—even in the wake of the 9/11 attacks—was never an existential threat. Even on its best day, al-Qaeda never truly threatened the very existence of the United States. Yet this nation developed a zoom-like focus on counterterrorism, launching two “Forever Wars.” In contrast, climate change is an existential threat. And the response, at best, has been to sound an uncertain trumpet.*

*In the third high-level conference of heads of counter-terrorism agencies of Member States held in New York. In the opening remarks, UN Secretary-General António said that terrorism affects every region of the world. It preys on local and national vulnerabilities and the instability of political, economic and security systems. Poverty, inequalities and social exclusion give terrorism fuel. And criminal activities like money-laundering, illegal mining and the trafficking of arms, drugs, antiquities and human beings give it funding.*

*The G20 Agriculture Ministers Meeting in India, where the UK’s Secretary of State for Food and Rural Affairs Thérèse Coffey reaffirmed the UK’s commitment to improving global food security through sustainable agriculture. Speaking at the event she urged countries to come together and harness the power of nature to get food to people’s plates both now and for future generations.*

*Resolution on food security adopted by the EU parliament to strengthen its food security, autonomy and resilience of its farming sector in the light of COVID-19 pandemic, Russia-Ukraine war, and climate change. It was resolved that the EU must become less dependent on third countries and diversify the supply of critical production imports.*

*The Regional Representative of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime for Southeast Asia and the Pacific, Jeremy Douglas said that the Golden Triangle, where the borders of Thailand, Myanmar, and Laos meet is one of the biggest drug trafficking corridors in the world. It is a point from where illicit items including drugs are trafficked to lucrative markets across Southeast Asia.*

*Thank you for joining us on this crucial exploration of NTS, and we encourage you to engage with the diverse perspectives presented within these pages.*

*Together, let us navigate the ever-changing landscape of security in the 21st century.*

Editor

# Frontier Research(CSSCI)

## From the perspective of national identity construction, the spread and influence of Aryanism in Iran

*Li Fuquan, Li Wenting*

The rise of Aryanism in Europe and its dispersal in Iran is a curious phenomenon in the history of the world's nation-states. Aryan racism, derived from European Oriental linguistics, was introduced into Iran in the late 19th century. After the process of localization and with the influence of Nazi Germany, it has become an important identification tool for Iran to define itself and distinguish the other. As a misplaced identity of self-Orientalization, Iranian Aryanism regards the West as us in the so-called common Aryan identity, and the non-Aryan Arabs and other groups as the other, not only playing up the superiority of the Aryan race and the glory of Iranian civilization, but also catering to the needs of nation-state building and westernization reform pursued by the Pahlavi Dynasty. It has thus become Iran's official ideology and been widely disseminated. After the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iranian Aryanism reemerged after a period of marginalization, and continued to participate in the construction of Iranian national identity under the dominance of official Islamism. However, the inherent exclusivity of Aryanism and Islamism has kept Iran from getting out of the dilemma of national identity. Aryanism has had an important influence on Iran's national identity, ethnic relations and foreign exchanges.

*Source:*

李福泉, 李文庭. 民族认同构建视角下雅利安主义在伊朗的散布与影响 [J]. 世界民族, 2023(01):29-43.

Editor: Liang Haiyao

## International Agenda – Setting and the Diffusion of Information Security Norms Advocated by China

*Lingshengyi, Wang Qiuyi*

At present, the strategic competition between great powers becomes intensified, traditional and non-traditional security threats are entwined, the governance of global security is imbalanced and also the framework of global security is loosened. The situation of global security is extremely grave. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China has taken up its own due responsibilities, promoted the reform and improvement of global security governance continuously, proposed and practiced Global Security Initiative(GSI). The GSI reflects the security conception of China that keeps up to date. Meanwhile, it is also very innovative in theory by replacing zero-sum security with common security, traditional security with comprehensive security conceptions, a mediator of hotspot issues, a defender of the international order and a builder of world peace. First, China upholds the United Nations system and practices true multilateralism. Second, China promotes peace talks and resolves hotspots through political courage. Third, China adopts a holistic approach and applies a combination of measures to manage traditional and non-traditional security threats. Fourth, China promotes the improvement of the global security governance system through dialogue and consultation. Fifth, China integrates development and security and advances sustainable security. The GSI is also confronted with risks and challenges. The divergences of security concepts persist. The hot issues are not easy to solve. The major-power relations are difficult to coordinate. The global security governance system and its capacity building are yet to be enhanced. To implement the GSI, China needs to work with the international community to build a world of lasting peace and universal security.

*Source:*

凌胜利, 王秋怡. 全球安全倡议与全球安全治理的中国角色 [J]. 外交评论 (外交学院学报), 2023, 40(02): 1-21+165-166. DOI: 10.13569/j.cnki.far.2023.02.001.

Editor: Yin Jincan

# Scholars Interview Series



*Dr. William Moseley is a human-environment and development geographer whose courses include: Introduction to Human Geography; Humans, Agriculture, and the Environment; Africa; Development and Underdevelopment; and Advanced Seminar in Environmental and Development Studies. His research interests lie in political ecology, tropical agriculture, environmental and development policies, and livelihood security. He also has a decade of practical experience in the field of international development, having worked as a project manager and policy analyst for organizations such as Save the Children UK, the Environment Department of the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Peace Corps.*

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine continues to affect the economies and resource security of countries around the world. In an article co-authored by Dr. Moseley and other scholars, titled "The impacts on global food security and nutrition of the military conflict in Ukraine," he highlights a range of issues caused by the military conflict, including considerable disruptions in global trade, and increases and fluctuations in food prices. As the conflict remains unresolved, SPCIS has interviewed Dr. Moseley to understand whether the conflict continues to cast a shadow over global trade, food prices, and overall food security. Additionally, they have asked him to share his views and recommendations on a globally coordinated policy response to the current humanitarian crisis.

Thank you for asking for an update to The impacts on global food security and nutrition of the military conflict in Ukraine, a policy brief of the High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE-FSN) that I helped co-write. Here I respond in my personal capacity and not in my role as a steering committee member of the HLPE-FSN.

The food price situation is better now than it was at the start of the war in Ukraine when global food prices hit an all-time high in February-March 2022. More specifically, the FAO Food Price Index averaged 124.3 points in May 2023, which is down 2.6 percent from the previous month and down by 22.1 percent from the all-time high in March 2022. Although prices have dropped, they remain higher than prices in 2020 and the first quarter of 2021. High global food prices are a contributing factor, along with conflict and adverse weather conditions, to high levels of global

food insecurity. According to the World Food Programme (WFP), some 345 million people in the world face acute food insecurity today. This compares to 258 million in 2022, 193 million in 2021 and 113 million before the COVID pandemic in 2018.

The global food system is like a massive ocean vessel that takes time to redirect. The war in Ukraine, coupled with the COVID-19 related supply chain disruptions, has definitely started a conversation about the need to build a global food system that is not so dependent on trade and a few major global bread baskets. As such, many national governments are reprioritizing food production at home and price sensitive consumers are adjusting their diets as imported grains become more expensive. For example, bread consumption in many West African cities declined as the cost of wheat flour went up.

While the global food system is beginning to change, much of it remains the same. Interestingly, Russia has been one of the biggest beneficiaries of declining Ukrainian grain exports (Ukrainian wheat exports declined 37% last year). Russia had a record 43 million tons of wheat exports in 2022-23. Other areas of the world, namely North and South America, have also been increasing exports as those from Ukraine declined. However, the countries hardest hit by the war in Ukraine continue to be those that were most dependent on its grain exports, namely several countries in the Middle East, North Africa and the Horn of Africa. Furthermore, the resulting price increases have fallen hardest on the poorest of the poor.

The international community is in a state of paralysis right now over how to respond to the global food crisis for two reasons. The first reason is that part of the current food crisis

is linked to the war in Ukraine. As such, any attempt to resolve problems related to food exports from the Black Sea region, such as the negotiations related to the Black Sea Grain Deal and subsequent renewals, are highly politicized and viewed through a prism of one side versus the other. This tension over the war also plays out in other international fora and often paralyzes discussions about efforts to address the food crisis in the short term.

The other big reason for paralysis is more of a philosophical disagreement on how best to move forward following this food crisis. On one side, many of the major grain exporting countries and conventional food security thinkers would like to return to the status quo situation after the crisis, namely a global food system that is based on a few major grain producers using energy intensive farming methods and exporting surpluses around the world.

On the other side, some countries and actors see the current global food system as deeply broken and highly vulnerable (because of the aforementioned structure) to different shocks, such as: energy price hikes, pandemic related supply chain disruptions, increasingly erratic weather patterns related to climate change, and war and conflict in major food producing areas. For this second group, what is needed is a more decentralized food system, with more local and regional food production, using less energy intensive farming methods.

The reality is that nobody wins when there is widespread food insecurity in the world as this leads to social unrest, migration, and human suffering. While the war in Ukraine is outside the purview of the community of food security scholars, policymakers and activists, I and others have well-articulated views on the second

debate (described above) regarding returning to the status quo versus pushing for more a decentralized food system. I favor the latter, and am against the status quo response, because each time the world has faced food security crises in the past, it has responded by doubling down on production agriculture and trade. We saw this with the first Green Revolution (which had profound impacts in China) in the 1960s and 1970s, the focus on agricultural trade in the 1980s and 1990s, and most recently the New Green Revolution for Africa from 2007-2022. Given the failures of production agriculture to resolve hunger and the increasing fragility of the global food system, it is time we tried a different approach emphasizing agroecological production methods, territorial markets and robust social safety nets.

Editors: Fang Yaoyuan, Chao Wei, Lu Xinxun



# Researcher Column

**Tobías Belgrano:**

## **The US-Latin American Policy Strategy: A Dialogue From Both Perspectives**

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*Tobías Belgrano. B.A. Political Science (UCA) and Master in Government (UBA). Professor of Government and Administration of the Argentine Republic (UCA).*

*So far, Argentina is the first latin american middle-income economy to subscribe to the agreement. Considering the size of the economies of Mexico and Brazil, the incorporation of Argentina is no minor geopolitical event. Only revealing the western inaction to Beijing's attempts of having a stronger presence in the region.*

The two presidencies which have followed the Obama administration have governed in the backdrop of an increasingly polarized nation and both have sought to differentiate themselves from his administration. For Trump, his opposition to Obama-era policies stems from a multitude of factors such as his fraught relationship with the former president as well as the populism which mobilized his base, in turn serving as the only policy framework from which he could govern without repercussions.

The policy agenda which grew out of his 2016 campaign would ultimately become the orthodoxy of the Republicans as Trump received almost unshakeable support from Republican voters around being a non-establishment candidate and he was further supported by conservative organizations who were able to pursue their policy agenda through his administration.

For Biden, the road to becoming president involved contending within a crowded field of Democratic candidates to be seen as the successor to former President Obama even though he had served as his vice president. President Biden was elected upon a platform of a return to normalcy in the conduct of the office as well as the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs. Consequently, the election which propelled him to the nation's highest office was divided along the method of voting due to the impact of the pandemic which has given way to election fraud conspiracies driven by former President Trump. In the shadow of internal and external issues influencing the country, both presidents have sought to engage with Latin America in their own way.

Though Latin America is an expansive region

comprising many different cultures and languages, the United States is often predominantly concerned with Mexico due to its geographic proximity. This view is especially true with immigration as the nation is a land bridge between Latin America and the United States. In addition, Mexico also accounts for a significant state of origin for U.S. immigrants. Former President Trump began an antagonistic stance on immigration early into his candidacy when he made disparaging comments regarding Mexican immigrants.

As he became president, his two most central policy points toward curbing immigration from Latin America were constructing a wall along the southern border and a controversial zero-tolerance policy toward illegal immigration which was intended to deter migrants from coming to the United States. Furthermore, Trump expanded the number of apprehensions at the border and within the U.S. by expanding the authority of immigration officials. The conclusion of his policies concerning curbing illegal immigration was the failure of the border wall to act as a deterrence for migrants and harming the reputation of the country over how the policies seemed to disregard human rights, which is a value that the U.S. has championed for decades in Latin America.

During his campaign for the presidency, Biden released his platform for immigration which appealed to voters based on how immigration has been essential to the American experience and advocated a rollback of the Trump administration's immigration policies.

One of the first policies that he was able to undo was halting federal funding for the con-

struction of the border wall by ending the state of national emergency proclaimed by Trump to appropriate federal funds for the project. This move was not met without opposition as the attorney generals of Texas and Missouri sued the Biden administration for halting the building of the border wall. Another policy objective that he hoped to achieve was the repeal of Trump's asylum policies to live up to the image of the nation presented in the famous poem "The New Colossus" by Emma Lazarus. However, when it came time to demonstrate the administration's commitment to these values, they turned away Haitians at the southern border and deported them to Port-au-Prince via flights.

The administration has shown that it is willing to aid migrants when there exist extraordinary circumstances which provide bipartisan support or instances where it was a direct consequence of the administration's policies. Such instances have included welcoming Ukrainian refugees to bolster the resolve of Ukraine by projecting solidarity and also have included the resettlement of Afghans who were impacted by the administration's decision to withdraw from Afghanistan. When the administration attempted to make a meaningful attempt to eliminate hurdles to applying for asylum like Title 42, the motion was struck down by a federal judge. With inconsistent messaging on immigration policy in an agenda with limited political capital to push forth the most pressing policy objectives, it is unlikely for the administration to undertake any large-scale immigration reform before the midterm elections. The future of immigration reform in the country faces an uphill battle as the issue is viewed increasingly along partisan lines and even when

made a priority under Trump, it was clear that a greater degree of resources, as well as personnel, will be needed to even accomplish border security.

Trump would ultimately capitalize on resentment toward globalization in his 2016 presidential campaign, especially within the Rust Belt which was neglected by both Democrats and by the post-recession economic recovery as the majority of jobs went to white-collar workers rather than the working class which has historically been the backbone of the region's economy. The marriage of Trump and the Rust Belt voters would propel him to the White House and also have an impact on his foreign policy concerning Latin America as they had placed their hopes on the premise that he would be able to reverse the trends of globalization. For them, the most present manifestation of globalization was NAFTA and it was something that needed to be rectified in favor of Americans. Trump then took this into consideration to renegotiate the agreement to replace it with the United States Mexico Canada Agreement along with wanting to further solidify his image as an astute businessman. Although he positioned himself as an outsider in his campaign, he had embraced members of the Republican establishment with positions within his administration. Such is evident in keeping with the orthodoxy of conservative foreign policy with the sanctioning of leftist regimes like Venezuela and Cuba in the waning years of his presidency. In addition, he threw his support behind the former president of the Venezuelan National Assembly Juan Guaido, and Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro to act as a bulwark against the leftist governments in the region just as the U.S. had done in

the Cold War.

Policy in Latin America for the Biden administration was not a high priority for them as they sought to repair relations with America's transatlantic partners as the second most important priority and to continue the pivot to Asia taking preeminence over other issues.

The outbreak of the Russo-Ukrainian War has taken attention away from Latin America to a secondary priority of maintaining the post-war security architecture that the United States constructed to act as a rampart against communism spreading across the Atlantic. When modern powers are in the process of creating new geopolitical orders and in other circumstances they come across a security dilemma similar to a fox wishing to enter a henhouse to procure its contents. In a situation of parity, the farmer will have enough of a deterrent to protect the henhouse, but like in the security dilemma, it comes at the expense of the fox. It is when the farmer no longer provides the deterrent in which the fox is left alone with the contents of the henhouse that the fox must make a decision. It can either raid all the contents within, taking more than it can chew, or leave the contents alone in a gesture of goodwill to form an understanding with the farmer. The decision is one that faces states that forges an order to face the existing one. When the henhouse is taken in packs, history has shown that when the fox who tries to create an understanding will revert to the wishes of those it is seeking to accomplish the task with if it cannot fulfill the leadership it wishes to undertake.

Such was shown when Wilson yielded to Clemenceau the fate of Germany and how Sec-

retary of State Warren Christopher ceded the policy of NATO expansion to post-Soviet States by doubting that Russia would fully reform. From the U.S. succumbing to the "The old political system based on force and with its tricks and rivalries" as the German delegation to the Paris Peace Conference described over 100 years ago, Russia saw such expansion as justification for its own adoption of an aggressive foreign policy within its traditional sphere of influence. Moreover, A Europe with a 21st-century economic model but the behavior of 20th-century power and a Russian Federation with the behavior of a 20th-century power ensures there will be tensions to come for years to come in the post-Soviet space as there lies the final project for integration by Brussels which they see enlargement as equal to security. Due to this crisis in regional security, the leaders of the West have called summits to address it but little of substance has been produced as their main purpose is the projection of union to their adversaries. A similar policy can be found in the Biden doctrine which can be defined as the attempted projection of leadership in multilateral institutions but in practice is more of bare maintenance than what is required in the current multipolar world order.

The most exemplar practice of this doctrine lies in the Summit of the Americas where the administration excluded leftist governments from attendance. After the end of the Cold War, the existential threat to security that leftist governments were replaced by a foreign policy that shifted to enforcement of property rights which had to be respected for favorable treatment from the United States. While sanctions have become the primary instrument for the enforcement of the neoliberal order, they still

accomplish the same policy objectives set in a time when the USSR existed. Many Latin American nations have rejected neoliberalism through elections that have placed leftist candidates in halls of power. As the U.S. has been busy pursuing a policy that is predicated upon conditions that do not exist anymore, China has been making inroads throughout the world through investment. China has taken up the mantle as the champion of developing and middle-income states just as the Soviets did in the 20th century.

However, there are certainly flaws in both the Western model as well as the Chinese model of development. Here lies the promise of the region to provide an alternative and help the Americas forge a new order for the 21st century. This may seem like a strange statement but it had a hand in crafting the last geoeconomic system through the influence of the Chicago Boys. The potential to be a laboratory for different models of economic growth is shown in El Salvador, where the government has made a substantial investment in non-regulated currency. The region is one of a diverse array of governments and seeking only to have one form is one that weakens the security of the United States. This perspective is one that can be found among European analysts, but the region faces a far lower bar to clear in this regard because there exists a different geopolitical reality than the European Union.

No South American project relies upon liberalism for legitimacy and security. One of the few hurdles foreign policy practitioners within the U.S. need to clear to meaningfully engage with the region is eliminating the vestiges of the Cold War policy that have weakened relations

with the neighbors within our hemisphere. By having a policy rooted in non-interference, the United States can limit the influence of China by championing economic models developed in tandem with our Latin American partners which can also serve the interests of an anxious Europe through a newfound understanding between Washington and the region. The Global South is slowly becoming more distant from the West due to historic grievances and their own economic interests being harmed by their archaic rivalries. Only by embracing a region that very much has the economic potential to become a more assertive presence in global affairs, can the international system become more inclusive to states that are not great powers.

For much of modern history, historians have witnessed civilizational conflicts which have shaped our collective destiny such as Carthage and Rome. With it being a norm in contemporary international affairs, some of our closest partners are more enamored with the academic debate of a Sino-American rivalry that they have entertained the idea of pursuing a policy that divides us and weakens our collective security. By providing the region a greater stake in global affairs, the story of this century does not have to be told as a battle of two poles, but instead as an expansion of self-determination bolstered by their potential economic and security contributions to a revised international system that is equipped to meet the challenges of the 21st century through a new hemispheric order.

The campaign was a showdown between two different models of international approaches to the region: while Donald Trump exploded the anti-left movement, Joe Biden brought hope

for more integration, opportunities, and fewer sanctions with a more comprehensive view.

However, with two years in office, the Democratic President has done almost nothing to integrate the region, nor to exercise the “broader approach” that Democrats promised in the campaign. This “new” model was translated into small changes from the Trumpist line.

Despite the promises of attacking the illegal immigration issue by looking at the bigger picture, Biden continued with the policy of blocking the migrant caravans coming from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, also known as the northern triangle. Even though there was a relief package announced by Kamala Harris to improve the living conditions in these countries, life has not improved and the flow of migrants never stopped. Throwing money at the problem does not appear to be an integral approach.

As Washington provides no alternative for development, or trade deals to tempt the Latin American nations to stay under the U.S orbit. As if it was a move from the Cold War era, the Chinese Communist Party is providing more markets for the Latin American nations to export. Recently, the third economy of Latin America, Argentina, joined the trade agreement known as the “Silk Road”. This alliance was seen by many as a threat to the American hegemony in the region, Matt Gaetz, representative of the state of Florida to the US Congress and an ally of former President Donald Trump, expressed his concerns by affirming: “While the Biden Admin, the media, and many in Congress beat the drums of war for Ukraine, there is a far more significant threat to our nation.”

Again, the Biden administration fails to promote development by not offering alternative sources of finance for the Latin American economies. The sloth of the Democratic governor is pushing Latin America to the Chinese arms with almost 22 countries of the region joining the treaty, including countries that remain in the political sphere of influence of the US as Uruguay or Chile. The agreement also includes anti-American nations such as Venezuela or Cuba.

This is a high stake issue for US security, due to the fact that this is the first time in American history where a foreign power is able to influence the countries that traditionally belong to their sphere without the use of military strategy (as the Russians used to in the missile crisis via Cuba) but with economic incentives that include real financing for infrastructure and the possibility of being included in a new international division of labor.

The threat to US security does not rely on China’s economic influence in America’s “Front Yard”, it relies on the lack of creativity of the Democratic and the Republican establishment to approach the Latin American issues with opportunities that include real development and incorporation of the thousands of Latin Americans that live in poverty. The Bush administration, with all its flaws, proposed in 2006 in Mar del Plata, Argentina, the last US commercial agreement in the scale and access to international aid. That occurred 16 years ago.

The end of this relationship is uncertain, again. President Biden summoned an American Summit in L.A, with little to offer but his political muscle by excluding Nicaragua, Venezuela,

and Cuba. Other than tempting the region with economic opportunities, the summit resulted in few initiatives.

If the Biden administration does not offer the Latin American nations economic packages to develop that surpass the Chinese investments, the US economic hegemony will get weaker, and in the long term, its securit

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## ***Global Non-Traditional Security Observation***

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