

## THE IMPACT OF RUSSIA AND UKRAINE WAR ON GLOBAL FOOD INSECURITY

**Rahmadini Agung Ayu Utami**

Department of International Relations  
Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta  
Email: [2210423005@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id](mailto:2210423005@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id)

**Musa Maliki**

Department of International Relations  
Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta  
Email: [musamaliki@upnvj.ac.id](mailto:musamaliki@upnvj.ac.id)

### **ABSTRACT**

Conflict plays a major role in famine as 60 percent of the world's hungry people come from conflict and violence-prone areas. The current conflict between Russia and Ukraine is a clear example of the relationship between conflict and food crisis. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is not only causing hunger for Ukrainians, but also for people in other countries. Conflicts involving the largest food supply countries have a direct impact on global food distribution. This research aims to examine the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on global food insecurity using a qualitative-descriptive method. Data were collected using literature study technique with the help of secondary data. The results of this study show that the food insecurity caused by the war in Russia and Ukraine also has an impact on the price of goods in a number of countries. The interruption of supplies from Russia and Ukraine hampered the supply chain of food commodities and other agricultural products. As a result, the prices of these other types of products have increased. In fact, food insecurity can also have an indirect impact on increasing the country's foreign debt.

**Keywords:** *Food crisis, food security, Russia-Ukraine war, securitization, wheat*

### **ABSTRAK**

Konflik berperan paling besar dalam bencana kelaparan sebab 60 persen dari penderita kelaparan di dunia berasal dari wilayah konflik dan rawan kekerasan. Konflik yang terjadi antara Rusia dan Ukraina saat ini merupakan contoh nyata dari relasi antara konflik dan krisis pangan. Konflik antara Rusia dan Ukraina tidak hanya menimbulkan kelaparan bagi warga Ukraina, tetapi juga warga di negara-negara lain. Konflik yang melibatkan negara pemasok pangan terbesar berdampak langsung terhadap distribusi pangan global. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji dampak perang Rusia-Ukraina terhadap kerawanan pangan global menggunakan metode kualitatif-deskriptif. Metode pengambilan data dari studi Pustaka sebagai data sekunder. Dari data tersebut, hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kerawanan pangan yang ditimbulkan perang Rusia dan Ukraina juga berdampak terhadap harga barang di sejumlah negara. Terhentinya pasokan dari Rusia dan Ukraina menghambat rantai pasokan komoditas pangan dan produk pertanian yang lain. Akibatnya, harga-harga produk jenis lain tersebut turut meningkat. Bahkan kerawanan pangan ini juga dapat berdampak tidak langsung terhadap bertambahnya utang luar negeri negara.

**Kata Kunci: Gandum, keamanan pangan, krisis pangan, perang Rusia-Ukraina, sekuritisasi**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Food crisis is currently one of the most frequent issues where nowadays is crucial to be discussed. Food crisis is prompted world leaders at the G20 Summit to call for attention to the issue of the world food crisis. In the G20 forum that held in Bali, Antonio Guterres, Secretary General of the United Nations, said that the world is heading towards a great food disaster where people in five separate places are facing hunger (United Nations, 2022). President Joko Widodo in his opening speech at the G20 Summit said that the food and energy crisis are a major threat. The situation is exacerbated by the condition of the world that has not fully recovered from the threat of COVID-19 but is faced with another threat, namely the war between Russia and Ukraine. This has an impact on global conditions because the two countries are one of the largest food suppliers in the world (Bisnis.com, 2022).

The current conflict between Russia and Ukraine is a clear example of the relationship between conflict and food crisis. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is not only starving Ukrainians, but also people in other countries. Conflicts involving the largest food supply countries have a direct impact on global food distribution. Wars hamper the distribution of agricultural products such as grains, especially wheat, and natural gas, which is used as an ingredient to produce chemical fertilizers. As a result, global agricultural production is disrupted due to a shortage of fertilizer supplies, and countries that rely on wheat imports struggle to meet their domestic staple needs.

Previous research from Martin-Shields & Stojet (2018) found that there is a need to collect more and better data on and from conflict zones for understanding and monitoring the full diversity, nature and interrelations of food security and violent conflict. In the context of the food crisis due to the Russian and Ukrainian wars, research is conducted by Hassen & El Bilali (2022) argues that the Russian and Ukrainian wars have indirect impacts including hampering Ukraine's export capacity, decreasing labor due to conscription and migration, hampering access to fertilizers, and endangering the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially point 1 (No poverty), point 2 (Zero hunger), and point 12 (Responsible consumption and production).

Meanwhile, according to Stober (2022), the food crisis caused by the war between Russia and Ukraine is a form of food utilization as a weapon of war by Western countries, as Ukraine's alliance, against Russia. Food as a weapon of war is carried out by applying trade sanctions against Russia by a number of Western countries. Analysis by Lin et al. (2023) shows that the global wheat crisis triggered by conflict and food insecurity can be mitigated if the United States, China, India, Canada, Australia, France, Argentina and Germany increase their production by 2 percent to 3 percent in 2022–2023 to reconstruct global wheat supply

patterns. The impact of the Russia-Ukraine war according to Lakhali (2022) will affect the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), as well as the rest of the world.

Different from previous studies, this paper argues that the wars in Russia and Ukraine disrupted the global food supply chain based on analysis using securitization theory and the concept of food security. The impact of the Russian and Ukrainian wars on global food insecurity can be seen from the securitization efforts made by FAO and Antonio Guterres. The speech act was done by FAO through an official report, while Antonio Guterres stated it through a speech. The statement was responded by countries in the world by implementing a number of policies aimed at protecting their domestic food security. Another obstacle is the rising prices of staple foods such as wheat and corn. The distribution of palm oil and fertilizer is also hampered due to export restrictions by a number of countries. This opinion is based on the analysis of data findings associated with the theory of securitization and food insecurity.

A food crisis is a condition in which levels of acute food insecurity and malnutrition increase significantly at the national level, requiring emergency food assistance (Global Network Against Food Crises, 2022). Acute food insecurity is food insecurity that reaches a point where its severity threatens lives and livelihoods regardless of duration, context or cause. Meanwhile, malnutrition is the result of a deficiency, excess or imbalance in the consumption of macro and/or micronutrients. Malnutrition can be one of the outcomes of food insecurity (FAO, 2008). Based on the definition of acute food insecurity and malnutrition, both are derived from food insecurity. Food insecurity itself is the opposite of food security. A person is categorized as food insecure when they lack regular access to safe and nutritious food to achieve a healthy and normal life (FAO, 2002)

The link between food crisis and conflict occurs through the securitization process. This theory views that security is not an objective decision of the state because the security condition itself is articulated by politicians or policy makers. Political issues are designated as extreme security issues that must be addressed immediately when they are labeled as dangerous, threatening, worrying, and others by securitization actors. The essence of securitization theory is framing an issue and trying to convince the public (audience) to elevate the issue to be more than just politics (Eroukhmanoff, 2017). This decision is referred to as a speech act, which is when by saying a word, something is done (Buzan, Waever, & Wilde, 1998)

Speech act is an important concept in securitization. Through the speech act, the state will determine the direction and actions of their next securitization. Speech acts will be accompanied by extraordinary measures to attract public attention (audience) through actions that exaggerate the urgency and level of threat. Securitization shows that there is an existential threat that requires a solution in the form of extraordinary measures, then they frame the speech act towards the public (audience) (Özcan, 2013).

The discussion will begin by describing theory of securitization and food security. The second part, we will argue Russia and Ukraine are part of World food supply chain. Third, we argue that Russia and Ukraine War leads to the food crisis in the world aftermath. Finally, We

conclude that the Russia-Ukraine war creates the worst food security, as indicated by the disruption in the food supply of most countries in the world. Obstruction affects not only staple foods but also agricultural materials such as fertilizer. Food insecurity can also have an indirect impact on increasing the country's foreign debt.

## **METHOD**

This research uses qualitative methods, which is a method that the focus concentrates mainly on understanding the social world by analyzing how its participants interpret it, with an emphasis on words rather than figures (Bryman, 2008). While writing the results of the research, this research uses the descriptive method, so the method become qualitative-descriptive based. Descriptive method in social research tries to answer questions such as what, when, where, who, and how through depicting the specific details of a situation, social setting, or relationship (Neuman, 2014). The research data will be narrowed down to topics related to food insecurity that occurred as a result of the Russia and Ukraine war. The data obtained based on literature study techniques. The data sources used are secondary data such as books, scientific journals, news articles, and research reports.

## **ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Securitization**

Securitization is basically a version of security theory that is more dynamic when various types of new threats emerge compared to traditional security theory alone. If traditional security theory focuses on the form of military threats with the state as the actor, then securitization will see that threats will be more widespread with various actors compared to the military and state actors solely.

Securitization is the process belongs to and be the core of The Copenhagen School, initiated by Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver. The point of securitization is to process an issue into a security discourse. In this school of thought, security is as a speech act by the state whom facing any emergency action. The state whom declare "security" therefore has right to stipulate measurements to tackle the threat. The threatening object and referent objects in this conception are wide, more focus on but not limited to societal/identity security, paying more attention to the regional level, but mainly about focusing on securitisation (the social processes by which groups of people construct something as a threat) (Buzan & Lene, 2009)

Every securitization is composed of a security act (by speaking the language of security and asking for the adoption of extraordinary counter-measures) and a political act (a political decision to articulate the threat in such a way as to convince the target audience) (Does, 2013). Furthermore, Emmerse (2016) believe the explanation of the securitization process by the Copenhagen School relies on two stages. The first one regards the portrayal of certain issues

and the second even more important stage focus to the result, whether the securitization or not is dependent upon an audience being convinced or accepting that a specific referent object is indeed existentially threatened.

### **Food Security**

Food security is a term used to describe a country's condition and ability access to access sufficient food to meet dietary energy requirements. On the other hand, national food security means the self-sufficiency, i.e. the country produces the food it needs or that which its population demands. According to World Food Summit 1996, food security occur when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences in order to an active and healthy life (FAO, 2008). So that, by using this understanding, countries may claim self-sufficiency simply based on the demand and supply of their domestic market at whatever price would result (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2009).

There are four pillars, according to FAO, to measures the dimensions of the food security (FAO, 2008), namely: 1) availability, addressing the supply aspect of food which measured by the level of food production, stock levels and net trade; 2) accessibility, stipulating food security based on the household's ability to fulfill their sufficient food needs through family income and expenditures, also markets and prices; 3) utilization, the capabilities of people's physical body to digest consumed food therefore result sufficient energy and nutrition; and 4) stability, afford to continue gaining food periodically. To realize complete food security, these four aspects must be reached as a whole.

Food security is related to hunger phenomenon. When discussing about hunger, there are two school of thought (Evans & Thomas, 2017). The first is nature-focused approach which argued by Robert Malthus. It argued that population growth naturally affect the quantity of the food per capita. The second school of thought is society-focused which view hunger is inclined due to people's inability to have food to eat, either for financial reasons or a lack of access. The application of the term food security at the national and global level inclined to focus on the supply side of the food equation. The distribution of the available food is also critical. If food security is a measure of household or individual welfare, it has to address access.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Russia and Ukraine's Role in the World Food Supply Chain**

Russia and Ukraine are two countries that play a vital role in the world's food supply chain. Before the war, during 2019–2020, Russia and Ukraine were the world's first and third largest wheat exporters, respectively (OEC, 2020). This amounted to the two countries providing more than a quarter of global wheat production. For the world wheat market,

Russia's main export destinations for wheat products are Egypt, Turkiye, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Yemen (Duggal & Haddad, 2022). Meanwhile, Ukraine's main export destinations include Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Lebanon, which represent about 50 percent of total exports (Knorr-Evans, 2022).

Approximately 32 million hectares of land in Ukraine are utilized as agricultural fields. Ukraine's leading agricultural commodities include wheat, sunflower seed oil, cereals, and other food products, such as corn and rapeseed. Wheat and cereals account for the largest share of agricultural production in Ukraine at 85.68 million tons, followed by potatoes at 21.35 million tons and sunflower seeds at 16.38 million tons. This figure has a positive impact on Ukrainian agriculture, which has increased throughout 2020-2021 (Angelia, 2022).

On the Russian side, alongside wheat, the country is also the world's largest exporter of fertilizers. Russia is the world's largest supplier of nitrogen fertilizer, the second largest supplier of potash fertilizer, and the third largest exporter of phosphorus fertilizer (FAO, 2022). The value of Russian fertilizer exports reached US\$ 7 billion in 2020. The main destinations of Russian fertilizer exports include Brazil (US\$ 7.82 billion), India (US\$6.5 billion), and the United States (US\$ 5.34 billion). Russia is also the third largest fertilizer supplier in Indonesia with an import value in 2020 of US\$ 210.7 million (Pahlevi, 2022).

Data shows that wheat market demand continues to rise as global wheat consumption also continues to increase (Shahbandeh, 2023). The increase is due to the fact that the world is currently faced with problems that threaten food security, such as environmental degradation, changes in natural conditions and climate in the world, and overpopulation (Yakovlev & Alexseev, 2022). Demand for wheat has been steadily increasing over the past two decades. In 2019 and 2020, wheat demand declined significantly due to the wars in Russia and Ukraine. The ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine may affect the sustainability of the world's wheat supply.

The war has made it difficult to assess Black Sea production and export volumes. Western countries do not sanction Russian grain commodities directly. However, economic sanctions applied to some bank institutions, companies and businessmen have made it difficult for Russian exporters to ship grain abroad and arrange payment transactions (Hamaide & Trompiz, 2023). The flow of goods necessary for agriculture was halted due to economic sanctions against Russia. Russian grain farmers experienced a significant drop in profitability due to a lack of Western technology, spare parts and seeds coupled with logistical problems and a labor crisis (World Grain.com, 2023). Russian government imposes export quotas and export taxes on wheat and other crops to secure domestic supplies and curb domestic food inflation (USDA, 2023). Declining export capacity from Ukraine and Russia, and rising energy and fertilizer prices are pushing up international food prices, threatening global food security. The OECD in its report states that the loss of Ukraine's export capacity and a 50 percent decline in Russia's wheat exports could lead to a 34 percent increase in international wheat prices in the 2022–2023 marketing year (OECD, 2022).

In May 2022, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres proposed easing restrictions on Russian fertilizer in exchange for Russian guarantees on the safety of grain-laden ships leaving Ukrainian ports. The UN proposal to resolve the crisis also includes a plan to remove mines along Ukraine's Black Sea coastline so that long-delayed grain ships can quickly leave port to distribute grain to international markets. The UN proposal received support from China and Turkiye. Turkiye helped by becoming a counterparty and willing to provide safe passage for Ukrainian grain shipments.

On July 22, 2022, representatives of Russia, Ukraine, Turkiye, and the UN met in Istanbul and signed the "Grain Deal," also known as the Black Sea Grain Initiative. The agreement actually consists of two documents, the "Memorandum of Understanding between the Russian Federation and the UN Secretariat on the promotion of Russian food and fertilizer products on the world market" and the "Initiative on the safe transportation of grain and other food products from Ukrainian ports" (Tsukanov, 2023). The first document contains an agreement to regulate the lifting of restrictions on Russian food and fertilizer exports, including the removal of restrictions and economic barriers imposed on Russia by the US and EU. In the second document, the parties to the agreement are Russia, Ukraine and Turkiye, with the UN playing an additional role. The second document was agreed with the aim of facilitating safe navigation for the export of grain, food and fertilizers, including ammonia, from the ports of Odessa, Chernomorsk and Yuzhny.

The Grain Deal was extended several times. Finally, in mid-2023, Russia did not re-sign the agreement. This move was seen as an attempt by Russia to exit the Wheat Agreement. The Russians stated that they felt they had been disadvantaged because the conditions for the extension of the agreement requested for months had not been met. The agreement has helped the World Food Program provide assistance to countries facing critical food shortages such as Afghanistan, Sudan, and Yemen (CNN Indonesia, 2023). Russia's decision could affect international wheat prices which have fallen by almost a quarter compared to a year ago.

### **Food Insecurity in the World**

Hunger is a problem that affects individuals, however, large amounts of hunger in turn pose a threat to the security of the global community. Hunger is a condition of physical pain felt because an individual does not consume enough nutrients. Hunger occurs when individuals do not have enough or any food stock to consume. When individuals do not have sufficient food reserves, adequate access to food sources, and lack the financial means to purchase food, they face food insecurity. Severe food insecurity leads to an individual suffering from hunger.

Food insecurity is a dangerous condition that poses a threat to an individual's health. Food insecurity, whether intermediate or acute, is equally worrisome because even someone experiencing intermediate levels of food insecurity has unstable access to food. They may

sacrifice their remaining material and material possessions to obtain food. The food they obtain may not be nutrient-rich, resulting in reduced nutrient absorption. Nutrient deficiencies cause the body to metabolize abnormally, resulting in decreased bodily functions and the onset of illness and even death.

The impact of nutritional deficiencies on individuals is that they become less productive compared to individuals with better food quality. Low productivity reduces people's ability to improve their quality of life. This then extends to the individual's low economic level, lack of access to health care, contribution to mortality, potential violence, and the country's low gross domestic product (GDP). Such high food insecurity can turn into a food crisis. The large number of countries experiencing food insecurity can impact global development and hinder the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Based on the above series of situations, it can be seen that food insecurity is one of the roots of the world's development problems. Problems that hinder world development can also pose a threat to global security. World development is difficult to realize if individual security such as guaranteed food supply has not been achieved. Similarly, the issue of food insecurity can be a threat to global security.

When it comes to food insecurity, conflict is the biggest factor disrupting food supply chains and hampering individuals' ability to access food. The current conflict between Russia and Ukraine poses a threat to the world's food supply. Before the two countries came into conflict, hunger and food insecurity levels in the world were already at their highest. By 2020, the number of individuals lacking access to adequate food increased from 320 million to 2.37 billion (Knorr-Evans, 2022). Global food insecurity prior to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict was already at a high level due to high prices of fertilizers and energy. The situation was further worsened by the COVID-19 pandemic followed by the Russia Ukraine war.

### **The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on World Food Insecurity**

A report by the Food Agricultural Organization (FAO) predicts that the global food crisis will reach a level unprecedented in modern times. Compared to 2019, the number of individuals facing acute food insecurity increased from 135 million to 345 million. Meanwhile, 49 million people in 49 countries around the world are on the brink of hunger (World Food Programme, 2022). When associated with the current global context, food insecurity has reached the level of a food crisis. This statement was made with reference to the Global Network Against Food Crises report (2022 ) which defines a food crisis as generally triggered by a shock or a combination of a number of shocks that affect one of the dimensions of food security, including food availability, food access, food utilization, or food stability. Meanwhile, according to the World Food Program (WFP), the food crisis that has occurred in recent years is caused by 4 main factors, namely conflict, climate change, COVID-19, and inflation. Conflict plays the biggest role in famine because 60 percent of the world's hungry people come from conflict and violence-prone areas.

The issue of world food insecurity due to the Russian and Ukrainian war is a manifestation of efforts to securitize food issues. Referring to Buzan, Waever, & Wilde (1998), there are efforts by world leaders to conduct speech acts or articulations on food issues. Food issues that are issues in the realm of low politics are raised to the discourse of international negotiations and the attention of international organizations, such as the UN and FAO, which makes the issue enter the level of high politics. The speech act efforts of world leaders can be seen from the narrative about the importance of attention to food security threats due to the Russian-Ukrainian war delivered by FAO member countries on June 13–17, 2022. In the 170th meeting, FAO emphasized that the world had been hit by food insecurity since before the war due to high prices of food, energy and fertilizer. There are at least 50 countries that depend on wheat imports from Russia and Ukraine to fulfill 30 percent of their domestic needs. The FAO considers that the war will have many impacts on the global market, especially for developing countries (FAO, 2022b). Furthermore, FAO in its report also said that if the conflict expands and continues, it will increase pressure on food security. This pressure will continue until food from the next harvest is available in the summer (FAO, 2022c).

FAO's statement regarding the negative impact of the Russian and Ukrainian wars on the global food market is a form of framing regarding food threats due to the Russian and Ukrainian wars which are seen as an existential threat to the world. Predictions about food security conditions in a certain period of time mentioned by FAO are a form of speech act in the context of securitization of food barriers due to the Russian and Ukrainian wars.

FAO is a securitization actor because it is an international organization that has an agenda to eradicate hunger. The speech act was delivered at the 170th meeting which then the results of the meeting were summarized in an open report that could be accessed by the public. This is a way for FAO to raise public attention. Furthermore, as an effort to tackle this food problem, FAO sent humanitarian assistance to Ukraine in the form of money, direct support for spring vegetable planting, as well as planning broader support for small and medium scale farmers to secure cereal and livestock production and support supply chains (FAO, 2022b). This assistance is an extraordinary measure from FAO.

Further, securitization is carried out by the UN through Secretary-General Antonio Guterres as a securitization actor. Antonio Guterres at the UN Ministerial Conference on food security on June 24, 2022 said that the war in Ukraine has compounded the disruptions that have occurred in previous years, such as climate change, COVID-19, and inequality. The Russian-Ukrainian war has resulted in an "unprecedented global hunger crisis" that has affected hundreds of millions of people in the world. This statement is a speech act that contains a narrative about the existential threat in the form of food threats due to the Russia-Ukraine war is very serious for the world. The speech is delivered at the UN Ministerial Conference meeting so that the message is directly conveyed to the delegate countries as the target audience of the speech act.

Then, Antonio Guterres took extraordinary measures by saying that "a dangerous situation could turn into a catastrophe", unless immediate action was taken (Gunerigok, 2022). This statement is a call to delegate countries, as the audience, to collectively take actions that can protect their respective countries from the food crisis.

Efforts to mobilize food security issues by FAO and UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, through speech acts have received positive responses from their audiences. In this case, countries in the world are the target audience who are expected to support the speech act. Joko Widodo in his opening speech of the G20 Summit in Bali in November 2022 conveyed the potential for the crisis to worsen in the next year as a result of food and fertilizer shortages. He also expressed the need to take immediate action to provide fertilizers at affordable prices or else 2023 will be worse. This is because fertilizers are the determinant of agricultural products and a stagnant fertilizer supply will affect food supply. Ultimately, continued food bottlenecks will lead to a food crisis (Hakim, 2022).

Among the four dimensions supporting food security, the war between Russia and Ukraine has caused disruptions to the fulfillment of accessibility and availability points. Russia and Ukraine, both suppliers of food and agricultural materials, hampered global food supply. Ukraine's exports of top agricultural commodities dropped significantly by almost 50% after the Russian aggression, from 19.5 million tons in the previous year to just 10 million tons in the same period this year. The decline in wheat commodities also decreased from 86 million tons in 2021 to around 50 million tons only in 2022. Ideally, in normal times, Ukraine's food exports could feed 400 million people (Reuters, 2022). In addition, although Russia's food export disruptions are not as significant as Ukraine's, the economic sanctions the country has received could also hamper the supply of food and agricultural materials (OECD, 2022). As many as 50 countries that depend on food imports from Russia and Ukraine are threatened with acute food insecurity.

The Russian and Ukrainian wars are impacting the domestic security of partner countries that rely on imports from them. While some countries are not significantly negatively impacted, they remain vulnerable to food insecurity. For example, Egypt is a major destination for Ukrainian wheat exports. Egypt relies on imports for 12 million tons of its total annual consumption of 20 million tons. Egyptian authorities claim that the country is not too bothered by import barriers from Ukraine as they are starting to work towards self-sufficiency in wheat (Mahmoud, 2022). However, the self-sufficiency effort was accompanied by an increase in the selling price of wheat from local farmers to the government as an intensive measure.

This is something to watch out for as it could increase the domestic selling price of wheat. In addition, the Egyptian government continues to request emergency funding for food security and resilience from the World Bank amounting to US\$ 500 million. This shows that the food crisis caused by the Russian-Ukrainian war also has an impact on the increasing foreign debt of the affected countries. Indonesia and Bangladesh, as Ukraine's largest importers, were not significantly impacted by Ukraine's wheat bottleneck. This is because both countries

diversified their wheat importing countries (Mcbeth, J., 2022; Mamun, Glauber, & Laborde, 2022).

Another country example is Bangladesh. Although not disrupted in the wheat commodity, Bangladesh is experiencing obstacles in meeting its domestic oil food needs. This is because the Russia Ukraine war also disrupted the world's palm oil supply due to Indonesia imposing export restrictions after the Russia Ukraine war. As a result, Bangladesh's imports, such as corn, were hampered, so the Bangladeshi government had to raise the prices of its domestic staples due to rising global vegetable oil and corn prices (Mamun, Glauber, & Laborde, 2022).

The Russia Ukraine war also impacted global fertilizer prices. Fertilizers are chemicals that support agricultural production. The rising price of fertilizers will certainly increase food prices. Fertilizer prices in North America increased significantly due to European producers who were their main fertilizer suppliers ceasing operations. In addition, the high demand for food grains in the United States due to the shift of the global market from Ukraine to the United States has also increased the price of agricultural products (Elkin, 2022). As a result, food prices in the United States have risen (VOA, 2022).

After almost two years since the war began, the impact of the Russia and Ukraine war to the food supply chain is still happening. The war has restricted external food supplies flow of 279 countries with varying degrees. Around 24 countries among it, facing the most vulnerable food insecurity due to the high dependent on food imports from Russia and Ukraine, mainly Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Mongolia. On the other hand, supply chain in of agriculture sector, which is fertilizers, to 136 countries, particularly Estonia (potassic fertilizer), Mongolia (nitrogenous fertilizers), Kazakhstan (mixed fertilizers), and Brazil, the United States, China, and India (all types of fertilizers). is also disrupted. An integrated assessment of countries' import types, purchasing power parity per capita, and populations indicated that the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Pakistan are most vulnerable to such supply disruptions (Zhang, Abdullah, & et al, 2023).

Conflicts, wherever they are, can affect food access, at least for the local people in the conflict zone. But it will also be impactful if the conflict happens in the food-bundant areas. The current food insecurity arises because of the sudden and drastic decline of food production from Russia and Ukraine. The decreased production becomes a shock that reduces the availability and access to food grains, domestic food production, food prices, and household incomes globally. Reducing external food supplies and developing domestic food resilience are indispensable in order to alleviate the food disruption. Affected countries also must keep on attempting and ensuring the continuity of the Grain Deal to maintain the world's food supply availability.

## **CONCLUSION**

Food insecurity is a threat to global security. Food insecurity is a condition when efforts to achieve food security for an individual are disrupted. Food insecurity becomes a global security issue through a securitization process. There are securitization actors, in this case FAO and Antonio Guterres, who framed the issue of food insecurity due to the Russian and Ukrainian wars as an existential threat. This effort is referred to as a speech act. Speech acts will be the justification for extraordinary measures taken to respond to threats. A successful speech act will get a positive response from audiences who have perceptions that are in line with the interests of securitization actors. The audience, in this case Indonesia, indirectly responded to the speech act of FAO and Antonio Guterres by inviting the delegates attending the G20 Summit to pay attention to the global food crisis that occurred. Indonesia even offered a solution in the form of cheap fertilizer procurement to overcome the global food crisis.

Large amounts of food insecurity can undermine global food security because food insecurity can reduce the productivity of people in a region. When accumulated, these conditions can reduce the country's GDP and hamper the country's competitiveness and hinder the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. The food insecurity caused by the war in Russia and Ukraine has also affected the price of goods in a number of countries. The interruption of supplies from Russia and Ukraine disrupts the supply chain of food commodities and other agricultural products. As a result, the prices of these other types of products have increased. Food insecurity can even have an indirect impact on the country's foreign debt.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Angelia, D. (2022). *5 Produk Pertanian Ukraina dengan Produksi Terbanyak 2021*. Retrieved from Goodstats.id: <https://goodstats.id/article/5-produk-pertanian-ukraina-dengan-produksi-terbanyak-2021-fvYpC>.
- Bisnis.com. (2022). *Isu Krisis Pangan Jadi Sorotan Pemimpin Negara di KTT G20*. Retrieved from Bisnis.com: <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20221116/99/1598763/isu-krisis-pangan-jadi-sorotan-pemimpin-negara-di-ktt-g20>
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods Fourth edition*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Buzan, B., & Lene, H. (2009). The point of securitization is to process an issue into a security discourse. In & H. B. Buzan, *THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES* (pp. 187-224). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buzan, B., Waever, O., & Wilde, J. (1998). *Security A New Framework For Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- CNN Indonesia. (2023). *Rusia Tarik Diri dari Perjanjian Ekspor Gandum*. Retrieved from CNN Indonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20230718031952-92-974645/rusia-tarik-diri-dari-perjanjian-ekspor-gandum>
- Does, A. (2013). *The Construction of the Maras : Between Politicization and Securitization*. Graduate Institute Publications. doi:10.4000/books.iheid.716
- Duggal, H., & Haddad, M. (2022). *Infographic: Russia, Ukraine and the global wheat supply*. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/17/infographic-russia-ukraine-and-the-global-wheat-supply-interactive>

- Elkin, I. (2022). *Fertilizer Costs are Surging Again Just as US Farmers Look to Buy*. Retrieved from Bloomberg: <https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/fertilizer-costs-are-surging-again-just-as-us-farmers-look-to-buy-1.1814103>
- Emmers, R. (2016). Securitization. In A. Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 131-146). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eroukhanoff, C. (2017). Securitisation Theory. In S. Mcglinchey, & e. al, *International Relations Theory* (pp. 104-109). Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing.
- Evans, T., & Thomas, C. (2017). Poverty, hunger, and development. In J. Baylis, S. Smith, & P. Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics An Introduction to International Relations Second International Edition* (pp. 292-306).
- FAO. (2002). *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2001*. Retrieved from <https://www.fao.org/documents/card/es?details=62e4c9ae-f1e7-508e-8207-ff283a65d9ec>
- FAO. (2008). *An Introduction to the Basic Concepts of Food Security*. Retrieved from [www.foodsec.org/docs/concepts\\_guide.pdf](http://www.foodsec.org/docs/concepts_guide.pdf)
- FAO. (2022). *THE IMPORTANCE OF UKRAINE AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION FOR GLOBAL AGRICULTURAL MARKETS AND THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH THE WAR IN UKRAINE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY*. Retrieved from FAO: <https://www.fao.org/3/cb9013en/cb9013en.pdf>
- FAO. (2022b). *Hunger and food insecurity*. Retrieved from FAO: <https://www.fao.org/hunger/en/#:~:text=A%20person%20is%20food%20insecure,at%20different%20levels%20of%20severity>
- FAO. (2022c). *Impact of the Ukraine-Russia conflict on global food security and related matters under the mandate of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)*. Retrieved from FAO: <https://www.fao.org/3/nj164en/nj164en.pdf>
- Global Network Against Food Crises. (2022). *2022 Global Report on Food Crises Joint Analysis for Better Decisions Mid-Year Update*. Retrieved from Food Security Information Network: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/global-report-food-crises-2022-mid-year>
- Global Network Against Food Crises. (2022). *2022 Global Report on Food Crises Joint Analysis for Better Decisions Mid-Year Update*. Retrieved from Food Security Information Network: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/global-report-food-crises-2022-mid-year-update>
- Gunerigok, S. (2022). *UN chief warns of 'unprecedented global hunger crisis'*. Retrieved from Anadolu Agency: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/un-chief-warns-of-unprecedented-global-hunger-crisis-/2622122>
- Hakim, A. R. (2022). *Jokowi: G20 Harus Berhasil Atasi Krisis Pangan Dunia, Tidak Boleh Gagal*. Retrieved from Liputan6: <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/5125784/jokowi-g20-harus-berhasil-atasi-krisis-pangan-dunia-tidak-boleh-gagal>
- Hamaide, S. D., & Trompiz, G. (2023). *Explainer: Have Western sanctions on Russia impacted its wheat exports?* Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/have-western-sanctions-russia-impacted-its-wheat-exports-2023-05-11/#:~:text=HAS%20THE%20WEST%20SANCTIONED%20RUSSIAN,ship%20grains%20and%20arrange%20payments>
- Hassen, T. B., & El Bilali, H. (2022). Impacts of the Russia-Ukraine War on Global Food Security: Towards More Sustainable and Resilient Food Systems? *Foods*, 11(15). doi:<https://doi.org/10.3390/foods11152301>
- Knorr-Evans, M. (2022). *Global wheat production: How will the Russia-Ukraine war impact food exports?* Retrieved from As: [https://en.as.com/latest\\_news/global-wheat-production-how-will-the-russia-ukraine-war-impact-food-exports-n/](https://en.as.com/latest_news/global-wheat-production-how-will-the-russia-ukraine-war-impact-food-exports-n/)

- Lakhal, N. (2022). Global food security is threatened by the Russia-Ukraine conflict. *Journal of Studies in Economics and Management*, 05(02), 796-808. Retrieved from <https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/downArticle/635/5/2/206464>
- Lin, F., & et al. (2023). The impact of Russia-Ukraine conflict on global food security. *Global Food Security*, 36, 100661. Retrieved from <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S221>
- Mahmoud, R. (2022). *Egypt claims wheat self-sufficiency despite Ukraine war*. Retrieved from Al Monitor: <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2022/10/egypt-claims-wheat-self-sufficiency-despite-ukraine-war>
- Mamun, A., Glauber, J., & Laborde, D. (2022). *How the War in Ukraine Threatens Bangladesh's Food Security*. Retrieved from Agrilinks: <https://agrilinks.org/post/how-war-ukraine-threatens-bangladeshs-food-security>
- Martin-Shields, C. P., & Stojet, W. (2018). Food security and conflict: Empirical challenges and future opportunities for research and policy making on food security and conflict. *World Development*, 1-15. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/j.world](https://sci-hub.se/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.world)
- McBeth, J. (2022). *Indonesia averts a Ukraine war noodle crisis*. Retrieved from Asia Times: <https://asiatimes.com/2022/08/ukraine-puts-indonesia-on-brink-of-a-noodle-crisis/>
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods : qualitative and quantitative approaches (Ed. 7th)*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- OECD. (2020). *Wheat*. Retrieved from <https://oec.world/en/profile/hs/wheat?yearSelector1=tradeYear2&cumulativeMarketShareSelected=share>
- OECD. (2022). *The impacts and policy implications of Russia's aggression against Ukraine on agricultural markets*. Retrieved from OECD: <https://www.oecd.org/ukraine-hub/policy-responses/the-impacts-and-policy-implications-of-russia-s-aggression-against-ukraine-on-agricultural-markets-0030a4cd/>
- Özcan, S. (2013). SECURITIZATION OF ENERGY THROUGH THE LENSES OF COPENHAGEN SCHOOL. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(2), 52-72.
- Pahlevi, R. (2022). *Selain Gandum dan Serelia, Rusia Juga Pemasok Pupuk Terbesar di Dunia*. Retrieved from Databoks: <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2022/03/15/selain-gandum-dan-serelia-rusia-juga-pemasok-pupuk-terbesar-di-dunia>
- Pinstrup-Andersen, P. (2009). Food security: definition and measurement. *Food Security*, 1(1), 5-7. Retrieved from Food Security: 10.1007/s12571-008-0002-y
- Reuters. (2022). *Ukraine's key food exports have fallen by almost half since Russian war*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/markets/europe/ukraines-key-food-exports-have-fallen-by-almost-half-since-russian-war-2022-08-23/>
- Shahbandeh, M. (2023). *Total wheat consumption worldwide from 2017/2018 to 2022/2023*. Retrieved from Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1094056/total-global-rice-consumption/>
- Stober, E. O. (2022). The Hunger Games: Weaponizing. *Food THE MARKET FOR IDEAS(37)*. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/364030730\\_The\\_Hunger\\_Games\\_Weaponizing\\_Food](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/364030730_The_Hunger_Games_Weaponizing_Food)
- Tsukanov, I. (2023). *What is the Black Sea Grain Deal? Everything You Need to Know*. Retrieved from Sputnik: <https://sputnikglobe.com/20230717/what-is-the-ukraine-grain-deal-everything-you-need-to-know-1111913789.html>
- United Nations. (2022). *Act together now, to prevent 'raging food catastrophe' next year: Guterres*. Retrieved from United Nations: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/11/1130607>
- USDA. (2023). *Russia Grain and Oilseed Exports Expand*. Retrieved from USDA: <https://www.fas.usda.gov/data/russia-grain-and-oilseed-exports-expand>
- VOA. (2022). *Harga Makanan Meningkat Jelang Thanksgiving di AS*. Retrieved from VOA: <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/harga-makanan-meningkat-jelang-thanksgiving-di-as/6838922.html>

- World Food Programme. (2022). *A global food crisis*. Retrieved from <https://www.wfp.org/global-hunger-crisis#:~:text=2022%3A%20a%20year%20of%20unprecedented%20hunger&text=As%20many%20as%20828%20million,on%20the%20edge%20of%20famine>
- World Grain.com. (2023). *Sanctions weighing on Russia's grain industry*. Retrieved from World Grain.com: <https://www.world-grain.com/articles/18379-sanctions-weighing-on-russias-grain-industry>
- Yakovlev, V. A., & Alexseev, S. P. (2022). IOP Conf. Ser.: Earth Environ. *Development of the food system in Russia and its role in the global food system*(1112).
- Zhang, Z., Abdullah, M. J., & et al. (2023). Countries' vulnerability to food supply disruptions caused by the Russia–Ukraine war from a trade dependency perspective. *Sci Rep*, *13*(16591). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-023-43883-4>