

COVID-19 as an International Security Threat

COVID-19 como una amenaza a la
seguridad internacional

Gustavo Villacreses y Bernarda Carrera*

Abstract

After the Cold War, a transition occurred in the international relations paradigm; it was necessary to redefine what was considered a threat to international security. As a result, human security doctrine was established, and suggested that the international security agenda should focus on people and their needs, rather than the state's. In the globalized and interrelated world we live nowadays, infectious diseases spread rapidly, and their consequences can be catastrophic. Hence, pandemics should be considered as an international security threat. This paper aims to examine the COVID-19 pandemic as such. We discuss the change from international security towards human security; health security as a theoretical framework; the evolution of COVID-19 in the context of modern international security paradigm and international health security enforcement; and the securitization of the pandemic. As result, based on the evidence presented, it is clear that COVID-19 has a severe effect on the international community, affecting both human lives and the global economy. Consequently, COVID-19 has been securitized; and needs to be internationally addressed to serve as a precedent for future health security threats.

Keywords:

COVID-19, pandemic, international security, human security, health security, securitization, politicization

Resumen

Después de la Guerra Fría se produjo una transición en el paradigma de las relaciones internacionales, entonces fue necesario redefinir lo que se consideraba una amenaza para la seguridad internacional. Como resultado, se estableció la doctrina de la seguridad humana, que sugiere que la agenda de seguridad internacional debería centrarse en las personas y sus necesidades, más que en los Estados. En el mundo globalizado e interrelacionado que vivimos hoy en día, las enfermedades infecciosas se propagan rápidamente y sus consecuencias pueden ser catastróficas. Por lo tanto, las pandemias deben considerarse una amenaza para la seguridad internacional. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo examinar la pandemia del COVID 19 como aquello. Discutimos el desarrollo de la seguridad internacional hacia la seguridad humana; la seguridad sanitaria como marco teórico; la evolución de la actual pandemia en el contexto del paradigma moderno de seguridad internacional y la aplicación de la seguridad sanitaria internacional; y, la securitización de la pandemia. Como resultado, con base en la evidencia presentada, es claro que el COVID 19 tiene un efecto severo en la comunidad internacional, tanto en vidas humanas como en la economía global, y ha sido securitizada. Como consecuencia, esta debe ser abordada con enfoque internacional y servir como un precedente para futuras amenazas a la seguridad sanitaria.

Palabras clave:

COVID-19, pandemia, seguridad internacional, seguridad humana, seguridad sanitaria, securitización, politización

Introduction

In the year 2020, COVID 19 was severely affecting the whole globe, taking millions of lives, and causing a recession on the world's economy. However, is it worrying enough to be considered as an international security threat (IST)? This paper sustains that the COVID 19 pandemic should be seen and treated as such. To uphold this statement, and after contextualizing the issue, first we will explore the change from international security (IS) towards a human security paradigm; second, health security as a theoretical framework; third, the evolution of the pandemic in context of modern IS paradigm and international health security enforcement; and finally, the securitization of the pandemic. We conclude that, since the international community must see health security issues as an IST, it should also prepare all international institutions to face new pandemics effectively.

1. Contextualization of the issue

Following the Cold War, a transition on international relations paradigm occurred. Thus, it was necessary to redefine what was considered a threat to IS. In the post-Cold War era, new phenomena with potentially global effects appeared, such as organized crime, drug trafficking, natural disasters, and environmental problems (Astié-Burgos 2014, 143). Additionally, major international issues were displaced from an East-West to a North-South axis, since many of the threats described no longer had a State character, but rather a root cause in poverty and marginalization (Thomas 2003, 211). As a result, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) proposed the novel concept of human security, through which it was suggested that the IS agenda should focus on people and their needs (Astié-Burgos 2014, 147) rather than States.

In the past and in our modern world, infectious diseases represent a serious threat to national security. In developed countries, a high contagion rate can collapse health systems and cause massive casualties in the labor force (Hidalgo 2014, 4). Likewise, limited traffic of goods and people, a consequence of the severity of the imposed containment measures, can cause economic impacts even more serious than the disease

itself (Mansour and Salem 2020, 2). As a result, scarce resources can lead to a political crisis and destabilization of the State (Bragatti and Telarolli de Almeida 2020, 108). On the other hand, for developing countries, this situation could be further aggravated by the scarcity of resources to fight the disease (Hidalgo 2014, 4). Social destabilization can lead to violence, and even lead to conflict (Schaffer 2018, 45). For these reasons, national security strategies address how the pandemic is managed, as they affect health, economy, and the state's stability (Hidalgo 2014, 4). Consequently, action is needed both within the country and abroad.

In the globalized and interrelated world we live nowadays, infectious diseases spread rapidly, and their consequences can be catastrophic. The most remarkable example is the COVID-19 pandemic, since it affects national and international security (Wenham 2020, 2). As a result, a pandemic constitutes a shared responsibility among the international community (Taniguchi and Morales-Castro 2020, n.p.). Additionally, it could be used as a justification for decision making and actions exempt from the ordinary political process, meaning securitization (Bernard, Bowsher and Sullivan 2020, 1783). Nevertheless, it could be managed through international efforts under the novel concept of human security (Stoeva 2020, 3).

2. From international security toward human security

Despite its antiquity in the social science arena, "security" is an elusive object of study because it cannot be objectively defined. Its content varies according to the era, the actors involved, and the interests of those who use the term (Manciu 2019, 85). For example, in medieval times, the mere existence of another religion in the holy territory was a sufficient motive for a group to feel threatened and go to war; however, such justification for war is inapplicable in our modern times (Kržalić and Korajlić 2018, 256). Traditionally, security has been understood as the protection against any threat to the classic unity of social, political, and legal organization in the international community, meaning the State. In this realistic tradition, the primary focus has been political and military, with the main and perhaps only threat: war, since it endangers the self-determination of States (Silva and Pereira 2019, 210). Therefore, the fun-

damental mean for achieving security has been through military force (Dannreuther 2013, 32). Based on last century's war experiences, and in relation to the state's individualistic perspective on obtaining security; the States have reached a consensus on the need to achieve peace and friendly coexistence (Oliveira Baccharini 2018, 107). As a result, a collective security system, the United Nations Security Council, was developed, and security took an international nature towards the global community (Mishra 2007, 146).

Therefore, this new vision was embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Since then and until a few decades ago, the United Nations objectives were focused on global stability and effective international cooperation (Manciu 2019, 83). However, due to the impact of human and society's development, traditional threats (i.e., war) have been joined by others of greater complexity. These threats are characterized by the fact that they go beyond territorial limits and legal regimes, for example, cyber warfare (Robinson, Jones, and Janicke 2015, 10). Additionally, they cannot be effectively dealt with by States individually or as a group. They undoubtedly represent new frontiers for international action.

Firstly, these threats involve not only the rebellious participation of States against international cooperation (e.g., inter-State conflicts or the development of weapons of mass destruction), but also the entry of new belligerent actors (e.g., transnational crime, intra-State conflicts, and terrorism) (Manciu 2019, 83). As a result, the paradigm of the traditional theory of security suffered three transitions: from State security to collective and individual security, from national security to biospheric security, and from State responsibility to a diffused responsibility at all levels of public and private human organizations. Afterwards, a series of phenomena were recognized as a threat to human security, such as climate change, natural disasters, poverty, infectious diseases, and environmental resources reduction (ibid). Based on this recognition, security encompasses seven focuses: economic, food, environmental, personal, community, political, and health. As a result of this contemporary approach, human security doctrine was established, and from then on, every threat to "freedom from fear, from misery, and from life with dig-

nity” is considered a threat to IS (Estrada 2016, 374). From such a broad vision, it has come to be stated that any phenomenon related to human existence can be the content of security depending on the political decisions taken by those responsible for providing it. This phenomenon is called securitization.

With the contemporary distancing from realistic theory towards a more flexible vision regarding threats to the IS and human rights, an issue related to people’s rights can adopt three levels: non-politicization, politicization, or securitization (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998, 15). In the first scenario, the issue is not addressed by the State or anyone in its sphere of influence. In the second, the issue is addressed by the State and is a subject of the public policy agenda. Finally, in the last scenario, the issue is considered a real and direct threat to the security of citizens and therefore requires urgent action. Securitization justifies decision making and action exempt from the ordinary political process.

However, how can we define to what level a security issue is addressed? This will depend on the social construction of that issue. In turn, the social opinion that builds the issue to some degree of importance is constructed from the approach taken by the agents or authorities responsible for security at all levels (Villa and Santos 2011, 117). In the securitization model, three elements intervene: the referential object, the securitizing agent, and the functional actor. The referential object is represented by the protected good, that is under threat. The second is the subject that gives relevance to the issue as a security issue, hence justifying the temporary suspension of political boundaries. The last one implements the measures to confront the threat. Nevertheless, this process’s key dimensions is that, as a conclusion to the emergency, the reaction falls outside the conventional political process, with exceptional means and beyond the ordinary public policy rules. The justification for this is the protection of the citizens. This reaction is carried out in a three-step process: identification of the existential threat, legitimization of the temporary suspension of political boundaries, and execution of the emergency measures (Silva and Pereira 2019, 211).

Finally, the opposing doctrine holds that the best way to address a se-

curity issue is through desecuritization, which in Hanrieder and Kreuder-Sonnen (2020) terms means maintaining the security issue at a political level. However, the discussion of the best approach will depend on analyzing the results of each strategy accomplished by the security authority and its interests. Furthermore, such processes can also occur within the new international human security threats, for example, health security.

3. The need for health security

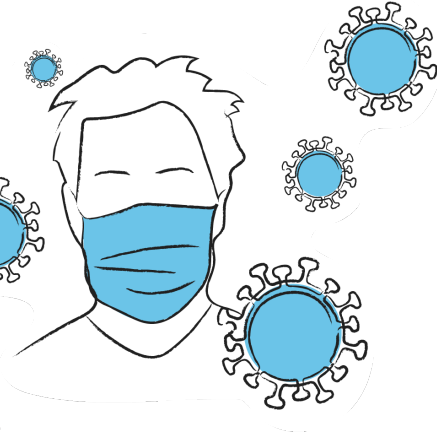
The concept of health security emerged during the First World War, following the side effects of warfare on health. The living conditions of soldiers during hostilities (i.e., the handling of dead and wounded, malnutrition, massive displacement, poor sanitary conditions, excess stress, lack of medical attention, etc.), unleashed strong pandemics that could be more lethal than the enemy itself (Astié-Burgos 2014, 151). For example, the Spanish influenza wiped out more than fifty million people (Manciu 2019, 83). Since then, it is clear that a remarkably close link connects health and security, and several nations have addressed pandemics as a threat (Sirleaf 2018a, 480; Stoian 2018, 159). For example, between 1990 and 2000 the Central Intelligence Agency of USA (CIA) recognized that infectious diseases, exacerbated by globalization (i.e., pandemics), were a threat to national security, international stability, and global economic growth (Astié-Burgos 2014, 152). A pandemic has been traditionally defined as “[...] a widespread epidemic of contagious disease throughout the whole of a country or one or more continents at the same time” (Hohnsbaum 2009, 1939). Examples of historically recorded pandemics are Spanish flu (H1N1) in 1918, H2N2 in 1957, Hong Kong flu (H3N2) in 1968, and Swine flu (H1N1) in 2009 (Chen and Yang 2018, S2228).

In this context, diplomacy for global health emerged in 1851 at the first International Health Conference (Astié-Burgos 2014, 161). At this conference, several European nations met to create cooperative mechanisms to combat pandemics such as cholera, yellow fever, etc. (Sirleaf 2018b, 326). Since then, disease control became an issue for the global diplomatic agenda. As a result, several similar meetings have been held, international treaties negotiated, international cooperation intensified,

and multilateral institutions created (Astié-Burgos 2014, 162). All these efforts led to the creation of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1948. Finally, in 2001 the WHO approved resolution WHA54.14 on “Global Health Security” focusing on epidemic and alert response (Fifty-Fourth World Health Assembly 2001). Such document addresses the phenomenon of globalization of infectious diseases; since nowadays the high population mobilization worldwide has given even more potential to possible pandemics to affect and unbalance peace and IS (Brousselle et al. 2020, 17).

As an example of this situation, only 8 months after the new Ebola outbreak in Africa, the WHO declared the epidemic as a global health emergency, alerting the consequences of the virus and its danger to the public health of other States (Hidalgo 2014, 2); resulting in the first United Nations health mission. Similarly, in 2014, the United States,

along with 26 nations, the WHO, the World Bank, and more international agencies, launched the “Global Health Security Agenda” aiming to create a safe and secure world from the threats of infectious disease (Gostin 2019, 274). This agenda is based on three pillars: prevention, immediate detection anywhere in the world, and rapid and effective response to avoid damage (Hidalgo 2014, 8). All of these require



adequate international coordination and communication. As a result, recent global efforts demonstrate that international health is a shared responsibility, as no country can protect itself from threats emanating from infectious diseases alone (Fox 2017, 1217; Saifullah and Ahmad 2020, 51; Wilson 2015, 15). Consequently, the prevention and management of pandemics is also a shared responsibility, as they are an international threat that, regardless of where they occur, thanks to globalization and international interdependence, can affect the health, stability, and

economy of the whole world (Lo 2020, 17). This is the case of the recent pandemic COVID-19.

4. COVID-19, a threat to humanity

Following the timeline of “WHO’s response to COVID-19”; in late December 2019, a cluster of cases of “pneumonia of unknown cause” were reported in Wuhan, China (WHO 2020). The WHO’s Country Office in China notified the International Health Regulations (IHR) about this viral condition. Until the first week of January 2020 there were no deaths linked to these cases. By the next week, Chinese authorities announced that a novel coronavirus caused the outbreak.

On January 16, the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) issued its first epidemiological alert on the novel coronavirus. By January 30th, one month after the first reported case, there were 98 cases in 18 countries outside China. Afterwards, the IHR declared the novel coronavirus outbreak a health emergency of international concern (PHEIC). In the first week of February, there were almost 200 cases worldwide, and the WHO Director-General asked the UN Secretary-General to activate the UN crisis management policy. On March 11, the WHO recognized COVID-19 as a pandemic, because “[it] was not just a public health crisis but one that would touch every sector [and calling] for countries to take a whole-of-government, whole-of-society approach, built around a comprehensive strategy to prevent infections, save lives, and minimize impact” (WHO 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has various bearings; first of all, its numerous deaths. At the date of writing (November 3, 2020), 47,093,222 cases of COVID-19 have been reported worldwide and 1,207,290 deaths due to such disease (European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control 2020, n.p.). Furthermore, the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME) projects that by the 1st of March 2022, there will be 2,757,830 COVID-19 deaths (2020, n.p.). Secondly, there are also economic costs related to the health caring of infected people. Additionally, there is the economic collateral damage of countries that “imposed tight restrictions on movement to halt the spread of the virus” (The World Bank 2020). Such

restrictions resulted in “[t]he baselines (*sic*) forecast envisions a 5.2 percent contraction in global GDP in 2020” (ibid) and an estimated loss of at least US \$220 billion in developing countries (UNCTAD 2020, n.p.). There are many more collateral effects, such as in education, international trade, politics, and others (Otto 2020, 30; Chaisse 2020, 101; Humble 2020, 394). Bearing in mind this data and the impact of the global health challenge, COVID-19 could be understood as a “reminder of the prime importance of the health of populations for sustaining the political, economic, and social health of the nation-State” (Daoudi 2020, 2). It is clear that the well-being of communities worldwide is fragmented, the global responsibility to protect the right to health for all is not accomplished, and the silent enemy is still around us.

Hence, why should COVID-19 be considered an IST now? The answer is simple: because it was not considered before.

The lack of a centralized and common response to the pandemic, as governments turned inwards to manage their internal health and governance crises, declaring war on COVID-19, has been marked by the depth of economic and geopolitical disparities underpinning the global order (Daoudi 2020, 3).

The international community did not pay immediate attention to the evolution of the pandemic (Koblentz and Hunzeker 2020, n.p.). Taking into consideration, it took 7 months for the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution (i.e. Resolution 2532) that recognized the dangers of COVID-19 for international peace and security (United Nations Security Council 2020, n.p.). Additionally, nation-States still looked at themselves as individuals of a global neighborhood instead of a united global community with millions of human lives trusting in their quick and, most of all, coordinated answer. Finally, national sovereignty has been key to politicization and securitization of COVID-19.

It is necessary to recognize that governments are between a rock and a hard place. On one side, they can impose extreme measures to stop the virus's reproduction rate, but at the risk of alienating the population and suspending economic life (Daoudi 2020, 8). On the other, they can prio-

ritize economic recovery with less drastic restrictions, but at the risk of a worse health crisis and a subsequent social stability breakdown. This represents a hard both health and economic decision. Only one possible option seems available: take both ways, in balance. However, another big decision (diminished before) should be considered: global health should be treated, now on in this new normality, as an international community affair.

In this way, not only future pandemics could be avoided, but also politicization and securitization. In addition to the previous pandemics, simulations of these events were popular since 2001 (O'Toole, Michael, and Inglesby 2002, 972), given that authorities knew about the lack of efficient response without international coordination. Clade X in 2018, and Crimson Contagion in 2019 are two of the many simulations that demonstrated we were not prepared to face a pandemic (ibid). These simulations called out our national and international institutions; since they were not strong enough to manage such an event.

5. The Securitization of COVID-19

In this context, has the current COVID-19 pandemic been securitized by the international community?

As for the first step of securitization, identifying the threat, the WHO declared COVID 19 a pandemic in March 2020. In addition, experts from the International Monetary Fund stated in a report that the pandemic is a crisis like no other, and they textually referred to it “as if it were a war” (Dell’Ariccia et al. 2020, n.p.). Additionally, the United Nations Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, compared the crisis as the most challenging “since World War II” (United Nations Secretary-General, 2020). Therefore, it is clear that the threat of COVID 19 has been identified.

Regarding the second step, which takes in consideration high caliber decisions, we can appreciate its verification due to the establishment of states of emergency in several nations around the globe (As English 2020, n.p.). Only through a state of emergency can the executive power suspend different rights (i.e., civil liberties), such as the right to mobi-

lize or associate (Luscombe and McClelland 2020, 1; Mykhalovskiy and French 2020, 6). This is currently happening in nations which established a state of emergency, such as Ecuador, Italy, Spain, and others, or even in countries with less harmful measures such as the suspension of large-scale events (International Monetary Fund 2020, n.p.). As a result, whether the responses of different governments to the pandemic were more or less strict, it is clear that the temporary suspension of political limits has been legitimized, being such limit the state's obligation to respect citizen's rights and not suspend them.

Finally, concerning the third step, the implementation of emergency measures, it can be seen how several States have responded to the pandemic using the military, as they would with war. For example, under the state of emergency, military forces and State resources have been mobilized, rights have been suspended on the grounds of combating the pandemic, and both intra- and interstate borders have been closed (International Monetary Fund 2020, n.p.). These measures generate distrust and hostility between neighboring countries. Additionally, nations as Peru and the Philippines have taken disproportionate human rights measures, such as imprisoning and even killing citizens who violate quarantine measures (Aljazeera 2020, n.p.). Thus, based on the evidence presented, it is clear that the COVID-19 pandemic has been securitized by the international community.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to demonstrate that the COVID 19 pandemic is an IST; therefore, it has to be treated as such. It has been explained that IS transitioned from a traditional conception where States were protected from other States to a broader perspective where new actors appeared. Afterwards, new threats were considered, that affected not only States as an institution but rather the human being. As a result, such global threats shifted the international community focus from a State centered vision to a human security ideal. This new conception of security aimed to protect citizens, which are a common element in the entire international community. We no longer protect the States but humanity itself. One of the threats that can affect human security is the

issue of global health, hence, pandemics. A present case of this threat is COVID-19, a disease that has caused damage on human lives, world economics, and has been securitized. As a result, it is an IST, and its response should be faced in a coordinated manner by all States together. But above all, the present global suffering generated by COVID-19 should be a precedent for the international community and the basis for a preparation of all common institutions to face future sanitary threats to human security. However, this opens a new debate: what is the boundary in between protecting citizens from COVID-19, and protecting citizen's rights from the State?

References

- Aljazeera. 2020. "UN raises alarm about police brutality in COVID-19 lockdowns". Aljazeera. Access: September 23, 2020. <<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/4/28/un-raises-alarm-about-police-brutality-in-covid-19-lockdowns>>.
- As English. 2020. "Coronavirus: Which countries have declared state of emergency?". As English. Access: November 15, 2020. <https://en.as.com/en/2020/04/08/other_sports/1586370252_184109.html>.
- Astíe-Burgos, Walter. 2014. "Seguridad internacional y diplomacia para la salud global". *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, n. 102, pp. 141-171. <<https://revistadigital.sre.gob.mx/imagenes/stories/numeros/n102/astieburgos.pdf>>.
- Bernard, Rose, Bowsher, Gemma, and Sullivan, Richard. 2020. "COVID-19 and the Rise of Participatory SIGINT: An Examination of the Rise in Government Surveillance Through Mobile Applications". *American Journal of Public Health*, 110(12), pp. 1780-1785. <<https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2020.305912>>.
- Bragatti, Milton Carlos and Telarolli de Almeida Leite, Maria Luísa. 2020. "¿Por Qué Podríamos Enfrentarnos? Conflictos Internacionales Por Los Recursos y Seguridad Hídrica En Sudamérica". *Revista De Relaciones Internacionales, Estrategia y Seguridad*, Vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 99-114. Doi:10.18359/ries.4284
- Brousselle, Astrid; Brunet Jailly, Emmanuel; Kennedy, Christopher; Phillips, Susan D.; Quigley, Kevin; and Roberts, Alasdair. 2020. "Beyond COVID 19: Five commentaries on reimagining governance for future crises and resilience". *Canadian Public Administration*, 63(3), pp. 1-40. <<http://dx.doi.org.ezbiblio.usfq.edu.ec/10.1111/capa.12388>>.
- Buzan, Barry, Wæver, Ole and de Wilde, Jaap. 1998. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner.
- Chaisse, Julien. 2020. "Both possible and improbable could COVID-19 measures give rise to investor-state disputes?". *Contemporary Asia Arbitration Journal (CAA Journal)*, 13(1), pp. 99-184. <<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/caa-jl3&i=101>>.
- Chen, Ling and Yang, Zifeng. 2018. "One century after 1918 flu pandemic, an ultima-

- te solution remains pending...". *Journal of Thoracic Disease*. Vol 10, Suppl. 19, July 2018, S2228-S2229. doi:10.21037/jtd.2018.07.57.
- Dannreuther, Ronald. 2013. *International Security: The Contemporary Agenda*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Daoudi, Salma. 2020. "The War on COVID-19: The 9/11 of Health Security?". *Policy Center for the New South*, Policy Paper PP 20-06 (April 2020). <<https://www.policycenter.ma/sites/default/files/PP%20-%2020-06%20%28%20Salma%20Daoudi%20%29%20COVID-19.pdf>>.
- Dell'Araccia, Giovanni; Mauro, Paolo; Spilimbergo, Antonio; and Zettelmeyer, Jeromin. 2020. "Economic Policies for the COVID-19 War". *International Monetary Fund Blog*. Access: October 25, 2020. <<https://blogs.imf.org/2020/04/01/economic-policies-for-the-covid-19-war/>>.
- Estrada, Dorothy. 2016. "Seguridad Humana y Derecho Internacional Público". *Anuario Español de Derecho Internacional*, Vol. 32, pp. 373-404. DOI: 10.15581/010.32.373-404.
- European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control. 2020. "COVID-19 situation update worldwide, as of 3 November 2020". European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control: An agency of the European Union. Access: March 11, 2020. <<https://www.ecdc.europa.eu/en/geographical-distribution-2019-ncov-cases>>.
- Fifty-Fourth World Health Assembly. 2001. "Resolution WHA54.14. Global health security: epidemic alert and response". Fifty-Fourth World Health Assembly. Access: November 20, 2020. <https://apps.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/WHA54/ea54r14.pdf>.
- Fox, Jacqueline. 2017. "Zika and the failure to act under the police power". *Connecticut Law Review*, 49(4), pp. 1211-1270. <<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/conlr49&i=1245>>.
- Gostin, Lawrence O. 2019. "Global health security in an era of explosive pandemic potential". *Asian Journal of WTO and International Health Law and Policy*, 14(1), pp. 267-285. <<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/aihlp14&i=269>>.

- Hanrieder, Tine and Kreuder-Sonnen, Christian. "WHO Decides on the Exception? Securitization and Emergency Governance in Global Health". *Security Dialogue*, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 331-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26291745>.
- Hidalgo García, María del Mar. 2014. "Las pandemias y la seguridad internacional". *Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos*, 60/2014, pp. 1-9. http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/docs_analisis/2014/DIEEEA60-2014_Pandemias_MMHG.pdf.
- Honigsbaum, Mark. 2009. "Historical keyword Pandemic". *The Lancet*, vol. 373, issue 9679, 1939. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(09\)61053-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(09)61053-9).
- Humble, Mackenzie. 2020. "The treacherous landscape for foreign g-sibs: The IHC framework and financial stability". *Columbia Business Law Review*, 2020(1), pp. 336-395. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/colb2020&i=342>.
- Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation. 2020. "COVID-19 Projections". University of Washington. Access: November 29, 2020. <https://covid19.healthdata.org/global?view=social-distancing&tab=trend>.
- International Monetary Fund. 2020. "POLICY RESPONSES TO COVID-19". International Monetary Fund. Access: November 9, 2020. <https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/imf-and-covid19/Policy-Responses-to-COVID-19>.
- Koblentz, Gregory and Hunzeker, Michael. 2020. "National security in the age of pandemics". *Defense One*, April 3. Access: November 11, 2020. <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/04/national-security-age-pandemics/164365/>.
- Kržalić, Armin and Korajlić, Nedžad. 2018. "Terrorism as a Global Security Threat". *Journal of US-China Public Administration*, Vol. 15, No. 6, pp. 253-260.
- Lo, Chang-fa. 2020. "The Missing Operational Components of the IHR (2005) from the Experience of Handling the Outbreak of COVID-19: Precaution, Independence, Transparency and Universality". *Asian Journal of WTO and International Health Law and Policy*, vol. 15, no. 1 (March 2020), pp. 1-26. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/aihlp15&collection=journals&id=3&startid=&end=28>.

- Luscombe, Alex and McClelland, Alexander. 2020. "Policing the Pandemic: Tracking the Policing of COVID-19 Across Canada". *SocArXiv*, April 12, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/9pn27>.
- Manciu, Liana-Alina. 2019. "Outlining the Concept of International Security". *Conferința Internațională de Drept, Studii Europene și Relații Internaționale*, VII/2019, pp. 82-88. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=826943>.
- Mansour, Nadia and Salem, Salha Ben. 2020. "Socio-Economic Impacts of COVID-19 on the Tunisian Economy". *Journal of the International Academy for Case Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 1-13. <https://search-proquest-com.ezbiblio.usfq.edu.ec/docview/2449975527?accountid=36555>.
- Mishra, Manoj Kumar. "The United Nations Security Council: Need for Structural Change?". *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 145-55. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41858827>.
- Mykhalovskiy, Eric and French, Martin. 2020. "COVID 19, public health, and the politics of prevention". *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 2020, Vol. 0, no. 0, ISSN 0141-9889, pp. 1-12. doi:10.1111/1467-9566.13192.
- O'Toole, Tara, Michael, Mair and Inglesby, Thomas V. 2002. "Shining Light on 'Dark Winter'". *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, vol. 34, issue 7, pp. 972-983. <https://doi.org/10.1086/339909>.
- Oliveira Baccarini, Mariana Pimenta. 2018. "Informal Reform of the United Nations Security Council". *Contexto Internacional*, vol. 40, issue 01, pp. 97-115. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-8529.2017400100005>.
- Otto, Dianne. 2020. "Rethinking 'Peace' in International Law and Politics from a Queer Feminist Perspective". *Feminist Review*, 126(1), pp. 19-38. <http://dx.doi.org.ezbiblio.usfq.edu.ec/10.1177/0141778920948081>.
- Robinson, Michael, Jones, Kevin and Janicke, Helge. 2015. "Cyber warfare: Issues and challenges". *Computers & Security*, Volume 49, pp. 70-94, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cose.2014.11.007>.
- Saifullah, Khalid and Ahmad, Azhar. 2020. "The Increasing Influence of the Non-State Actors in International Politics". *Journal of European Studies*, 36(2), pp. 39-57. <https://search-proquest-com.ezbiblio.usfq.edu.ec/docview/2448237738?accountid=36555>.

tid=36555.

Schaffer, Patricia. 2018. "Climate Security Threat – America's Achilles' Heel?". *Homeland Security Affairs*, 2018/12, n.p. <<https://search-proquest-com.ezbiblio.usfq.edu.ec/docview/2204836802?accountid=36555>>.

Silva, Caroline Cordeiro Viana and Pereira, Alexsandro Eugenio. 2019. "International Security and New Threats: Securitisation and Desecuritisation of Drug Trafficking at the Brazilian Borders". *Contexto Internacional*, vol. 41(1), pp. 209-233. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-8529.2019410100011>>.

Sirleaf, Matiangai. 2018a. "Ebola does not fall from the sky: Structural violence & international responsibility". *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 51(2), pp. 477-554.

_____. 2018b. "Responsibility for Epidemics". *Texas Law Review*, 97(2), pp. 285-354. <<https://search-proquest-com.ezbiblio.usfq.edu.ec/docview/2174220339?accountid=36555>>.

Stoeva, Preslava. 2020. "Dimensions of Health Security—A Conceptual Analysis". *Global Challenges*, 4(10). <<https://doi.org/10.1002/gch2.201700003>>.

Stoian, Valentin. 2018. "Securitizing tools and their societal effects: Perceptions of risks and threats to national security in Romania". *Europolity: Continuity and Change in European Governance*, 12(1), pp. 137-170.

Taniguchi, Hideo and Morales-Castro, Arturo. 2020. "COVID-19: Emotional blindness of the government in times of crisis". *Business Dimension*, 18 (3). doi:10.15665/dem.v18i3.2416.

The World Bank. 2020. "The Global Economic Outlook During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Changed World". The World Bank. Access: June 8, 2020. <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2020/06/08/the-global-economic-outlook-during-the-covid-19-pandemic-a-changed-world>>.

Thomas, Raju. 2003. "What is Third World Security?". *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2003/6, pp. 205-232. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.121901.085731.

UNCTAD, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. 2020. "UN calls for \$2.5 trillion coronavirus crisis package for developing countries". UNCTAD,

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Access: March 11, 2020. <https://unctad.org/news/un-calls-25-trillion-coronavirus-crisis-package-developing-countries>.

United Nations Secretary-General. 2020. "Transcript of UN Secretary-General's virtual press encounter to launch the Report on the Socio-Economic Impacts of COVID-19". United Nations Secretary-General. Access: November 11, 2020. <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/press-encounter/2020-03-31/transcript-of-un-secretary-general%E2%80%99s-virtual-press-encounter-launch-the-report-the-socio-economic-impacts-of-covid-19>.

United Nations Security Council. 2020. Resolution 2532 – S/RES/2532 (2020). Adopted by the Security Council on 1 July 2020.

Villa, Rafael Antonio Duarte and dos Santos, Norma Breda. 2011. "Buzan, Waever e a Escola de Copenhague: tensões entre o realismo e a abordagem sociológica nos estudos de segurança internacional". In *Clássicos das Relações Internacionais*, edited by Marcos Costa Lima, Marcelo de Almeida Medeiros, Rossana Rocha Reis and Rafael Duarte Villa, pp. 117-151. São Paulo: Hucitec.

Wenham, Clare. 2020. "What is the future of UK leadership in global health security post Covid 19?". *IPPR Progressive Review*, 27(2), pp. 196-203. <https://doi.org/10.1111/newe.12201>.

WHO, World Health Organization. 2020. "Timeline of WHO's response to COVID-19 (last updated 9 September 2020)". WHO, World Health Organization. Access: June 29, 2020. <https://www.who.int/news/item/29-06-2020-covid-timeline>.

Wilson, Gary. 2015. "Collective security, threats to the peace, and the Ebola outbreak". *Journal of the Philosophy of International Law*, 6(1), pp. 1-23. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/jphiloi16&i=6>.