Context-
ualizing
Security

A
Reader

EDITED BY TOBIAS T. GIBSON
AND KURT W. JEFFERSON

Contextualizing Security

STUDIES IN SECURITY
AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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TTG: For Scout, Jakob, and Q. I couldn't do this without you, your support, and your understanding.

KWJ: To Lori, Kelly, Andrew, Everly, Megan, and Nicole. You are my source of inspiration.

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Contextualizing Security

Contextualizing the Study of Security

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The concept for this book was born in early 2015, as we worked together to plan a two-day symposium on our (then) shared campus. The organizing topic was "Security versus Liberty: Balancing the Scales of Freedom." Contemporary national security issues included a rather recent leak of documents from National Security Administration (NSA) contractor turned whistleblower and hero/traitor Edward Snowden; the Obama administration's oblique attempts to define uses and limits of a still-in-its-infancy drone program; the U.S. government's attempt to address the fallout of the Arab Spring and the rising forces of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region—including the forced migration of hundreds of thousands of refugees; and various other items that, while important, do not continue to resonate in ways that the above do.

As the director of the annual symposium at Westminster College, Dr. Jefferson served to guide the composition of the speakers selected to offer their insight over the course of this event. Dr. Gibson was selected, based on his research and Security Studies Program design, to head the committee charged to select specific speakers for the event. By the time the on-campus symposium ran, the list of speakers included U.S. secretary of homeland security Jeh Johnson, best-selling author and journalist Jeremy Scahill, former CIA attorney John Rizzo, and the chair of Georgetown Law School's National Security Law Program professor Laura Donohue, U.S. senator Roy D. Blunt (R-Mo.), and several other key professionals. In short, it was a stellar opportunity to secure knowledge in a singular place—in a book, as well as on a small campus in rural Missouri.

Despite the unique place that Westminster plays in the history of American foreign policy and, by extension, post–World War II security policy, a program dedicated expressly to security had not been part of the curriculum at the college. It wasn't until the Spring 2013 semester that the Westminster College

faculty approved a new minor in Security Studies. The minor had only a few courses unique to Security Studies, including an introductory course and an upper-level course on "Terrorism." Every other class in the minor was housed in a more developed, traditional discipline like history or political science. Of the two unique classes, the introductory class served to help the students taking the classes—and the professors teaching them—to develop an understanding of the discipline of Security Studies. Terrorism, in retrospect at least, was a direct nod to the single most influential act that led to the development of Security Studies, and the related areas of Homeland Security, Homeland Defense, and perhaps even Emergency Management—the coordinated attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001.[1]

Yet, even a seemingly basic security issue like terrorism has seen expansion in the way it is studied and, importantly, the way it is interpreted and countered. The terrorism class was originally conceived as a manner of teaching undergraduate students about threats to national security—in particular the security of the United States. This was the popular view, the way that the media, politicians, and even many scholars thought about terrorism. One need only look at one of the most enduring images and rhetorical moments in the nearly immediate aftermath of 9/11 to see this (overly) simple imperative: President George W. Bush standing at "ground zero," in the ruins of the felled World Trade Center on September 14, 2001, telling the rescue workers through his bullhorn "I can hear you! The rest of the world hears you! And the people—and the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon." Predictably, given the angst in New York and throughout the country, the response of the gathered crown was a prolonged, emphatic, and heartfelt chant of "USA! USA!" It was a moment felt by citizens across the country—and served as a link between the threat of terrorism and the security of what once seemed like an impenetrable border.[2]

However, terrorism since its ancient inception has been about more than impacting security of enemy nations. One of the most important aspects of terrorism, and one that seemingly was lost on President Bush and his administration's efforts to irradicate terrorism in the Global War on Terror (GWOT), is that terrorism is a tactic, not an enemy with a political ideology or religious belief system. Terrorism is a methodology, a rational decision, to be utilized when pushing an agenda, a movement, or an idea.[3] Because terrorism is a tactic, it cannot be defeated.

Beyond the realization that terrorism can never be fully eradicated, however, in an effort to minimize the use of terrorism, cursory studies of terrorism delve into its religious causes and impacts. Rich studies of terrorism consider the economics, including its financial impact, its funding, and the rationality of the act.[4] Psychology and biology study why individuals become radicalized and join terrorist groups or become "lone wolf" terrorists—and why and how

extremists can become deradicalized.[5] Scholars and policymakers have examined terrorist group organizational makeup and design. Doctors, hospitals, and scientists have worked diligently to learn and develop best practices if a terrorist activity does occur.[6] Distinguishing between a terrorist and a simple criminal is more than a philosophical issue; it is a legal one.[7] Indeed, defining terrorism is an issue all by itself, as even the U.S. government has various definitions. Beyond understanding the terrorist, much headway has been made in understanding the impact on victims and their families too.

The discussion of terrorism only sets the stage for the incredible complexity of Security Studies. As scholars and teachers, we take Winston Churchill's "Sinews of Peace" speech, delivered at Westminster College on March 5, 1946, as a lesson and a blueprint for the study and policymaking of security. Churchill described the "Iron Curtain descending" across Europe and in some ways ushered in the Cold War.[8] To that end, Churchill's speech is often understood simply as a nod to traditional national security. And, to be sure, it was a warning about the encroachment of the Soviet Union into Eastern Europe. However, that is an oversimplified look at a complex oration. Indeed, the titular "sinews" are the soft tissues holding peace together—often lost in the subsequent telling of the impact of the Iron Curtain dropping across the European landscape.

As Gibson argues, Churchill moved well beyond the commonly held limits of national security and recognized the needs of the people were beyond mere sustenance; security necessitated more than simply basic rights. Churchill declared in no uncertain terms, "All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. . . . Churchill's speech was as much a description of security as justice, human rights and rule of law as it was a blueprint for the security of nations."[9]

This book is an effort toward melding the traditional views founded in international relations theory, of national security being paramount to understanding security politically and academically.[10] Increasingly, however, the wisdom of Churchill's unbounded view of securing citizens and rights must also be a focus in security studies.[11] Furthermore, national security is also limiting. It may prevent answers to international issues such as climate change, which continues to impact nations across the globe: the United States, the Caribbean island nations, Australia, the Maldives, and the polar ice caps. Increasingly, populist movements based in racial animus long thought past threaten democratic norms, the rule of law, and racial, gender, religious, and ideological

minorities. And a global pandemic rages, impacting the political, economic, physical, and psychological health of nations and persons globally.

In short, we and the authors of these chapters offer contextual positions based on a wide range of issues related to security. Collectively, this book moves well beyond understanding security through a national or nationalistic lens.[12] That is, this collection marks a realization that national security matters, but the sinews—of peace, of security, of democracy, of the rule of law, of technological development, of ethical considerations in policymaking—matter too.[13]

To that end, we offer a set of chapters that individually dive into some of the most pressing issues in the study and application of security and, on occasion, some of the most overlooked themes and topics of our present era. This book is something of a collage, a set of disparate views that, when combined, form a larger picture.

Organization of the Book

The book is organized in general themes. The first theme focuses on "Law, Ethics, Security, and Liberty" and includes contributions from Tobias T. Gibson and Kurt W. Jefferson; President Barack Obama's secretary of homeland security Jeh C. Johnson; James McRae, professor of philosophy at Westminster College; U.S. senator Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.); Mark Boulton and Tobias T. Gibson from Westminster College; Obama-era deputy director of the National Security Agency Richard Ledgett; and former military judge James E. Baker.

The second theme centers on "Technology: Securing Liberty and the Nation." Chapters in this section come from Robert E. Burnett, dean of faculty and academics at the National Defense University; Anna Holyan, an independent scholar, and Tobias T. Gibson of Westminster College; U.S. senator Roy D. Blunt (R-Mo.); and Kristan Stoddart of the University of Swansea.

The third theme we offer is "International Security and Components of Liberty." Authors in this section include Jeremy B. Straughn of The Ohio State University, Lisa C. Fein from the University of Michigan, and Amelia Ayers; Kali Wright-Smith, Westminster College; Naji Bsisu (Maryville College), Laila Farooq (Institute of Business Administration Karachi), and Amanda Murdie (University of Georgia); Daniel Egbe, of Philander Smith College, and Kurt W. Jefferson; journalist Jeremy Scahill; Kurt W. Jefferson and JR Swanegan, University of Missouri College of Law; and Gibson, Jefferson, and entrepreneur David L. McDermott.

The first chapter in this collection, "Foundations and Evolutions of Security Studies," is another Gibson and Jefferson offering. We offer a historical overview of security studies, but more importantly provide a distinct view into its future. While Westphalian and Just War Theory traditions inform institu-

tions and norms implicitly and explicitly in security studies, current issues including the global COVID-19 pandemic and domestic protests for racial rights must also be included in a modern security construct.

Johnson's chapter is based on his John Findley Green Lecture, delivered at Westminster College on September 16, 2015, titled "Achieving Our Homeland Security while Preserving Our Values and Our Liberty." Secretary Johnson, a lawyer by training, discusses the importance of America maintaining its strong support for civil liberties and civil rights in the face of increased calls for restrictions on both areas in an era of war and global terrorism. He refers to President Truman's 1954 Green Lecture, "Witch Hunting and Hysteria," which discussed the Salem Witch Trials as similar in context to McCarthyism, which called for analogous restrictions.

McRae's "Liberty and Security: Reformulating the Classic Debate" reminds the reader of the importance of Machiavelli and Hobbes in discerning and establishing the security of the state, and Mill and Rousseau in building the foundations for modern liberties. He continues, however, by describing and defining the positive and negative foundations of security—and concludes that security not merely is the absence of fear but rather requires a state to "liberate and empower [citizens] to lead flourishing lives."

Sanders's speech, "A Renewal of American Purpose," was presented at Westminster College exactly because Sanders recognized the impact of delivering a defining foreign policy speech in the shadow of Churchill's legacy. Sanders outlines a modern, progressive foreign policy. His key focus is a meaningful return to the ideals explicit in the Constitution and the founding era, including explicit adherence to protecting religious beliefs—and protecting both people and government from the burgeoning "alt-right" movement that threatens authoritarian, populist retrenchment of American idealism and the "moral imperative." There is a short contextual chapter, from Cold War historian Mark Boulton and Gibson that places the importance of the Sanders offering in the early stages of the Trump administration and its accompanying domestic upheaval and purposeful withdrawal from the world stage.

Ledgett also uses Churchill as a springboard for his speech, presented April 4, 2016. The United States faced many issues at the time, such as a forthcoming presidential election, questions surrounding the proper roles of the member agencies of the intelligence community in surveilling Americans, heightened fears of terrorism, the rise of China and its commitment to challenge U.S. supremacy in the Pacific, and a nuclear North Korea and its increased belligerence—concerns that continue to resonate within American political and security questions today. One issue that Ledgett raises is the "pernicious" use of the Internet by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) to recruit fighters from across the world—then a major issue. Though this use by Islamist extremists predates the rise, or at least the recognition of the Russian use of the

Internet to sow discord into American elections and society, the chapter notes that several "big tech" companies played a role in minimizing ISIL's voice across their platforms. While most Americans likely appreciated the efforts, similar attempts to stop domestic extremists have led to outcries from some Americans about the role of these companies in supporting free speech.

Baker's chapter, "Deeds of Freedom: Lessons from the Cold War in a Time of Turmoil," is one of the keystones of this book. Understanding law in a national, homeland, or human security sense has become one of the most important additions to academic and policy spaces in the post-9/11 American experience. The creation of the USA PATRIOT Act, the construction of a detention center in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and the CIA's role in "enhanced interrogation"—and the very public debates about the wisdom, morality, and legality of these and many other programs—led to the rise of public consumption of law and security in unprecedented ways.

Noted blogsites including *Lawfare* and *Just Security* were created and offer articles consumable by the public on the nexus of law and security issues. This can also be seen in the creation of (national) security law centers at schools across the country, including Baker's Syracuse, NYU, Harvard, Duke, and Texas. Law schools including Oklahoma City, University of Missouri–Kansas City, and Cooley (in Michigan) also offer programs or classes in national and homeland security. And due to the demand from law schools, national security textbooks are now offered, further driving the area of study.[14] Moving well beyond the laws of armed conflict and statutes such as the USA PATRIOT Act, Judge Baker, however, includes the recognition of and respect for the rule of law as a national security imperative. Central to his chapter, Baker "worr[ies] that we are losing our unity even about law along with an understanding that law is our essential virtue as a country."

Burnett offers a chapter titled "A Survey of Humans and Autonomy in Three Areas: Surveillance, Economics, and Lethality in Combat Operations." Burnett delves into the theoretical and applied dimensions of science and technology policy building in his research related to an investigation into autonomous systems (artificial intelligence) in surveillance, labor economics (economic security), and lethal combat. He discusses how artificial intelligence, autonomy, and related technologies impact human agency and liberty. The chapter is based on a speech at the Australian Department of Defence's Defence Science Institute Meeting on Emerging Military Technology at the University of New South Wales in July 2015.

In "Under Fire: Targeted Killing, UAVs, and Three American Presidents," Holyan and Gibson take aim at one of the most discussed policy spaces of the U.S. War on Terror and continued counterterrorism efforts across the globe: the use of unmanned aerial vehicles, or drones, in targeted killing. They offer a

brief history of drone development and their early use in the George W. Bush administration as an extension of his controversial preemptive strike doctrine. The heart of the chapter is devoted to several legal issues that arose under the expanded use of drones—geography, frequency, and reasoning—under the Obama administration. The administration faced several issues, including the high-profile killing of American citizens, a stalled and poorly developed drone "playbook" to establish norms for use by future presidents (and other nations), and policy that often seemed at odds with presidential statements. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the Trump administration's drone use and woes, including the administration's increased reliance on drone strikes, President Trump's expressed willingness to kill a suspected terrorist and his family, and a lack of continuity in administration officials' reasoning about why and when drone use is appropriate.

Blunt, in "The United States and Cybersecurity," outlines the challenges facing the United States in the realm of cybersecurity. He critiques the Obama administration's policies and then turns his attention to what the U.S. Senate is doing in terms of oversight and where foreign, defense, and security policies are moving in this ever-evolving arena. The chapter is based on his speech at Westminster College on September 14, 2015 (as part of the Hancock Symposium on Security versus Liberty).

Stoddart's chapter, "Edward Snowden and PRISM: Negotiating the Post-9/11 'Surveillance State,'" remains an exceptionally important and timely work. First, Stoddart offers an international eye to the importance of the Snowden revelations of the NSA's mass collection of electronic communications. Stoddart also discusses the ongoing impact of the debate, which intensified in the wake of Snowden's leaks, regarding the tools allowed for the protection of national security and their impact, most importantly surveillance and collection, on privacy rights and civil liberties. Stoddart also offers a suggestion on the balance of security and civil liberties in this increasingly connected world in which electronic communications and mass data flows are a part of daily life. This debate is especially important in light of President Trump's willingness to pardon Snowden.[15]

Straughn, Fein, and Ayers are the authors of "Divided Memory and the 'New Cold War' Thesis: The Rise and Decline of a Double-Edged Analogy," reprinted with permission of the University of Florida Press. Renewed tensions between Russia and the West have inspired attempts to conceptualize the current state of international relations in terms of historical analogies, with many commentators arguing that a "new Cold War" (NCW) could be on the horizon or even that such a condition has already materialized. Straughn, Fein, and Ayers note that although the NCW thesis is not new, the Ukraine crisis in 2014, and to a lesser extent the Russo-Georgian War of 2008, triggered the largest

bursts of interest in the NCW analogy. The authors argue that NCW is an example of how historical narratives and memories based on complex events help to conceptualize, simplify, and misunderstand current events.

Wright-Smith's chapter demonstrates that although powerful states like the United States have damaged the use of the torture norm through noncompliance, they have not directly denied the jus cogens character of the norm. According to Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, limitations in international law create demands for actors who are willing to defend or advocate for human rights, including "steward states" who "can give perpetrators of abuse a reason to act differently even when legal procedures do not have much influence on their reasoning." The norm may likely grow weaker if states attempt to redefine its scope and boundaries in the name of security.

"Human Security and Migration," authored by Bsisu, Farooq, and Murdie, is an explicit move away from national security concerns and instead focuses on the security needs of individuals. In particular, the authors illustrate the importance of understanding forced migration and how man-made events including war and natural disasters such as floods, fires, and storms can impact previously habitable areas. They also present serious discussions about institutions—including governmental, legal, and economic—impact decisions to migrate and decisions about welcoming migrants into new homes, whether temporary or permanent. This chapter, too, is illustrative of issues facing people and governments across the globe—whether the American West and South due to environmental changes leading to increasing numbers of fires and destructive weather events, respectively; continued U.S. efforts to keep migrants, including those seeking asylum, from entering the United States; continued issues of the forced migration from Syria and the former ISIL-held Levant; border issues stemming from continued disputes facing the European Union as the United Kingdom moves toward Brexit, expanding terrorism issues in the African continent, and dozens of other issues. Regardless of cause, the authors suggest that "advocates of immigrant rights believe that most immigrants are individuals and families looking to make better lives, not criminals violating laws to harm the state. Refugees and asylum seekers especially come from a low human rights environment to an uncertain one." As such, international organizations like the United Nations and international laws and conventions play major roles in protecting the rights of migrants.

Egbe and Jefferson offer a chapter on American foreign policy toward Africa in light of the security challenges linked to Boko Haram in western Africa, al-Shabaab in eastern Africa, and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb of northern Africa. Egbe and Jefferson explore recent foreign policy under Obama and Trump and analyze the role that American foreign policy, terrorism, and other variables play in African political and economic development.

In "The U.S. Sees al Qaeda as Terrorism, and We Consider the Drones Terrorism," an excerpt from Scahill's *Dirty Wars: The World Is a Battlefield* (2014), he discusses the U.S. fight against various terrorist groups in Yemen and comes to the conclusion that the ill-fated, Bush-led Global War on Terror (GWOT) was expanding under President Obama and would continue to expand past his presidency after 2017. Importantly, the "Obama administration's Yemen policy had enraged many tribal leaders," an issue across the glove as the misguided GWOT has continued. This chapter was the foundation of Scahill's presentation at the Hancock Symposium on "Security versus Liberty: Balancing the Scales of Freedom" at Westminster College on "Dirty Wars" on September 15, 2015.

Jefferson and Swanegan provide a chapter called "Study Abroad as American National and Human Security Necessity." They focus on the historical nature of study abroad as a key component of building bridges between nations, people, and cultures and increasing Americans' and others' knowledge of other countries and peoples; they utilize Joseph Nye's concept of "soft power" as a way of providing human security as a national security and defense priority. They also look at security concerns related to study abroad and present case studies of the Stetson University College of Law's relationship with a university in Granada, Spain, and Westminster College's internationally recognized Take-A-Friend-Home program. These examples highlight the benefits of study abroad for countries and academe in terms of human security.

The final chapter, "Coming Challenges: China's Technology, Climate Change, Terrorism, and Disease," by Gibson, Jefferson, and McDermott, offers our final thoughts on the current state of affairs that the United States and other actors must be aware of moving forward. As the title suggests, the authors compare China's current technological advances to those in the United States and then focus on three still burgeoning issues that nations and global citizens face. And though many are very clearly tired of hearing about climate change, terrorism, and COVID-19, we aver that addressing these issues is key to seeking stability and security in the coming decades.

This collection of original essays, empirical studies, primary-source speeches, and secondary-source essays and empirical research in the fields of security studies, political science, international and transnational studies, sociology, journalism, national security law, and philosophy provides an excellent introduction to the field of security studies and the current debates in the academic, foreign, and domestic policy arenas and the transnational contexts related to the tension between freedom (political, legal, and existential) and security (political, national, international, and human). This collection advances knowledge and application and can assist undergraduate, graduate, and professional students in domestic and global-security-related fields in conceptualizing and contextualizing many of the cutting-edge debates in security stud-

ies, intelligence, American foreign policy, international relations, government, and history. The themes, concepts, and ideas utilize a broad interdisciplinary approach while connecting interesting examples and contexts for students, faculty, and scholars. This volume also is a good source of information for scholars and researchers trying to find more material on areas under scholarly investigation such as cybersecurity, national security, human security, legal aspects of security, intelligence, and broader epistemological discussions related to understanding security studies as a discipline and its relationship to the security communities both domestically and globally.

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Law, Ethics, Security, and Liberty

Foundations and Evolutions of Security Studies

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From ancients to moderns, the field of security studies is important in understanding conflict and war on a global scale. As security studies developed and became more de rigueur, a realization, from the 1960s on, that it is not just a subdiscipline of multiple disciplines—including international relations, history, and political science—also evolved. This new discipline, many came to see, was an "interdisciplinary discipline." Despite this realization, scholars continued training in established fields and remained dependent on traditional tenure norms, leading Marshall Beier and Samantha L. Arnold to argue that security studies scholars were too busy talking to each other within their specialties and not across disciplines and that a "supradisciplinary" approach was needed. This approach is one where scholars talk across disciplines and not necessarily create an interdisciplinary discipline or an entirely new field; rather, they would end the silos and walls to enrich each other's fields with cross-disciplinary theories and conceptualizations. As Beier and Arnold state: "We must strive to become undisciplined. Above all else, a supradisciplinary study of security must in every instance treat disciplinarity as ubiquitous, as a practice in sundry incarnations that is everywhere shaping the production of knowledge even as the echoes of its past interventions can be heard in what we already know."[1]

Although this debate about the interdisciplinary versus cross-disciplinary approach to security studies will continue, the discussion of how security studies has evolved, the importance of ideas in security studies, and the need for continued theoretical and applied research in the field will remain and expand. Indeed, some scholars argue that subdisciplines of security studies now exist, including, for example, international security and homeland security.

This chapter focuses on the currents in the field of security studies, ideas that have developed the field, and how the study of security relates to other academic and applied fields of inquiry and practice. We offer thoughts about the

future of security studies as a discipline with emerging subdisciplines of its own given the new challenges that social, political, technological, health, and cultural currents are providing in an era of political fragmentation, economic vicissitudes, and increasing threats to global public health.

Defining Security within a Discipline

Defining security is not easy, and the ways in which the concept is defined say much about the field and area of inquiry. Paul D. Williams and Matt McDonald define security as "the alleviation of threats to cherished values, especially those which, left unchecked, threaten the survival of a particular referent object in the near future."[2] Security can be nested within frameworks related to theorical constructs such as the historical foundations of realism and liberalism. Importantly, as the discipline progresses, theories evolve as well. Some of this advancement is refining positions within realism and liberalism, to include "rise and fall" realism and "neoliberal" liberalism.

From well beyond these theoretical foundations, the study of how, why, and whom security will benefit has expanded. Beyond realism and liberalism, both of which are founded in the security of the nation-state, scholars have begun to theorize and analyze questions of security with varied starting points. For example, some newer theories, such as critical theory, also assume the state as the starting point but take the position that the state is a means of securing rather than the end to be secured. Some feminist lenses in security focus on women's insecurity.

The concept of human security continues to grow in the academic study of security studies, especially as threats to human security continue to dominate news cycles and policy discussion. The recent Black Lives Matter protests in the United States and beyond are examples of the linkage of domestic and global human security concerns that then connect to the importance of various political, economic, and social variables that are fundamental to the study of security. Thus, security as a field of study is important for both academic and conceptual reasons as well as for applied reasons. The field takes disciplines such as political science, international relations, and history—and increasingly disparate disciplines such as psychology, economics, law, sciences, mathematics, and health care—beyond the debates regarding world order, power, and ideology and brings those frameworks toward important interfaces with applied outcomes in the field related to security that impact security architecture, military structures and processes, civil society development, political and economic development, and the broader evolution of public and private spaces that are affected by security-related activities and dialogue.

Contextualizing Security Types and Concepts

Security can be studied, first and foremost, in and of itself as a framework for understanding how security actors and contexts evolve and develop over time. Second, security can be understood through economic means. Scholars such as Williams and McDonald—but importantly also governments (e.g., DHS) and nongovernmental organizations—note the importance of economic resources and access to them. Third, political security is important and allows scholars and practitioners to understand now nation-states work together and clash over various policies and actions in the international organizations that promote and attempt to achieve global stability and peace. Fourth, military security is understood in the ways in which the extragovernmental variable of a country's military handles its offensive and defensive strategies and tactics in the security realm. Fifth, human security focuses on establishing and maintaining the basic necessities of life for citizens of various nation-states with the security of the state regarding other types of security. It is through this framework that we look at the role and importance of global health and the various coronaviruses that have seen at least five devastating outbreaks since 2003, including the COVID-19 virus that began spreading in China in fall 2019 and ended up in the West by early 2020. Sixth, "societal security" is "the sustainability and evolution of traditional patterns of language culture, and religious and national identity and custom."[3] This type of security is analogous to the concept of "political culture" found in the study of comparative politics. Political culture can be defined as "the attitudes, values, and orientations of individuals toward their government."[4]

Of course, the nexus of nationalism and territorial sovereignty links to the predecessor to political culture: "national character." Like societal security, the concept of "nation" and its development includes territory, economic ties, a common language, culture, and religion.[5]

To provide but one example, the application of societal security can be seen in the historical Slovaks, a Slavic people who coalesced into a nation in the late nineteenth century and eventually gained independence from the Czech-dominated state in 1938 due to the invidious Munich Agreement between Nazi Germany, France, fascist Italy, and Britain. The Slovaks would be reintegrated into communist Czechoslovakia after 1948 and then free to form an independent state in 1993 after the Velvet Divorce. The Slovaks, five million people, have been a historically Roman Catholic people, agrarian in economic development, and known for the development of a language separate from that of the dominant Czechs. The ability of the Slovak state to join NATO and the European Union in 2004 assisted the state in bolstering its claim to sovereignty and