

<https://www.doi.org/10.31918/twejer.2251.31>

e-ISSN (2617-0752)

p-ISSN (2617-0744)



The Role of COVID-19 in World Order Transition

Dr. Bakhan Ako Najmalddin

University of Sulaimani College of Political Sciences

bakhan.najmadin@univsul.edu.iq

Abstract:

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic has disturbed the social, political, financial, economic, educational, and health sectors all over the world. In addition, it may produce important international changes related to the world order, which is an international relations term describing the distribution of power among world powers. Although it is still too early to predict the post-virus era and the post-COVID scenario is uncertain but one thing that is confirmed is that after COVID-19 the world order will look significantly different from the pre-COVID-19 era. The United States has remarkably failed to play the role of a global leader during the current crisis because it faces many obstacles in leading the COVID-19 world order. Instead, China has the status of being the superpower of the world, and it might wish to play more of a global leadership role in the post-COVID-19 world order. Thus, the rise of China versus the United States might bring changes in the world order. In addition to this, the COVID-19 pandemic strongly affects international organizations, and they are facing a legitimacy crisis. This indicates the fact that states are the main actors in the international system, and they are only able to create changes. In this regard, the only clear thing is that the post and pre-COVID-19 world order might not be the same.

Keywords: COVID-19, pandemic, crisis, world order, the United States, China.

The Role of COVID-19 in World Order Transition

Introduction:

Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) – is regarded as the biggest challenge of the world generally, and it has affected all countries - on different levels - and all sectors have been hit hard by the pandemic; it has also directly and significantly impacted daily life.

Although after World War II the United States had emerged from the war as a superpower and dominated global finance and international politics. Later on, soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new era of the emerging sentiments of particular American values started and the arrival of the unipolar moment started. However, spreading the COVID-19 pandemic has ended the unipolar system.

The United States has experienced worst consequences from COVID-19 than many other countries. When COVID-19 was sweeping the world, the Donald Trump administration policy was to blame others, to blame everyone imaginable – and they did not take enough responsibility. Meanwhile, in the early months, disaster hit the United States' economic system because of the pandemic. Besides, the spread of the current pandemic shows the fizzle of the United States in terms of responding to the request for assistance to other countries. In this regard, for the United States, numerous critiques go beyond that and believe this action will hurt America's long-term relationships.

Early in the pandemic, China started planning for the COVID-19 consequences recovery, and soon it has started to enjoy positive growth across several economic and industrial sectors. Thus, global

economic gravity has moved to China. Moreover, China has taken the notch a step further by declaring to help all countries all over the world to get rid of this disease; by this policy, China has boosted its soft power. In this framework, even the COVID-19 has brought an incremental change in the direction of diplomacy and has turned the world order into bipolarity. Logic would suggest that whichever country emerges stronger from the international economic downturn will be in a prime position to declare global leadership and shape the post-pandemic era.

In terms of the role of international organizations in facing the COVID-19 pandemic, even international organizations have responded differently to the pandemic. However, international organizations have failed to apply their main and basic duties. Besides, in the months since the COVID-19 emerged, the relationship between some member countries has become decidedly confrontational. Thus, it is logical to argue that the COVID-19 crisis has shown us the international organizations' era has ended; instead, states are the only and most influential global actors.

Even though the COVID-19 pandemic is recent and continues to date, no one knows how long the pandemic will last, however, one of the lessons learned from the pandemic is that the United States cannot lead the international system solely, and China is the world's post-COVID-19 shaper. Under these circumstances, the relationship between both countries could become more competitive.

Significance of the research: For the first instance, little research have been conducted on this topic; therefore, it requires further scientific study. In addition, the studies that have been

conducted so far are more about the impact of COVID-19 on education, healthcare and economic sectors; however, this paper attempts to show how the current pandemic will transform the essential nature of the world order. Furthermore, this paper will help further research on the future of the world order.

The research problematic: The most crucial question we have posited is: how and to what extent can the COVID-19 pandemic reshape the world order and to what extent could the global order turn toward a new global leader in favour of China? In addition, there are elementary questions surrounding the coronavirus: to what extent can healthcare, education, tourism, and economic sectors be hit by the pandemic? To that end, the relevant question becomes, what will a post-Covid-19 pandemic world look like? Could China try to claim the role of the benign superpower? How do international organizations transform in response to major shocks? This research attempts to answer these questions in detail.

The research hypothesis: This research argues that the COVID-19 pandemic has a huge impact on a wide variety of sectors around the globe, which includes education, health, economic, tourism and politics. This research discusses that the COVID-19 pandemic will be a turning point in the existing world order. It is becoming clear that the role of the United States as one of the leaders of the international system will be lessened. The United States will likely emerge from the COVID-19 pandemic having taken major damage to its prestigious and international position. Especially, the economic effects of the current pandemic will increase downward pressure on the United States. However, it is also certain that China emerges from this pandemic era more united and has a chance to upgrade its role in the world order. China will play a significant role in its possible world order

transformation. Once again, the major powers, especially China and the United States, will continue to compete for influence in myriad ways in the post-COVID-19 world. In short, the COVID-19 pandemic might be reshaping the world order. Amid the crisis, some formal institutions, such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization, have struggled to bring together squabbling member states. In the same line, the European Union is the missing actor in the COVID-19 era.

The research methods: To write academic research, several methods have been used, the research has been conducted following the qualitative method of research. The qualitative method – that is analytical and descriptive -. Analytical and descriptive methods, to show the impacts of COVID-19 pandemic on world order, the comparative method, to demonstrate the effect of COVID-19 on different international actors, especially the internal and external policies of the United States and China as two superpowers in the international system as well as other European countries, and the future method, to predict the future of global leadership and the future scenarios of world order. In addition, as for the method of data collection, data has been collected from academic sources, especially books and journals were explored.

The research structure: The research highlights three essential sections. The first section will delve deeply into the effects and consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. The second chapter looks at the role of the COVID-19 pandemic in transferring the world order. Finally, the last section examines the negative consequences of the pandemic on international organizations.

1.0: COVID-19 and its impact

The threat posed by the COVID-19 pandemic is immediate and palpable. The focus of this chapter is on the pandemic's massive consequences for all sectors. First, the research will develop a framework for the understanding of the COVID-19 pandemic. Second, we will begin by briefly reviewing how the current pandemic has impacted the healthcare system. The third section deals with the impact of the pandemic on global trade and economics. The next section examines the impact of the current pandemic on the education sector. In the fifth section, a close look is taken at the tourism sector. The last section analyses the changes that the COVID-19 pandemic is bringing to international politics.

: Understanding the COVID-19 pandemic

Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by a virus named 'severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2' (SARS-COV-2) (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 4). The name corona comes from the Latin language meaning crown since the shape of the virus depicts spikes. COVID-19 stands for (CO) corona, (VI) virus, and (D) disease, and (19) the year it comes out, 2019 (KÜPELİ, 2020). COVID-19 spread primarily through contact with an infected person, and the virus can live up to 72 hours (Abu Bakar and Rosbi, 2020, p. 189).

Although the first case of coronavirus was identified in Wuhan, capital of the Hubei province of China, the same place where the 14th century 'Black Plague' hailed from (Gardini, 2020, p. 26). The virus is spreading rapidly in the world, however, this pandemic will not exclude any state or society and most of them are allegedly struggling to respond to the crisis. Thus, in March

2020, The World Health Organization (WHO) declared the COVID as a global pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020). A Pandemic phenomenon, which means this new disease spread worldwide (Abu Bakar and Rosbi, 2020, p. 190). In addition, the United Nations Security-General has called the COVID-19 pandemic the largest humanitarian crisis since World War II (Guterres, 2020).

Although, historically, global pandemics have been around for a long time. Famously, the '*Black Plague*' in the 14th century killed 60% of the population of Europe. Also, the 1918 pandemic, popularly known as the '*Spanish Flu*' killed over 50 million worldwide (Heine, 2020, p. 25). The latest example of a global pandemic is the COVID-19 pandemic. This pandemic has been running its devastating course in different parts of the world at different timelines. For instance, by the start of June 2020, the pandemic had reached almost all countries with a hovering 365000 deaths (Sharfuddin, 2020, p. 247). On the 23rd of September 2020, the World Health Organization reported that almost 31 million people had been confirmed infected with the current pandemic, in the same day, more than 963000 deaths globally and counting (United Nations, 2020b, p. 12). Because this virus has spread widely, and it has created a worldwide panic as well as disruption to the global order. Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic is termed a "nuclear war in slow motion" (Lewis and Krzyzaniak, 2020). Although more than 100 vaccines are currently in development and a dozen are undergoing clinical trials (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 8), at the time of writing, the search for an effective vaccine is going on in various countries.

Although it is still early to estimate the consequences of COVID-19 and to demonstrate how much damage it will cause,

and how it will affect the transfer dynamics of the world order or when will it end. However, this does not prevent us from trying to foresee some possible consequences and effects of this current pandemic at the global level. The purposes of the following sections are to articulate a comprehensive explanation for the pandemic's effects on the very pulse of the health, economic, education and tourism sectors, as well as on international politics.

1.2: Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the healthcare system

It is worth pointing out that COVID-19 is first and foremost a virus outbreak that has resulted in a pandemic. The WHO announced that when an epidemic becomes global or it spreads over international borders to a rather broad sphere, causing masses of people to be affected, it is entitled to be defined as a pandemic. The number of COVID-19 cases is changing consequently; it is not possible to identify the number of cases precisely (KÜPELİ, 2020).

For the first time since the Great Depression in 1929, crippling financial losses threaten the viability of a substantial number of hospitals, especially those that were already financially vulnerable. Office-based practices had reductions of over 60% in visit volumes in the first months of the COVID-19 outbreak, and hospitals lost more than \$323.1 billion in 2020. Employment in the health care system is down by approximately 1 million jobs through May 2020 (Blumenthal et al, 2020, p. 1483).

Although the virus brought immediate impact on individuals' health and counters' health care systems, the COVID-19 has revealed the fragility of the global public health system as a whole (Cimmino et al, 2020). This new pandemic era reminded most of

the countries in the world that the healthcare system should be renovated and it required reforms to be implemented. COVID-19 forced countries like the United States to re-evaluate their healthcare systems. The United States was criticized the most due to the overwhelming crisis of inadequacy of medical support from the government, which is ironic as the United States was reported to be one of the leading countries in healthcare spending. On the same line, countries like Spain and Italy suffered extensively after the widespread of the COVID-19 pandemic, showing signs of failure of crisis management as well as errors in their healthcare systems (KÜPELİ, 2020). As horrific as this sounds, the situation in developing countries is likely to be much more benign than what developed countries are facing, not only in terms of the economic devastation but also in terms of the disease burden (Hausmann, 2020). Regarding impoverished nations, in the wider context of responding to the public health sector crisis, these countries have relatively greater health expenditure requirements due to their weaker health systems and response mechanisms (United Nations, 2020b).

Although the COVID-19 pandemic is first and foremost a health crisis, individuals and countries are suffering largely similar consequences in terms of health. Moreover, this pandemic is much more than a health disaster. The pandemic has tested the states' competency and capacity of the countries' healthcare systems. The pandemic demonstrates that many countries – developing and developed countries - cannot combat a pandemic due to the fragile of their health systems and inadequateness in this sector. Undoubtedly, some countries will recover quickly, while others may take longer to reach their pre-COVID-19 life-hood. Nonetheless, all countries (although at different degrees) risk public health catastrophe if the virus continues to make inroads.

1.3: Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on global trade and economy

With the outbreak, the COVID-19 pandemic has shaken the world economies. It may be more than the great depression of the 1930s or the financial crisis of 2008. For sure, such an economic collapse and financial crisis have a significant impact on economic and financial structures all over the world (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 3). However, unlike previous economic crises, this time, the economic crisis will not end until the health emergency is addressed, and the health emergency will not end by addressing the disease in one country alone. It can only end when all countries together recover from the COVID-19 pandemic and it is prevented from returning regularly (Brown, Berglöf and Farrar 2020).

In the economic realm, the coronavirus, as the global hazard, enters the global economy into a deep recession. The menace at hand is that the current pandemic has affected the world's economic process in all different stages: distribution, consumption, and production. The growing complexity of both stages, the distribution and supply chain network, which constitutes the lifeblood of the global economy, makes its structure much more fragile (Nafi, 2020). According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it portends the steepest economic downturn since the Great Depression (Blog, 2020). According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, the global economy will shrink by 2.5% in the coming years as a result of the pandemic (The Economist, 2020). Moreover, international trade is projected to fall by 24% in upcoming years (Heine, 2020, p. 23). In addition to all the above, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused an unprecedented decline in the service sector; from air transport and tourism to financial transactions to the limited use of restaurants and cafes (Nafi, 2020).

The world during the COVID-19 pandemic faces the sharpest decline in remittances from low-income countries in recent history. For instance, the World Bank projects that remittances to low and middle-income countries will fall by over 20%, to \$445 billion in coming years (The World Bank, 2020a).

Another negative effect of the pandemic on the global economy is evident in unemployment on a scale not seen since 1929 (Cimmino, 2020, p. 10). The COVID-19 crisis has presented a major challenge for rising unemployment and working time reductions. It is worth noting that the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated the decline in aggregate working hours for the second quarter of 2020 at -18.2% or the equivalent of 525 million full-time jobs. In a recent study, ILO estimates that workers in developing countries, especially those in informal employment, are being affected more than in previous crises (International Labour Organization, 2021, p. 6). According to the United Nations, the pandemic has also led to significant income losses. In this light, an estimated additional 130 million people will be living in extreme poverty if the COVID-19 persists (United Nations, 2020b, p. 8).

For the first time in two decades, poverty is rising globally (as shown in table 1.1) (Badre and Lemoine, 2020). Another recent study by Food Policy Research Institute indicates that global extreme poverty is proliferated by almost 140 million people. In addition, a recent study by the World Bank suggests that the number of people in extreme poverty in the baseline scenario will increase by about 71 million in the coming years (The World Bank, 2020b).

Table 1.1

Estimated changes in extreme poverty rates in 2020 due to the pandemic

	Change in headcount ratio (percentage)	Change in number of poor (millions)
East Asia and the Pacific	0.21	4.41
Europe and Central Asia	0.23	1.16
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.55	3.58
Middle East and North Africa	1.22	4.91
Other high income	0.01	0.07
South Asia	1.25	23.28
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.74	31.17
Least developed countries	3.16	33.4
World total	0.88	68.57

Source: United Nations, Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Trade and Development, United Nations Publications, New York, 2020, p. 27.

The pandemic also caused negative impacts on the gross domestic product (GDP), the current pandemic, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) expects GDP to fall by over 4.3% in coming years. Developed economies are more affected than developing economies, at -5.8% and -2.1% respectively (United Nations, 2020b, p. 13). As a proportion of GDP, the regions most affected are the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa, with revenue losses accounting for over 2.3% of their GDPs, however; in Oceania and developing Asia, the figure is almost 1.7% (Ibid, p. 56). Overall global GDP is estimated to decline between 2.4% to 2.8% in upcoming years, which may prove worse than the financial crises of 2008-2009 (Sharfuddin, 2020, p. 248).

The COVID-19 crisis is exerting negative aftermaths on foreign direct investment (FDI) as well. The exceptional international conditions as a result of the COVID-19 led to delayed implementation of ongoing investment projects and the shelving of

new projects. Thus, global FDI flows are forecasted to decline by over 40% in the coming years. In essence, this would bring FDI to below \$1 trillion for the first time since 2005 (Zhan, 2020).

In the first three quarters of 2020, the biggest drops occurred in the number of cross-border mergers and acquisitions, which is estimated at 15%. In the same period, the number of announced cross-border project finance deals declined by 25% (United Nations, 2020b, p. 19).

This deadly pandemic has created new risks in external debt. The total external debt stocks of developing countries reached the highest level estimated at over \$10.1 trillion in 2019. This is more than double the level recorded at the outbreak of the global financial crisis when overall external debt stocks amounted to almost \$4.3 trillion (United Nations, 2020b, p. 60).

This pandemic is the most globally disruptive pandemic in over 600 years-it is on its way to causing the largest economic disaster of the modern era (Johnson, 2020). For instance, global manufacturing output is heavily affected by COVID-19. In the first quarter of 2020, global manufacturing output dropped by over 6% compared to the same quarter of the previous year. This was followed by a deeper fall in the second quarter of 2020 of over 11%. This was the biggest decline in the world manufacturing output since the fall experienced in the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 (United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 2020, p. 2).

The COVID-19 pandemic brings a new threat to international trade. International trade volumes will be particularly affected. In this context, according to the WTO, the COVID-19 could cause a

loss of between 13% and 32% in international trade volumes (Aramayo and Vokoun, 2020, p. 61).

COVID-19 poses an enormous challenge to trade in goods and services. UNCTAD's nowcast for trade in both goods and services detected a much more dramatic decline in the second quarter compared to the first quarter in 2020. For instance, in the second quarter, the value of year-on-year merchandise trade is estimated to have fallen by over 18%, and trade-in service by almost 12% in the same period. In parallel, the value of total trade in services declined by 7.6% in the first quarter of 2020, declining by over 24% in the second quarter of the same year (United Nations, 2020b, p. 15).

Taken as a whole, The COVID-19 pandemic has added a massive shock in the economic and trade realms. Even though the negative impact of the COVID-19 occurred in both developed and developing countries but in different forms. The damage might be considerably greater than currently estimated, and the globe is unlikely to overcome this scepticism easily. Since the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, unemployment has skyrocketed, lower asset prices, and more non-performing loans.

1.4: Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on education

The Coronavirus is considered a turning point in the education realm. For the first time since World War II, many countries around the world had to simultaneously close down their education institutions and public and private schools (Hajisoteriou, 2020). During the COVID-19 lockdown, most of the education levels (elementary, primary, and secondary) quickly shifted from classrooms to e-learning in many countries (Sharfuddin, 2020, p. 250).

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the COVID-19 pandemic has created the most severe disruption systems in history. Imposing lockdowns by almost all governments around the world keeping over 1.6 billion students at home (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2020, p. 2-3). With those public schools closing and resorting to remote teaching, students and learners from lower-income households were the ultimate victims (Taylor, 2020). Based on the UNESCO-UNICEF-World Bank joint survey, it is estimated that more than 31% of learners in both low and middle-income countries were not reached by distance learning (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2020, p. 3). In addition, the current pandemic has exposed and is expected to deepen education inequalities, exclusion and marginalization. As the data have shown, over 463 million students around the globe remain cut off from education due to the lack of equipment needed for learning at home or the lack of remote learning policies. For instance, in sub-Saharan Africa, nearly 89% of learners do not have access to household computers and 82% lack internet access (Ibid, p. 13).

Access and qualification to information and communication technologies are the main challenges for teachers in many countries during COVID-19. The current pandemic directly affected over 63 million teachers globally. Teachers require support and training on adjusting curricula and assessment methods to measure and mitigate learning losses. In this sense, teaching quality remains a challenge during COVID-19, lacks skills and confidence among teachers effectively transfer teaching online (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2020, p. 14-16). Simply said, the pandemic has provided an occasion to rethink remote learning; it has underlined the need for preparing teachers

better for implementing distance learning and using information and communication technologies.

The COVID-19 pandemic has already cost most countries, especially developed countries a lot. For instance, in the 2017 fiscal year, the United States higher education sector earned over US\$44.6 billion in so-called auxiliary revenues, such as summer camps, bookstores, and halls of residence. However, the figure for 2020 was lower than \$30 billion. Moreover, Terry Hartle (Vice-President of the American Council on Education, DC, USA) expects international enrolments in US universities and colleges to fall by over a quarter in late 2021. A similar situation is evolving in the UK. The current pandemic has already cost UK universities a roughly estimated sum of £790 million. The lockdown meant that conference, accommodation, and catering income had evaporated. Similarly, for the 2019-2020 academic years, Australia lost in its higher education sector somewhere in the region of AUS\$3-4.6 billion (Burki, 2020).

In light of the above, in the education realm, the world after the coronavirus shows serious signs of the shifting education system and redefining the meaning as well as the content of learning, from face-to-face teaching to distance learning. There is no doubt that the COVID-19 pandemic's long-term impact on the education sector could turn out to be highly detrimental.

1.5: Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on tourism

At the beginning of the COVID-19 outbreak, for avoiding infection and for slowing down the transmission of the pandemic, WHO has encouraged countries to follow the lockdown procedure. Besides that, many efforts have been made by the government to

abate the spread of the current pandemic. For example, many countries were performing a lockdown approach for movement control order (MCO). This procedure and the spreading of this pandemic creates panic among the public that contributes to a declining trend in the tourism sector (Abu Bakar and Rosbi, 2020, p. 189-193). Research regarding COVID-19 demonstrated that the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic contributes to slowing down tourism and travelling activities in almost all countries (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2020; World Travel & Tourism Council, 2020; United Nations, 2020a), as mentioned below.

Although all sectors have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, some sectors will be greatly affected than others compared to others. The tourism sector has been severely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. In response to the COVID-19 and the increase in the number of deaths, most countries have closed their borders to tourists and visitors. For the first time, the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) during the second quarter of 2020 reported that 100% of global destinations introduced travel restrictions (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2020, p. 6). According to recent data, from UNWTO, in the first ten months of 2020, international tourist arrivals dropped by almost 72%, compared with the same period in the previous year. The greatest fall was observed in Asia and the Pacific at 82%, followed by the Middle East at 73%, Africa at 69%, Europe and the Americas at 68%. This massive drop in tourism due to the COVID-19 resulted in an economic loss of US\$ 2 trillion in world GDP (UNWTO, 2020).

The data demonstrates the strong backwardness of the airline industry due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The industry has seen

record dramatic losses in share prices amongst the top three cruise lines – Royal Caribbean Cruises, Carnival and Norwegian Cruise Line. For instance, in the first quarter of 2020, Carnival's share price dropped 70%. In addition, in April 2020, the airline industry has recorded a nearly 80% decrease in flights when compared to the same period in the previous year. Survey data indicates that Frankfurt's passenger numbers, home of Europe's biggest airline Lufthansa, fell by 97% in April 2020. In some other airports, the situation is even worse, such as Lima with a drop of nearly 99%. Based on that, the International Air Transport Association (IATA) reports that passenger numbers might not recover to 2019 levels until 2023-2024 (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2020, p. 9).

Taken altogether, the pandemic has significantly impacted the tourism industry which directly leads to a decrease in national income because the tourism sector is an important source of income for both developed and developing countries. At this point, the pandemic will have a great impact on all countries' power and position in the international system in general and those countries in specific whose GDP depends significantly on the tourism sector.

In brief, to prevent the spreading of the COVID-19 pandemic, many countries implemented lockdown procedures, and this in return caused the tourism and travel sectors to collapse. Even though the world is beginning to return to normal life; however, the COVID-19 is already projecting a negative impact on the tourism sector. Moreover, the transport sector has been hit particularly hard due to restrictions on cross-border movements, along with the national lockdown. At a minimum, a reduction in global travelling will likely lead to economic catastrophe in those countries that depend on the travelling and tourism sectors.

This pandemic is much more than an economic, health, education, and tourism disaster. This pandemic has also raised some questions in the international political arena, which will be discussed below.

1.6: Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on politics

Even though the COVID-19 pandemic has an impact on all sectors from health to education, undoubtedly, the impact of the current pandemic is ultimately determined by politics. Even some authors are acknowledging that the COVID-19 pandemic might not lead to change in the world order, as Richard Hass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, suggests “...not every crisis is a turning point” (Higgott, 2020). Conversely, others believe that the global pandemic and crisis are the turning point in politics and the world order. As Thomas Hale observes, “COVID-19 attacks the human body, but it is largely the body politic that defends us against it” (Hale, 2020).

Throughout the crisis, the world's far-right nationalists have met the COVID-19 crisis with something not seen in decades. For instance, as one Vox leader, Javier Ortega Smith, put it, “my Spanish antibodies fight against the damned Chinese viruses”. By the same token, on 24 March 2020, Jair Bolsonaro, president of Brazil, in his first major speech on COVID-19 clearly stated that Brazil was not particularly vulnerable to the virus. In addition, he argued, “Brazil has everything, yes, everything to be a great Nation”. Beyond Spain and Brazil, one other great democracy-the world's largest- has become under the far-right rule: India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party have used the pandemic to advance an ongoing campaign of demonization directed at India's Muslim population. Not

surprisingly, Italy, home to the first fascist regime, Matteo Salvini of the right-wing League party argued in February 2020 that “allowing migrants to arrive from Africa, where the presence of the virus has been confirmed, is irresponsible”. At the time, there were already 229 confirmed COVID-19 cases in Italy and only one in all of Africa (Finchelstein and Stanley, 2020).

In the same line, the Donald Trump administration has used the pandemic to strengthen its anti-immigrant stance. Going beyond its obsessive attacks on undocumented immigrants, the administration also imposed a sweeping moratorium on legal immigration (Finchelstein and Stanley, 2020). Shockingly, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban has spent the last decade attacking the free press, political opponents, and non-governmental organizations. Orban has used the COVID-19 pandemic as a pretext to push through legislation that enables him to rule by decree indefinitely. This is Europe’s first such dictatorial demarche since Adolf Hitler’s Enabling Act of 1933 (Verhofstadt, 2020). In the meanwhile, Hawkish security strategists assume that the current pandemic has provided an opportunity for geopolitical and geo-strategic disruption (Higgott, 2020).

As noted above, the COVID-19 is a new pandemic that has affected the worldwide human population as well as countries’ policies. It may become not only huge health, economic and education crisis, but the more serious problems are likely to emerge from the political field, especially the current pandemic is first and foremost a globalization shock. As a result, the political consequences of COVID-19 could be catastrophic, and the biggest casualty of the current pandemic could be a democracy.

2.0: The COVID-19 pandemic and world order

There can be no doubt that after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, there was no powerful state that could compete with the United States militarily and economically. However, the Coronavirus is considered a turning point in the world order. The United States, as one of the world's topmost economic and financial countries, is on the verge of facing difficulties, and it was in a hard position and still is. Instead, China tries to take advantage of the pandemic and at that time emerges as the leading power of the world, which might cause a transition in the world order.

The transition of world order has been used frequently in the field of international relations. The major shift in the world order usually occurs after world wars or after international crises, which lead to a change in the polarity of the world. The latest example of this statement is the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic as many are concerned that after the outbreak of the current pandemic the new balance of power has emerged between the United States and China.

This chapter speculates the role of the United States and China during the COVID-19 pandemic era. In addition, the sections below analyse that it is hard and in some cases impossible for the United States to act as the only superpower in the post-COVID-19 arena. Nonetheless, China might attempt to play more of a global leadership role.

2.1: United States' inward policy and the decline of its supremacy

Since 1989, after the end of the Cold War followed by two global incidents, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the

Berlin Wall, the United States has emerged as the only superpower in the world. Thus, the world order entered from a bipolar to a unipolar system (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 7-8). As former US President George Bush mentioned in his speech at the Aspen Institute in Colorado on 2 August 1990 that a new world order would appear after the Cold War because the collapse of the Soviet Union provides opportunities for a new American assertiveness (The Washington Post, 1990). Similarly, Fukuyama's thesis of the end of history provides the ideological foundation for a new world order in particular after the Cold War and the weakening of the Soviet Union (Fukuyama, 1989).

Although since the end of World War II and until the war in Georgia in 2008, most solutions to wars, conflicts and crises have been carried out under the leadership of the United States. The configuration of world geopolitics after the COVID-19 era could be very different from the post-COVID-19 era. In the new century, a multipolar system will likely be the geopolitical setting, resulting in a new balance of power. At a global level, several powers will coexist and compete with the United States' position (Gardini, 2020, p. 37). There are some major challenges that the United States would face during the COVID-19 period to lead the world.

Recently, the United States has failed to maintain close relations with the vulnerable countries, not even with its close allies, where one of the features of the global leader is to respond quickly to crises, the United States has failed to make such responses and undertake such responsibilities. The COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates the clear hopelessness of the United States to provide any kind of assistance to other countries. After observing some incidents of the pandemic, the Western alliance between the United States and Europe is compromised, which

embittered the EU. When Italy asks for assistance through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States remains silent, which indicates the inward foreign policy of the United States. Such a contradiction in the EU-US alliance might bring negative results for the United States in the post-COVID-19 era, especially in commerce and business fields. Due to the inward policy and failure to provide support to the COVID-19 affected countries, the United States is now being considered as the fallen superpower of the old world. The United States is losing its supremacy so far as to lead the world in the current pandemic (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 8-9). In brief, the United States is not actively seeking cooperation with other countries combating the COVID-19.

Under the Trump administration, Donald Trump, the vice president of the United States, as well as some key congressional Republicans have labelled COVID-19 the 'Chinese Virus' (The Washington Post, 2020). During the last week of February 2020, Trump said that the "coronavirus is very much under control in the USA". However, his only action at that point was a ban on Chinese citizens travelling to the United States. In general, Trump's behaviour in dealing with the pandemic remained erratic throughout, he blamed China for the outbreak of the pandemic, trying to redirect attention from its omissions and failures instead of seeking a solution (Gardini, 2020, p. 80-81).

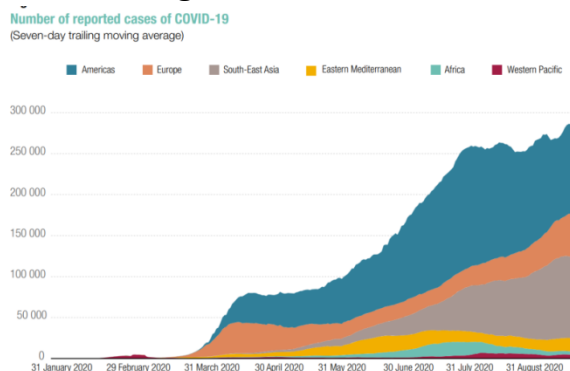
Even Donald Trump claimed early on that the COVID-19 posed a limited risk to the American people and the American economy; that it would disappear soon "like a miracle" (Christensen, 2020). However, one of the countries that have suffered from COVID-19 the most is the United States. The United States with its best healthcare system and equipment failed to save

its citizens from COVID-19 deaths to a considerable level (Sharfuddin, 2020, p. 255). In addition, the United States received low scores on important indicators about the strength of its healthcare system and the ability of its people to access healthcare without barriers. For instance, among the 60 high-income countries in the Global Health Security Index (GHS Index), the United States ranked 38th for its number of physicians per capita and 40th for its number of hospital beds per capita. On access to healthcare, the United States was ranked 175th globally due to its absence of laws mandating universal healthcare coverage and large numbers of underinsured and uninsured individuals. A lack of guaranteed access to healthcare for all citizens leaves numerous individuals vulnerable during times of emergency (Altman, 2020, p. 3).

In early May 2020, the United States was No. 1 for the number of deaths in the world (Heine, 2020, p. 25). More US citizens have died from the COVID-19 in three months than citizens in the Vietnam War in ten years (Gardini, 2020, p. 25). In the same year, as of 16th of July 2020, the United States accounts for over 26% of the COVID-19 cases and 24% of the COVID-19 deaths (Blumenthal et al, 2020, p. 1484). On the 9th of August 2020, the United States passed the five million mark in cases of COVID-19, representing slightly over a quarter of all cases globally (As shown in figure 2.1). In addition to this, deaths per case of the virus in the United States compare with other developed countries that have a significant number of cases (Altman, 2020, p. 1). As of the time of writing this paper, within the United States, more than two million people have been infected and more than 120000 have died (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 8). The pandemic also shows that some health professionals and hospitals are far too vulnerable under current financial arrangements, and the failure of these providers

could leave major gaps in critical health care services in the United States (Blumenthal et al, 2020, p. 1485).

Figure 2.1



Source: United Nations, Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Trade and Development, United Nations Publications, New York, 2020, p. 12.

In times of crisis, the United States is among the most affected countries in the economic term. The COVID-19 pandemic has hit the United States' economy unexpectedly. The economy entered the worst recession since the 1930s. In addition, since mid-March 2020, more than 6.6 million people have applied for unemployment benefits, after the longstanding record of 695,000, set in 1982 (Palacio, 2020). Thus, the unemployment rate reached 17% from 3.5% in pre-crisis times (Flake, 2020). Besides, the Federal Reserve estimated that the number of workers that might be laid-off due to the pandemic is more than 66 million (KÜPELİ, 2020). Moreover, in August 2020, US national income plunged 12% below what it was at the start of the same year (Delong, 2020).

In terms of military, the United States is still the only country among major world powers that can project force throughout the world. Any other major powers would require decades to reach the level of the military capability of the United States at present (Nafi, 2020).

Besides all the above reasons, at the domestic level, the COVID-19 pandemic contributed to increasing domestic distrust in the United States because people lost confidence in authorities during the initial mismanagement of this pandemic (Gardini, 2020, p. 85). Some believe that part of the United States' failure in facing the current pandemic is related directly to the characteristic of the leadership in this country. As Joseph Nye has explained in detail, leadership theorists make a distinction between "transformational" and "transactional" leaders. The latter tries to steer through situations with business as usual, while the former attempts to reshape the situations in which they find themselves. Undoubtedly, transformational leaders do not always succeed. For instance, the United States' previous President Donald Trump, the leader of the world's largest economy, failed abysmally. He initially reacted to the COVID-19 outbreak not by informing and educating the public, but by denying the issue, thereby costing lives. He then redirected their energies toward assigning blame rather than finding a solution. Moreover, Donald Trump failed to realize that the exercise of power could have become a positive-sum game. Instead of thinking solely in terms of power over others, he thought in terms of power with others (Nye, 2020a).

It seems reasonable to mention that when COVID-19 hit, many observers claimed that COVID-19 is the first global crisis since the end of the Cold War where the United States does not play a leading role (Dijkstra, 2020). Even Henry Kissinger –the

quintessential superpower realist - in his article (The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order) has argued that ", not even the United States can in a purely national effort overcome the virus. The necessities of the moment must ultimately be coupled with a global collaborative vision and program" (Kissinger, 2020).

There can be no doubt that the United States takes an influential position in the international system. Moreover, the COVID-19 has hit the advanced economies, mainly the United States, particularly hard. The United States adopted different policies based on the WHO's request to cope with the virus, such as placing restrictions on the movement and closing the border. However, it appears that the United States has failed to control the crisis early on. Meanwhile, the Donald Trump administration attempted to avoid blame and its failures in response to the crisis.

Generally, the COVID-19 pandemic is known as the worst crisis in the 21st century. The pandemic is essentially confirming the changing of the world order. In the coming years, a lot will change in the world order. Certainly, the world order in the current century is more complex than in the previous century. The United States' strategy and plan for responding to the pandemic should be based on moral grounds, not strategic interest, and it should quietly win trust by helping other countries.

2.2: The COVID-19 pandemic and rise of China

Since Xi Jinping came into power in China in 2012, he moved beyond this '24 Charter' strategy following his great 'China Dream' and 'One Belt, One Road (OBOR)' initiative (Belt and Road Initiative or BRI) to influence the international economic

order (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 5). As the COVID-19 spreads across the world, the policymakers predict that the spread of the virus and its consequences could assist the shift of global power from the United State to China, due to China's commitment to most countries where any assistance is needed (Ibid, p. 3).

At the beginning of the COVID-19 outbreak by early May 2020, China was reporting 82,877 infected and 4,633 deaths. Although this figure is not insignificant, however, lower than the United States where the pandemic arrived some months later. China took a smart approach in this pandemic and immediately went to a high level in deploying its so-called 'mask-diplomacy', offering testing devices and medical equipment to countries harshly hit by the virus (Heine, 2020, p. 26).

China has maintained a decent connection with other countries having played one of the supreme roles and positioned itself as a life liner to many countries. The current pandemic has aided China further to accelerate its desire to create a Chinese influence of the horizon through the BRI with a new 'health silk road' policy. China has started to offer medical supplies across the world to fight the current pandemic. China's sphere of influence has reached most of the countries; from Europe to America; from Asia to Africa (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 5). In this regard, China has received attention from almost all countries around the world.

In Europe, China seeks to extend its influence. In this response, Italy, the first country of the Group of Seven (G-7), signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with China to participate in the BRI, though it was criticized by both Western allies even at the domestic level. But such an initiative is being proved right, especially when China has come forward to assist

Italy to fight against the pandemic after Italy fails to get assistance from the EU (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 5-6). A recent survey found that most Italians believe the EU membership is a disadvantage, and a majority favour looking to China over the United States as a non-European partner (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 15). Like Italy, other Western European countries such as Germany, Spain, and France have also relied on China to get sufficient medical assistance. For example, China sent much needed medical supplies to Spain and France. Besides, in Eastern Europe, China sent immense medical services and assistance to Serbia after dismissing European solidarity as 'a fairy tale' (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 5-6). Thus, Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic has also praised China for supporting his country (KÜPELİ, 2020). The fact that these policies open new opportunity doors for China to insert its soft power by providing basic medical supplies and aid, which were not granted by the country which these counties looked up to (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 15). To strengthen its leadership strategy, China has put a lot of attention on expanding its relationship with European countries.

In Southeast Asia, China showed its solidarity by sending the necessary equipment and medical teams to Thailand, Laos, the Philippines, Malaysia, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Indonesia to fight against the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, in Japan, China donated kits for testing the COVID-19 to the Japanese National Institute of Infectious Diseases. Moreover, in South Asia, China extended its friendly relations with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan by providing essential medical services and equipment (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 7). In other words, China desperately wants to have a more crucial role in the region throughout this pandemic.

In Africa, amid the pandemic, in the healthcare system, China has a good cohesion with the African developing countries. Also, China is one of the partners of African Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (African CDC). Like the Chinese government, some other Chinese companies like ZTE and Huawei are also investing in electronic health technologies on the African continent (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 6). That is to say, this partnership between China and African countries does not only have positive aspects, including weakening the position of the United States in the region as opposed to China's position, but it also affects on strengthening China's position in the international system.

At the same time, China has begun to provide symbolic aid to other countries, as well as sell medical equipment worth hundreds of millions of dollars (Nafi, 2020). At the same time, China is attempting to make its mark in the crisis by providing aid to hard-hit countries. It is not the United States that is providing the most support to Africa, Italy, or Spain; it is China that has sent medical supplies and services. Never has it been possible to observe so evidently how China is replacing the US global leadership (Gabriel, 2020a). To put it another way, COVID-19 has been an opportunity for China to strengthen its diplomatic relations by rebuilding the country's international image based on a moral imperative rather than geopolitical interests (Jin, 2020). In addition, China is touting comprehensive surveillance and control of the population for all other countries to follow. On top of this, China has attempted to dominate international organizations such as the WHO (Gardini, 2020, p. 82).

In terms of the economic domain, just as China led the world in economic recovery in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008, it is playing a similar role in the current crisis (Roach,

2020). Even China's economy is suffering severely from the COVID-19 pandemic, its economy declined by 6.8% in the first quarter of 2020, its first contraction in almost half a century (Cimmino, 2020, p. 11). However, several declare that a few countries such as China have succeeded in containing the COVID-19 early on and are on their way to regaining pre-pandemic productivity rates (Nafi, 2020). Moreover, the current pandemic has served China's economic ascendancy. China's national income was already expected to rise to be equal or slightly higher than before the COVID-19 pandemic (Ibid). It is worth mentioning that Asia is the only region in the world projected to grow in 2020 (Cimmino, 2020, p. 12).

China has worked to increase domestic consumption by decreasing its reliance on foreign demand. Consequently, the world might now be more dependent on China, and China has become the first country to restore economic growth while the rest of the world is mired in a deep recession. Thus, a more probable scenario is that the COVID-19 crisis will strengthen this dependence, not lessen because China is months ahead of most countries in getting a grip on the pandemic and reopening its economy. It means that the COVID-19 crisis will not stop China from opening its services sector or becoming a progressively attractive export destination for advanced economies and emerging-market economies (Jun 2020). The current pandemic allows China to attempt to showcase its model of authoritarian state capitalism as superior to the European, US, and like-minded Asian countries' model of open-market democracy (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 12).

Based on all the above points, some believe that if future historians want a precise date for when the "Asian Century" began, they may be tempted to choose 2020, just as the United

States publisher Henry Luce dated the “American Century” from the onset of World War II (Emmott, 2020). However, it is worth mentioning that even China has a preponderance of the total economic size in Asia, it is not the only country in the region.

There can be no doubt that China is suffering severely from the pandemic. Despite China's early missteps, life in China appeared to go on as normal in the early stages of the widespread COVID-19. China's rapid return to normal life in itself claims an extraordinary advantage in all aspects. Economically, the Chinese recovered rapidly, and the pandemic will likely accelerate China's economic growth. At present, the international role of the United States seems to be declining. It is transitioning from the United States to China.

2.3 COVID-19 and the US-China relationship

The relationship between Beijing and Washington was already very tense and volatile with lots of ups and downs even before the COVID-19 pandemic. China's assertiveness on the international level since the 2008 financial crisis and especially since President Xi Jinping rose to power in 2012-2013 has assisted in cementing a bipartisan consensus in Washington that a tougher and more comparative approach toward Beijing is required. In the past few years, the US-China trade war, pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong, massive repression against Uighurs in Xinjiang, and increase in US-China naval activities in disputed waters off China's coast have all served to heighten bilateral tensions. It is worth noting that the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has proven to be a source of greater friction between both countries (Christensen, 2020, p. 2).

The COVID-19 pandemic decimated all developed and developing countries as well as democratic and non-democratic

states at different levels. In addition, even as most of the world faces unprecedented recession, policy responses differ sharply. The contrast between America and China is clearly illustrated. Both countries are undoubtedly facing serious economic hardship. Policymakers in both countries have responded aggressively (Khor and Strauch, 2020).

There is nothing like the COVID-19 pandemic to expose systemic differences. For the United States and China, which were locked in an ideologically driven competition even before this crisis, those differences are stark (Sheng and Geng, 2020). Moreover, some analysts cite Thucydides' attribution of the Peloponnesian War to Sparta's fear of a rising Athens consider the China-US relationship entering a period of conflict, pitting an established hegemon against an increasingly powerful challenger (Nye, 2021). After the widespread of COVID-19, some analysts have raised questions about the future of the world order and opened questions about the future of the US-China relationship.

After the outbreak of the virus, the United States and China are locked in an utterly counter-productive blame game and finger-pointing. Both countries engaged in propaganda battles toward each other. US President Donald Trump had insisted on calling COVID-19 the "Chinese virus", stoking xenophobia and impeding progress (Jong-QHA, 2020). In this regard, former US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo declared that "enormous evidence" indicated that the virus originated in a lab in China (Sheng and Geng, 2020). And Americans do, on a large scale, blame Chinese political repression for the pandemic. According to a recent Harris poll, over 70% of Americans believe that China reported inaccurately on the outbreak's effects, and more than 75% hold the Chinese government responsible for the virus' spread. Nearly 55-60%

believe that China's government deserves more blame than its American counterpart for COVID-19's spread in the United States. And over 50% agree with Trump's characterization of the COVID-19 as the "Chinese Virus" (Pei, 2020). While Chinese officials responded by attacking US critics and blaming the COVID-19 outbreak on the United States military (Patten, 2020). In this regard, China's foreign ministry blamed the United States military for the emergence of the COVID-19 in Wuhan (Nye, 2020b).

In terms of the economic realm, as China masters, the current pandemic, the economic distance between it and the United States has changed dramatically. China plans to lend more than \$1 trillion for infrastructure projects with its Belt and Road Initiative over the next decade, whereas the United States has cut back aid. China will gain economic power from the sheer size of its market as well as its overseas development assistance and investments. China's overall power relative to the United States is likely to increase (Nye, 2021). Thus, it will be reasonable to expect that China will surpass the United States in the coming years (Nye, 2020c). Even President Joseph R. Biden has repeatedly announced that the United States will repair its alliances and engage with the world once again, including the growing ambitions of China to rival the United States. However, it is still too early to predict the future US-China relationship.

Same as when the coronavirus appeared, new political and diplomatic postures were already widespread. China demands obeisance by its increasing power. When it comes to China's new role on the international level, China has been quite active in improving its soft power by providing aid to many countries, especially through the Belt and Road Initiative. The Belt and Road Initiative is used to influence not just neighbour countries but also

partners in places as distant as Latin America and Europe. Thus, votes against China in international organizations and institutions have become too costly as they jeopardise Chinese investments or aids, as well as access to the world's largest market (Nye, 2020c). Even these Chinese policies of foreign aid were criticized by Donald Trump with the words "Chinese debt policy". This means that China seems to be playing a more multilateral role in the COVID-19 pandemic era, while the United States seems to be more bilateral focused. These shifts are altering the balance of power (KÜPELİ, 2020). In other words, China's crisis-response strategy was far more effective than that deployed by the United States (Roach, 2020). Those points proved that China's top priority in its strategy is raising a lot of concerns in other countries about its leading position in the international system.

Another point is that China attempts to be recognized globally as a responsible provider of public health goods in the absence of US leadership, and thereby, progress towards its ultimate object of comprehensive power accumulation relative to the United States (Basrur and Kliem, 2020, p. 3). Based on all the above facts, several experts (Soong, 2020; Shuyong and Boran, 2021; Yao, 2021; Oğuzlu, 2021; deLisle, 2021) foresee a new world order, dismantling the liberal multilateral order in the guise of a 'new Cold War' bringing Beijing and Washington into confrontation (Gardini, 2020, p. 86). Based on that reality, even worse, according to some analysts, the COVID-19 may well lock China and the United States into a vicious cycle of escalation, leading directly to a full-blown conflict (Pei, 2020).

As discussed above, with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, we are faced with some underlying questions regarding the world after the COVID-19 era. However, the actual question is

what will the new world order look like? To understand the creation of a new international order, we will need to take into account the US-China relationship. As the COVID-19 pandemic shows, mistrust festers in both sides, the United States and China. The United States has damaged itself by being inconsistent during the crisis and labelled China as the United States' competitor and chief rival. Instead, China's response has been much faster compared to the United States, and China puts strategy of leadership at its centre. In this international order in which China's continuing rise was already perceived as a strategic challenge, the arrival of a bipolar world and new global development was inevitable. In other words, following this global scenario and the economic and diplomatic disorder during the COVID-19, it would be difficult for the United States to lead for a long period. The post-COVID-19 arena no longer gives leadership to the United States. In a possible scenario, a post-pandemic order leads to a new Cold War stand-off and a new bipolarity between the world's two major powers, the US and China.

3.0: The COVID-19 and the crisis of international organizations

International organizations are often created to address international problems. There is no doubt that the pandemic witnessed several unparalleled realities about the role of non-state actors in the international system, especially international organizations. However, there has been little action worthy of note from international organizations. Thus, the current pandemic puts a big question mark over the role of international organizations.

The following sections outline the role and policy responses of three major international organizations in the context of the

exogenous COVID-19 pandemic. In this chapter, the role of the World Health Organization (WHO) is first discussed because it is the highest body of health-related international organizations. The second section looks at the role of the United Nations (UN); because COVID-19 is relevant for the UN. The last section discusses the obvious inactivity of the European Union (EU) in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic.

3.1: The COVID-19 and the World Health Organization

Many international organizations have proven ineffective during the COVID-19 pandemic. These pillars of the rules-based system are perceived as weak and too fractured to address the current crisis. A continued feeble or lethargic response could fuel populists' or anti-globalists criticism of these organizations as irresponsible or lacking purpose, such as the WHO. The WHO, the primary international body for governing global public health, is facing criticism for its slow response to the pandemic (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 17). The WHO has been dogged by controversy for announcing the onset of the pandemic late (on March 11th, 2020, by that time it had already spread to 113 countries), such failings have brought much criticism and calls for its reform (Basrur and Kliem, 2020, p. 5).

Some critics believe that the WHO was hoodwinked about what exactly was going on in Wuhan. At the very least, they argue, the WHO was extraordinarily uncritical about the extent to which the Communist Party of China's secretiveness appeared to limit China's transparency and willingness to fulfil its reporting obligations (Patten, 2020).

The WHO has advanced a program recognized as Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) to accelerate access to COVID-19 vaccines. The WHO's "Solidarity" clinical trial is comparing four different treatment options using a thousand patients across almost thirty countries (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 9). However, the WHO has failed in its program. Later on, the United States in April 2020 directly cut funding to the WHO in an attempt to emasculate it (Ibid, p. 18). Nowhere has criticism of the WHO been louder or more pronounced than in the United States, where Donald Trump's decision to freeze US funding for the organization delivered a devastating blow at a time when it was desperately in need of support (Al-Kawari, 2020). Thus, the WHO is constrained by collapsing funding levels. In the meantime, amid the current crisis, the Trump administration proposed slashing the United States government's core contribution to the WHO from \$123 million now to less than \$58 million in 2021 (Rudd, 2020).

Once the crisis started, the WHO turned into an arena for the US-China competition. The United States is starting to withdraw from the organization. Furthermore, in May 2020, the United States did not participate in an EU-hosted fundraiser for a vaccine. By contrast, China stalled in delivering vital information to the WHO (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 9). Moreover, Anadolu Agency (2020), reported that China has donated \$30 million to WHO, and Hua Chunying, who is a Chinese Foreign Ministry official, stated that supporting WHO is supporting Multilateralism and Global Solidarity (KÜPELİ, 2020). China attempts to play the role of a provider.

The WHO has become highly politicalized. For instance, because of the Chinese refusal to accept Taiwan as a diplomatically independent, sovereign nation-state, the WHO disregards Taiwan's

experience with COVID-19 as well as related research and development results. Supposedly, bowing to pressure from China, the WHO does not mention Taiwan and refuses to include Taipei's actual successful pandemic management plans and strategies in its reports on global research efforts (Basrur and Kliem, 2020, p. 4).

In short, the WHO seems heavily affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, the WHO failed to prevent or even predict this pandemic. Even worse, the WHO has been blamed for allowing the virus to spread in the first place.

3.2: The COVID-19 and the United Nations

In the new world order, the role of international organizations will be critically reviewed. Countries will be reluctant to fund organizations that are no longer relevant in the new world. In addition, part of the reason for their underperformance is that the powerful and rich countries have stopped taking international organizations seriously (Sharfuddin, 2020, p. 256).

The UN's role has been steadily declining during the COVID-19 pandemic, and its influence on world events and governments has waned. As the world's pre-eminent arbitrator and moderator, it has become too constrained by old doctrines and plans to be the effective, collaborative global governing body that its founders envisioned. It can no longer be respected among governments for international law and rule, the maintenance of global peace and stability, and international legitimacy, as it did after both World War II and the Cold War (Al-Kawari, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic can be a transformative moment for almost all the UN's agencies. As such, UNESCO – as it was mentioned in the previous chapter - was barely able to step up to

the task of performing regular functions without offering much help about the organization of effective online education (Dijkstra, 2020, p. 5).

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has also faltered during the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. The UNSC has been largely silent during the pandemic; failing to organize a cooperative response to the multifaceted challenge posed by the COVID-19 virus. This, at least in part, reflects the division between China and the United States (Cimmino et al, 2020, p. 17).

To recapitulate, the nature of the world has changed, and the UN was not successful in adapting to it. The effectiveness of the UN response to the COVID-19 pandemic can be debated. The new pandemic requires the UN to take appropriate measures to address these current challenges. But if the UN continues its weak role in the international system, the creation of a new international order will not take into account the role and effect of the UN. These estimations and expectations are indicators that COVID-19 could become an organizational crisis.

3.3: The COVID-19 and the European Union

Unexpectedly, during the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, the role of specific international organizations has been criticized. In this context, although the EU is working to facilitate international coordination on the COVID-19, controlling COVID-19 has been fraught with difficulty.

Europe became the worst affected continent where countries like Spain, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, etc. had the most confirmed cases and deaths (Akon and Rahman, 2020, p. 4). The Eurozone, for one, is headed toward the worst recession in

its history, with the economy shrinking by 7-12% in 2020 (Verhofstadt, 2020), making this downturn deeper than ever, even deeper than the Great Recession of 2008-2009 (Gros, 2020a). Furthermore, the current pandemic has hit the EU almost all member states hard and will continue to confront the bloc with major economic challenges. For instance, S&P's forecast anticipated the contraction of GDP in Germany, France, and Italy, by 6%, 8%, and 10% respectively in 2020 (Broyer, 2020). On the surface, the main dispute concerns whether the EU should issue mutualized "corona bonds" to finance healthcare spending and other crisis-related expenditure in the hardest-hit countries. So far, the real challenge is not about "innovative financial instruments", as Eurozone finance ministers diplomatically put it at their most recent conference, but rather about the future direction of fiscal policy and even the euro itself (Gros, 2020a).

As stated by Article (122.2) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, it allows the European Council to fund financial aid to a member state facing "severe difficulties" caused by "exceptional occurrences beyond its control" (Gros, 2020b). Although at the beginning of April 2020, the Eurogroup of the Eurozone finance minister, having acknowledged that nobody is to blame for the COVID-19 pandemic, agreed to a deal to mitigate its economic fallout. The agreement includes nearly \$27.2 billion in fresh funding for the European Investment Bank, more than \$272 billion for the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), and over \$109 billion for the creation of a new instrument through which the European Commission can assist member states to manage their looming unemployment crises. Although these options provide considerable liquidity provision to member states, they do not address the problem of mounting debt, which already threatens to hamper growth for decades to come in many countries, not least

Spain and Italy. So far, Eurogroup has offered only lip service to this idea. “Subject to guidance from Leaders”, its recent communiqué states “discussions on the legal and practical aspects of such a fund, including its relation to the EU budget, its sources of financing and on innovative financial instruments, consistent with EU Treaties, will prepare the ground for a decision” (Verhofstadt and Garicano, 2020).

Even worse, the most dangerous consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic is that a citizen's only protection is the nation-state. Thus, the current pandemic threatens not only people but also international unification projects, including the European Union, which was established to end centuries of war on the continent. However, the EU has been constrained by outbreaks of nationalism and unilateral knee-jerk reactions (Basrur and Kliem, 2020, p. 2). And European norms and ideals made way for national self-help once the COVID-19 hit the continent. On top of this, as countries closed their borders, EU capitals went into full nationalist gear. Without any EU-consultation process, several EU countries directly decreed export bans and closed their borders. When Italy, one of the worst affected countries by the COVID-19, asked EU members for emergency help and relief with critical medical services and supplies, its neighbours violated the EU's single-market spirit by decreeing export bans on medical and pharmaceutical equipment (Ibid, p. 3). Simply put, the Eurogroup succumbed to the same “my-country-first” virus that infected the Greek debt crisis a few years ago (Gabriel, 2020b). In this context, the EU's basic principle about cooperative collective action turns to self-help calculation.

As mentioned above, the COVID-19 pandemic has forced the EU to review its policy and prepare for any crisis or pandemic in the future. However, until now, neither the European Council nor

the European Commission has engaged in anything comparable. In this respect, it is important to reiterate that Italians undoubtedly will never forget that, when people in Lombardy were already dying in mass numbers, Germany imposed an export ban on medical supplies and services to Italy. That bears witness to the consequences of fair-weather multilateralism: European and international cooperation is easy when it costs nothing. German politicians, in particular, want "Europe a la carte": they deeply want Germany to be an export champion in good times, benefiting from open borders and frictionless trade, but then turn inward in times of crisis. That is why the Euro-group of Eurozone finance ministers could not agree in the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic on joint aid for Spain and Italy (Gabriel, 2020a). That is why US President Donald Trump claimed the EU "failed to take the same precautions" as the United States did to combat the virus (Atlantic Council, 2020).

Above all, this section offered a snapshot of the COVID-19 as a challenge for most international organizations, including the EU. The current COVID-19 crisis presents a clear test case to show the failure of international solidarity, as each country has sought to protect their self-interests. The spread of the current pandemic across Europe has led to a sharp financial correction. The EU has little power to counter the current pandemic. Even it is not at all clear that the EU will be able to withstand the COVID-19 pandemic, one thing remains clear: COVID-19 will leave its mark on the Eurozone. The EU should work to activate its procedure to provide aid and support for member states.

Conclusion:

The COVID-19 is a new pandemic that spreads around the world widely, that contributes to a large number of deaths. As the COVID-19 pandemic rages on, the economic, political, educational, and social consequences of the crisis have already been truly momentous. Although the consequences of the current virus outbreak differ from country to country and from one aspect to another. However, almost all countries have reported cases from strong to weak ones. Under these conditions, the post-Corona phase will be worse in many ways politically, socially, economically, educationally and health-wise.

The current pandemic brings about shifts in international economics. The sharp drop in international investment and export orders hindered global economic development. On the international level, if trends in train before COVID-19 continue, there will be decreasing free trade, increasingly distorted by subsidies, less economically open, and economic decoupling will be the order of the day.

To an extent, COVID-19 has proven to be one of the greatest global challenges of the healthcare system. In addition, thus far, the current pandemic has greatly affected the education sector while putting it at stake. In a similar vein, the pandemic seems to have led to consensus on the tourism sector. This new reality has triggered travel and tourism sectors on a scale unseen in generations. Above all, the biggest contention for countries is that the current pandemic has not eliminated the competitive aspects of global politics.

Shedding light on the fact that, ultimately, the world order which has always been a more ambiguous concept now witnesses

the end of the unipolar system. Even before the pandemic, two great powers, China and the United States were competing in the geostrategic field to achieve the maximum level of influence and power either internationally or regionally. Over the next decade, this scene may lead to political upheaval. Moreover, the confrontation between the United States and China could turn to open conflict.

The COVID-19 has brought the vision of a 'New World Order' and the approaching end of the 'unipolar moment. Although according to which the United States is still, by far, the strongest country in the international system. However, the unavoidable reality is that the United States certainly had big losses in terms of lives, employment, and output. Thus, in the aftermath of the pandemic, the United States will not be able to administer and cash in on a unique hegemony. Unlike the United States, China emerged as a defender of the current pandemic with complete or partial success in controlling the pandemic, and it had plenty of models of development and foreign policy strategies. In one way or another, the reality is that if the COVID-19 pandemic continues, the world may see the increasing rivalry between the United States and China because each one of them attempts to be the world's only superpower.

Regarding the priority of international actors in the international system and the role of international organizations during the pandemic, most international organizations merely issued declaratory statements without really responding to the pandemic. For instance, the WHO is unable to effectively respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, it is already clear that the pandemic has not promoted the unity of the United Nations. Unsurprisingly, the European Union's member countries are

already facing serious challenges. As the COVID-19 pandemic shows, states highlight the prioritization of national interests over collective action. Such failings of international organizations have brought much criticism and calls for its reform. The pandemic requires international organizations to take appropriate measures to address these new challenges and opportunities. From this perspective, states are and will be primary actors.

Some of the most important changes that will take place in the post-Coronavirus world can be outlined as follows. It is becoming obvious that in a post-Covid-19 world, a new international order will be redrawn and reshaped by rising power such as China. The COVID-19 pandemic will not make international relations more just. Instead, the risk of armed conflict between the world's superpowers is higher than before the pandemic. To escape the clutches of the current pandemic, collective action is more necessary than an individual state approach. This objective will require deeper planning for avoiding doubt and maintaining trust between and within countries. In other words, COVID-19 is a global problem demanding a global solution.

References

- Abu Bakar, N. and Rosbi, S. (2020) Effect of Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) to tourism industry. *International Journal of Advanced Engineering Research Science (IJAERS)*, 7(4).
- Akon, S. and Rahman, M. (2020) Reshaping the Global Order in the Post COVID-19 Era: A Critical Analysis, *Chinese Journal of International Review*, 2(1).
- Al-Kawari, H. B. A. (2020) It's Time to Reform the UN. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [It's Time to Reform the UN by Hamad bin Abdulaziz Al-Kawari - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/hamad-bin-abdulaziz-al-kawari-2020-12) (Accessed: 10-12-2020).
- Altman, D. (2020) Understanding the US failure on coronavirus. *BMJ*. 324(14).
- Aramayo, L. G. D. and Vokoun, M. (2020) *Covid-19 and international trade*, in; Gardini, G. L. *The World Before and After COVID-19: Intellectual Reflections on Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations*. Stockholm: European Institute of International Studies Press.
- Atlantic Council (2020) *Trump hits out against Europe in coronavirus speech: The transatlantic alliance suffers*. Available at: [Trump hits out against Europe in coronavirus speech: The transatlantic alliance suffers - Atlantic Council](https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/trump-hits-out-against-europe-in-coronavirus-speech-the-transatlantic-alliance-suffers/) (Accessed: 21-12-2020).
- Badre, B. and Lemoine, M. (2020) Europe's COVID Crossroads. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Europe's COVID](https://www.project-syndicate.org/europe-s-covid-crossroads-2020-12)

[Crossroads by Bertrand Badré & Mathilde Lemoine - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 18-10-2020).

- Basrur, R. and Kliem, F. (2020) Covid-19 and international cooperation: IR paradigms at odds. *A Spring Nature Journal*, 1(7).

- Blumenthal, D., Flower, E. J., Abrams, M., Collins, S.R., (2020) Covid-19-Implications for the Health Care System, *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 383(15).

- Brown, G., Berglöf, E., and Farrar, J., (2020). Now or Never for Global Leadership on COVID-19. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Now or Never for Global Leadership on COVID-19 by Gordon Brown, Erik Berglöf and Jeremy Farrar - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 7-12-2019).

- Broyer, S. (2020) Europe's Welcome Pandemic Response. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Europe's Welcome Pandemic Response by Sylvain Broyer - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 17-12-2020).

- Burki, T. K. (2020) *COVID-19: consequences for higher education*. Available at: [COVID-19: consequences for higher education \(nih.gov\)](#) (Accessed: 17-12-2020).

- Christensen, T. J. (2020) A Modern Tragedy? COVID-19 and U.S.-China Relations, *Foreign Policy*. Available at: [A modern tragedy? COVID-19 and U.S.-China relations \(brookings.edu\)](#) (Accessed: 6-12-2020).

- Cimmino, J., Katz, R., Kroenig, M., Lipsky, J. and Pavel, B. (2020) *A Global Strategy for Shaping the Post-COVID-19 World*. Washington: Atlantic Council Strategy Papers.

- Delong, J. B. (2020) Morgue Testing the US Economy. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Morgue Testing the US Economy by J. Bradford DeLong - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://project-syndicate.org/by-j-bradford-delong-project-syndicate) (Accessed: 27-12-2020).

- Delisle, J. (2021) *When Rivalry Goes Viral: COVID-19, U.S.-China Relations, and East Asia*. Published for the Foreign Policy Research Institute by Elsevier Ltd. Available at [When Rivalry Goes Viral: COVID-19, U.S.-China Relations, and East Asia - ScienceDirect](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0950268821000091) (Accessed: 6-9-2021).

- Dijkstra, H. (2020) *Covid-19 and Policy Responses by International Organizations: Crisis of Liberal International Order or Window of Opportunity?*. Available at: [NestiorWorkingPaper_IOPolicyResponsestoCovid-19v2 \(1\).pdf](https://nestiorworkingpaper.io/policyresponsestocovid-19v2/1.pdf) (Accessed: 23-12-2020).

- Emmott, B. (2020) Whose Post-Pandemic Century?. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Whose Post-Pandemic Century? by Bill Emmott - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://project-syndicate.org/whose-post-pandemic-century-by-bill-emcott) (Accessed: 27-12-2020).

- Falke, A. (2020), *The Covid-19 crisis and the United States: Returning to the role of benign hegemon or perpetuating an aberration?*; Giardini, G. L. *The World Before and After COVID-19: Intellectual Relations on Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations*. Stockholm: European Institute of International Studies Press.

- Finchelstein, F. and Stanley, J. (2020) The Fascist Politics of the Pandemic. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [The Fascist Politics of the Pandemic by Federico Finchelstein & Jason Stanley - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://project-syndicate.org/the-fascist-politics-of-the-pandemic-by-federico-finchelstein-jason-stanley) (Accessed: 4-12-2020).

- Fukuyama, F. (1989) *The End of History?*. *The National Interest*. Available at: [Microsoft Word - End of History.doc \(embl.de\)](#) (Accessed: 5-9-2021).

- Gabriel, S. (2020a) *The Lethal Threat of COVID-19 Isolationism*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [The Lethal Threat of COVID-19 Isolationism by Sigmar Gabriel - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 5-12-2020).

- Gabriel, S. (2020b) *Commentary: A 'my country first' contagion is threatening Europe*. Available at: [Commentary: A 'my country first' contagion is threatening Europe - CNA \(channelnewsasia.com\)](#) (Accessed: 23-12-2020).

- Giardini, G. L. (2020) *The World before and after Covid-19: Intellectual reflections on politics, diplomacy, and international relations*. Salamanca-Stockholm: European Institute of International Studies.

- Gros, D. (2020a) *COVID-19 and Europe's New Battle of Ideas*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [COVID-19 and Europe's New Battle of Ideas by Daniel Gros - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 13-12-2020).

- Gros, D. (2020b) *How Europe Should Manage the Coronavirus Induced Crisis*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [How Europe Should Manage the Coronavirus-Induced Crisis by Daniel Gros - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 9-12-2020).

- Guterres, A. (2020) *This is a time for science and solidarity*, *United Nations*. Available at: ["This is a time for science and solidarity" | United Nations](#) (Accessed: 15-12-2020).

- Hajisoteriou, C. (2020) Education at Stake: Lessons to be learned from the COVID-19 Crisis. *In-Depth*, 17(3).

- Hale, T. (2020) An immune system for the body politics: Using social science to control COVID-19. *Camping for Social Science*. Available at: [An immune system for the body politic: Using social science to control COVID-19 - Campaign for Social Science](#) (Accessed: 18-12-2020).

- Hausmann, R. (2020) Flattening the COVID-19 Curve in Developing Countries. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Flattening the COVID-19 Curve in Developing Countries by Ricardo Hausmann - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 24-11-2020).

- Heine, J (2020) *A world (order) turned upside down?*, in; Giardini, G. L. *The World Before and After COVID-19: Intellectual Relations on Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations*. Stockholm: European Institute of International Studies Press.

- Higgott, R. (2020) *Three Scenarios for World Order after COVID-19: Can Multilateral Cooperation be Saved?*. Available at: [Three scenarios for world order after COVID-19: Can multilateral cooperation be saved? – DOC Research Institute \(doc-research.org\)](#) (Accessed: 24-10-2020).

- International Labour Organization (2021) *ILO Monitor: COVID-19 and the World of Work*. Seven editions. Available at: [wcms_767028.pdf \(ilo.org\)](#) (Accessed: 8-9-2021).

- Jin, K. (2020) Is This China's Global Leadership Moment?. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Is This China's Global Leadership](#)

[Moment? by Keyu Jin - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/moment?by=Keyu%20Jin)
(Accessed: 3-12-2020).

- Johnson, S. (2020) Realizing America's Anti-COVID Potential. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Realizing America's Anti-COVID Potential by Simon Johnson - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/realizing-america-s-anti-covid-potential-by-simon-johnson) (Accessed: 28-10-2020).

- Jong-QHA, L. (2020) A Coordinated Response to COVID-19. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [A Coordinated Response to COVID-19 by Lee Jong-Wha - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/a-coordinated-response-to-covid-19-by-lee-jong-wha) (Accessed: 25-12-2020).

- Jun, Z. (2020) COVID-19 Will Not Reduce Global Reliance on China. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [COVID-19 Will Not Reduce Global Reliance on China by Zhang Jun - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/covid-19-will-not-reduce-global-reliance-on-china-by-zhang-jun) (Accessed: 7-12-2020).

- Khor, H. and Strauch, R. (2020) Why Asia and Europe Are Responding to the Same Crisis Differently?. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Why Asia and Europe Are Responding to the Same Crisis Differently by Hoe Ee Khor & Rolf Strauch - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/why-asia-and-europe-are-responding-to-the-same-crisis-differently-by-hoe-ee-khor-amp-rolf-strauch) (Accessed: 7-12-2020).

- Kissinger, H. A. (2020) *The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order*. Available at: [The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order - WSJ](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coronavirus-pandemic-will-forever-alter-the-world-order-11608111111) (Accessed: 21-11-2020).

- KÜPELİ, M. B. (2020) The Changing New World Order After COVID-19. *South Security School*. Available at: [THE CHANGING NEW WORLD ORDER AFTER COVID-19 | \(gencdiplomatar.com\)](https://www.gencdiplomatar.com/the-changing-new-world-order-after-covid-19) (Accessed: 11-11-2020).

- Lewis, J. and Krzyzaniak, J. (2020) *How the coronavirus outbreak is like a nuclear attack: An interview with Jeffrey Lewis*. Available at: [How the coronavirus outbreak is like a nuclear attack: An interview with Jeffrey Lewis - Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists \(thebulletin.org\)](https://thebulletin.org/2020/02/how-the-coronavirus-outbreak-is-like-a-nuclear-attack-an-interview-with-jeffrey-lewis/) (Accessed: 2-12-2020).

- MF Blog (2020) *The Great Lockdown: Worst Economic Downturn Since the Great Depression*. Available at: [The Great Lockdown: Worst Economic Downturn Since the Great Depression – IMF Blog](https://www.imf.org/en/Blogs/Articles/2020/03/11/the-great-lockdown-worst-economic-downturn-since-the-great-depression) (Accessed: 3-11-2020).

- Nafi, B. (2020) *What Comes after the Pandemic?: Predicting the World to Come*. *Al Jazeera Centre for Studies*. Available at: [What Comes After the Pandemic?: Predicting the World to Come* | Al Jazeera Center for Studies](https://www.aljazeera.com/centres/studies/2020/10/25/what-comes-after-the-pandemic-predicting-the-world-to-come) (Accessed: 25-10-2020).

- Nye, J. S. (2020a) *An Abysmal Failure of Leadership*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [An Abysmal Failure of Leadership by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/an-abysmal-failure-of-leadership-by-joseph-s-nye-jr-2020-12) (Accessed: 7-12-2020).

- Nye, J. S. (2020b) *China and America Are Failing the Pandemic Test*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [China and America Are Failing the Pandemic Test by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/china-and-america-are-failing-the-pandemic-test-by-joseph-s-nye-jr-2020-11) (Accessed: 19-11-2020).

- Nye, J. S. (2020c) *Geopolitics after the pandemic*. *The Strategist*. Available at: [Geopolitics after the pandemic | The Strategist \(aspistrategist.org.au\)](https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/geopolitics-after-the-pandemic) (Accessed: 17-12-2020).

- Nye, J. S. (2021) *What Could Cause a US-China War*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [What Could Cause a US-China](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/what-could-cause-a-us-china-war-by-joseph-s-nye-jr-2021-01)

[War? by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 24-3-2021).

- Oğuzlu, T. (2021) Are We on the Eve of a New Cold War?. *Antalya Diplomacy Forum*. Available at: [Are-we-on-the-eve-of-a-new-Cold-War-1-1.pdf \(antalyadf.org\)](#) (Accessed: 6-9-2021).

- Palacio, A. (2020) Can Liberal Democracy Survive COVID-19?. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Can Liberal Democracy Survive COVID-19? by Ana Palacio - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 3-12-2020).

- Patten, C. (2020) Dealing with China After COVID-19. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Dealing with China After COVID-19 by Chris Patten - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 21-11-2020).

- Pei, M. (2020) COVID-19 Is Finishing Off the Sino-American Relationship. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [COVID-19 Is Finishing Off the Sino-American Relationship by Minxin Pei - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 23-11-2020).

- Roach, S. S. (2020) China Leads Again. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [China Leads Again by Stephen S. Roach - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 23-12-2020).

- Rudd, K. (2020) COVID-19 Trump Nationalism. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [COVID-19 Trumps Nationalism by Kevin Rudd - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](#) (Accessed: 6-12-2020).

- Sharfuddin, S. (2020) The world after Covid-19, *The Round Table*, 109(3).

- Sheng, A. and Geng, X. (2020) Cooperate with China or Suffer. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Cooperate with China or Suffer by Andrew Sheng & Xiao Geng - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/Cooperate-with-China-or-Suffer-by-Andrew-Sheng-Xiao-Geng-2020-11) (Accessed: 24-11-2020).

- Shenyang, G. and Boran, L. (2021) The Myth of the New Cold War, *Chinese Journal of International Review* 2(2).

- Soong, H. (2020) An Analysis of the U.S.-China ‘New Cold War’ and COVID-19 on China’s International Image. *Taiwan Strategists*, No. 7. Available at: <https://www.pf.org.tw/files/6777/0CD396F7-9FD8-4FA3-8C15-A4FBDCF1CB0E> (Accessed: 5-9-2021).

- Taylor, J. B. (2020) School Choice Is the Only Option. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [School Choice Is the Only Option by John B. Taylor - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/School-Choice-Is-the-Only-Option-by-John-B-Taylor-2020-12) (Accessed: 3-12-2020).

- The Economist (2020) *What is the economic cost of covid-19?*. Available at: [What is the economic cost of covid-19? | The Economist](https://www.economist.com/What-is-the-economic-cost-of-covid-19-2020-12-24) (Accessed: 24-12-2020).

- The Washington Post (2020) *Trump has no qualms about calling coronavirus the ‘Chinese Virus’. That’s a dangerous attitude, experts say.* Available at: [Trump calling coronavirus ‘Chinese virus’ encourages racism against Asian Americans, experts say - The Washington Post](https://www.washingtonpost.com/Trump-calling-coronavirus-Chinese-virus-encourages-racism-against-Asian-Americans-experts-say/2020/12/13/) (Accessed: 13-12-2020).

- The Washington Post (1990) *Bush ‘Out of these Troubled Times ... A New World Order.* Available at: [BUSH 'OUT OF THESE TROUBLED TIMES ... A NEW WORLD ORDER' - The Washington Post](https://www.washingtonpost.com/BUSH-OUT-OF-THESE-TRUBLED-TIMES-A-NEW-WORLD-ORDER-1990-09-05/) (Accessed: 5-9-2021).

- The World Bank (2020a) *World Bank Predicts Sharpest Decline of Remittances in Recent History*. Available at: [World Bank Predicts Sharpest Decline of Remittances in Recent History](#) (Accessed: 7-9-2021).

- The World Bank (2020b) *Projected Poverty Impacts of COVID-19 (Coronavirus)*. Available at: [Projected poverty impacts of COVID-19 \(coronavirus\) \(worldbank.org\)](#) (Accessed: 9-9-2021).

- United Nations (2020a) *Policy Brief: COVID-19 and Transforming Tourism*. Available at: [sg policy brief covid-19 tourism august 2020.pdf \(un.org\)](#) (Accessed: 5-9-2021).

- United Nations (2020b) *Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Trade and Development: Transitioning To A New Normal*. New York: United Nations Publications.

- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2020) *COVID-19 and Tourism*. Available at: https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditcinf2021d3_en_0.pdf (Accessed: 5-9-2021).

- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2020) *2020 Global Education Meeting: Extraordinary Session on Education post-COVID-19 Background document*. Available at: [gem2020-extraordinary-session-background-document-en.pdf \(unesco.org\)](#) (Accessed: 7-9-2021).

- United Nations Industrial Development Organization (2020) *World Manufacturing Production: Statistics for Quarter II 2020*. Available at: [Unido-file-18632696](#) (Accessed: 8-9-2021).

- UNWTO (2020) *Tourism Back to 1990 Levels as Arrivals Fall by more than 70%*. Available at: [Tourism Back to 1990 Levels as Arrivals Fall by More than 70% \(unwto.org\)](https://www.unwto.org/en/press/news/2020/09/09-09-2020-tourism-back-to-1990-levels-as-arrivals-fall-by-more-than-70) (Accessed: 9-9-2021).

- Verhofstadt, G. (2020) *Is COVID-19 Killing Democracy?*. Available at: [Is COVID-19 Killing Democracy? by Guy Verhofstadt - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/is-covid-19-killing-democracy-by-guy-verhofstadt-2020-11) (Accessed: 11-11-2020).

- Verhofstadt, G. and Garicano, L. (2020) *Toward a European Reconstruction Fund*. *Project Syndicate*. Available at: [Toward a European Reconstruction Fund by Guy Verhofstadt & Luis Garicano - Project Syndicate \(project-syndicate.org\)](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/toward-a-european-reconstruction-fund-by-guy-verhofstadt-and-luis-garicano-2020-12) (Accessed: 13-12-2020).

- World Health Organization (2020) *Responding to the COVID-19 Pandemic: WHO's action in countries, territories and areas, 2020*. Available at: [Responding to the COVID-19 pandemic: WHO's action in countries, territories and areas, 2020](https://www.who.int/publications-detail/responding-to-the-covid-19-pandemic-who-s-action-in-countries-territories-and-areas-2020) (Accessed: 14-10-2020).

- World Travel & Tourism Council (2020) *To Recovery & Beyond: The Future of Travel & Tourism in the Wake of COVID-19*. Available at: [To Recovery & Beyond-The Future of Travel & Tourism in the Wake of COVID-19.indd \(wttc.org\)](https://www.wttc.org/~/media/Files/2020/12/2020-12-01-To-Recovery-&-Beyond-The-Future-of-Travel-&-Tourism-in-the-Wake-of-COVID-19.indd) (Accessed: 5-9-2021).

- Yao, Y. (2021) *The New Cold War: America's new approach to Sino-American relations*, *China International Strategy Review* 3(20).

- Zhan, J. X. (2020) *Impact of Pandemic on Prospects for Foreign Direct Investment*. Available at: [Impact of a pandemic on prospects for foreign direct investment | The World Federation of Exchanges \(world-exchanges.org\)](https://www.world-exchanges.org/impact-of-a-pandemic-on-prospects-for-foreign-direct-investment) (Accessed: 7-9-2021).

پوختە

ئەم توڭزىنەۋەيە بە ناۋنىشانى "رۆلى كۆڭىد-۱۹ لە گۆرۈنى پلەبەندى جىھانى". توڭزىنەۋەكە جەخت دەكاتەۋە لەۋەى كە بىلەۋونەۋەى پەتاي كۆرۈنە ھۆكارىكە بۇ تىكدانى كەرتەكانى كۆمەلەيتى و سىياسى و دارايى و ئابورى و پەرۋەردەيى و تەندروسىيەكان لە سەرتاسەرى جىھان. زياتر لەۋەش، ھۆكارىكە بۇ بەرجەستەكردنى گۆرانكارى نۆۋدەۋلەتى گىرگ لە ئاستى پلەبەندى جىھانى، ئەم چەمكەش يەككە لە چەمكەكانى بۋارى پەيۋەندىيە نۆۋدەۋلەتتەكان كە ۋەسفى دابەشبوۋنى ھىز دەكات لە نۆۋان زەلھىزەكانى جىھاندا. لەگەل ئەۋەى كە سەختە لە ئىستادا پىشېبىنى پىشۋەختە بىكرىت بۇ سەردەمى پاش قايرۇسى كۆرۈنە و خستەنەۋوۋى سىنارىيۇكانى پاش كۆڭىد-۱۹، بەلام سەردەمى پاش كۆڭىد-۱۹ جۆرىك لە پلەبەندى جىھانى جىۋاز دەخولقېنىت بە بەراۋورد بە سەردەمانى پىشتر. ئەۋەى جىگەى تىرامانە، ۋولاتە يەكگرتۋەكان سەركەۋتۋو نەۋوۋە لە رۆلگىزىنى ۋەك رابەرى جىھان لە چۋارچىۋەى ئەۋ قەيرانەى كە لە ئىستادا دەگوزەرىت، بەھۇكارى ئەۋ ئالەنگارىانەى كە رۋوبەۋوۋى ئەم ۋولاتە ھاتۋە لە رابەرايەتى پلەبەندى جىھانى. لەبەرامبەردا، چىن تۋانىۋوۋىيەتى رۆلى زەلھىزى جىھانى بەرجەستە بىكات. بەم شىۋەيە، زىاد بوۋنى ھىزى چىن لە بەرامبەر ۋولاتە يەكگرتۋەكان ئەگەرى درۋستبوۋنى گۆرانكارى لە پلەبەندى جىھانى دەخولقېنىت. جگەلەمانەش، پەتاي كۆڭىد-۱۹ بەشىۋەيەكى بەرچاۋ كارىگەرى ھەبۋە لەسەر رۆل و شەرىيەتى رېكخراۋە نۆۋدەۋلەتتەكان. ئەمەش دەرخەرى ئەۋ راستىيەيە كە دەۋلەتان ئەكتەرى سەرەكىن لە سىستىمى نۆۋدەۋلەتتەدا، ھەر ئەۋانىش گۆرانكارىيەكان دەخولقېن. لەم چۋارچىۋەيەدا، دەكرىت بوۋترىت سەردەمانى پاش و پىش كۆڭىد-۱۹ ھاۋشىۋە نابىن.

كليله وشهكان: كوفيد-١٩، پهتا، قهيران، پله بهندی جيهانی، وولاته
يه كگرتووه كان، چين.

خلاصة البحث:

هذا البحث بعنوان "دور كوفيد-١٩ في انتقال النسق العالمي". يؤكد على أن تفشي وباء كوفيد-١٩ قد تسبب في اضطراب القطاعات الاجتماعية والسياسية والمالية والاقتصادية والتعليمية والصحية في جميع أنحاء العالم. فضلاً عن ذلك، قد ينتج عنه تغييرات دولية مهمة تتعلق بالنسق العالمي، وهو مصطلح في حقل العلاقات الدولية بوصفه توزع القوة بين القوى العظمى. على الرغم من أنه لا يزال من السابق لأوانه التنبؤ بعصر ما بعد الفيروس وسيناريو ما بعد كوفيد-١٩ غير مؤكد، إلا أن هناك أمراً واضحاً هو أنه بعد كوفيد-١٩ سيبدو النسق العالمي مختلفاً بشكل كبير عن حقبة ما قبل كوفيد-١٩. فشلت الولايات المتحدة إلى حد كبير في لعب دور القائد العالمي خلال الأزمة الحالية لأنها تواجه العديد من العقبات في قيادة النسق العالمي. بدلاً من ذلك، تتمتع الصين بمركز القوة العظمى في العالم، وقد ترغب في لعب دور قيادي عالمي في النسق العالمي بعد كوفيد-١٩. وبالتالي، فإن صعود الصين في مقابل الولايات المتحدة من الممكن أن يؤدي إلى أحداث تغييرات في النسق العالمي. فضلاً عن ذلك، فإن جائحة كوفيد-١٩ تؤثر بشدة على المنظمات الدولية، وهم يواجهون أزمة شرعية. وهذا يدل على حقيقة أن الدول هي الفواعل الرئيسية في النظام الدولي، وهم فقط قادرون على أحداث تغييرات. في هذا الصدد، الشيء الوحيد الواضح هو أن النسق العالمي لما بعد كوفيد-١٩ وما قبله لن يكون هو نفسه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: كوفيد-١٩، جائحة، أزمة، النسق العالمي، الولايات المتحدة، الصين.