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## POST-PANDEMIC AGE: WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO) AND GLOBAL WORLD HEALTH GOVERNANCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NEOREALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM

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**Abstract:** The Covid-19 pandemic has brought disaster and catastrophe to humanity's survival. The Covid-19 pandemic has paralyzed not only society's standard social order, but also a country's political and economic stability. On the other hand, the outbreak has altered the global health order. The Covid-19 pandemic has pushed international organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) to take the lead in fighting the outbreak. WHO, as a key player in the global health order, is responsible for preventing pandemics like Covid-19 from recurring in the future. The author intends to examine the role of WHO in compiling global health governance through the lens of the two primary schools of International Relations, neorealism and neoliberalism, in this scientific article. At the discussion stage, the author employs a qualitative method supported by secondary data to support the argument. At the analysis stage, the author contends that there are two opposing viewpoints on WHO's role in developing global health governance. The role of the WHO is viewed skeptically by neorealism, which believes that countries can only rely on themselves to overcome a future pandemic threat. On the contrary, the neoliberalism viewpoint encourages countries to actively participate in global health governance by collaborating with WHO. The author concludes that the state must continue to develop its capabilities in order to survive another pandemic. Countries, on the other hand, must collaborate with international organizational actors to develop inclusive and adaptive global health governance.

**Keywords:** World Health Organization, neorealism, neoliberalism, global health governance, covid-19.

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### INTRODUCTION

The emergence of a new disease threat known as Covid-19 at the start of 2020 stunned the world community. The virus first appeared in the Chinese province of Wuhan in November 2019. Experts believe that the SARS-Cov2 virus first appeared in the Wuhan animal market and spread throughout the world (Y. C. Liu et al., 2020). This virus is clinically zoonotic.

Experts believe bats were the first to spread the virus to other animals at the Wuhan animal market. The virus is then transmitted to humans via unsanitary meat consumption by the infected animal (Shereen et al., 2020). This virus is extremely dangerous to humans because infected individuals suffer from high fever, cough, runny nose, fatigue, and diarrhea (Wu et al., 2020). According to Worldometer data, the total number of Covid-19 cases until July 29, 2022 has reached 579,859,496. There were 6,414,976 patients who died as a result of Covid-19. In the meantime, 549,756,292 patients recovered (Worldometers, 2022).

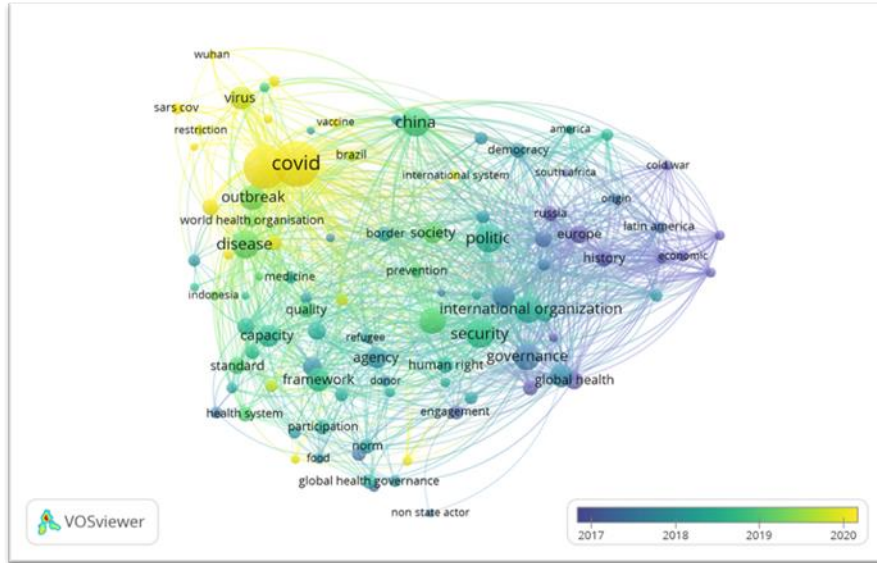
The emergence of Covid-19 elicited a variety of responses from the community and the state. Handling the threat of Covid-19 within the scope of the country necessitates adaptation and changes in public policies in the health sector. Handling the threat of new diseases in the context of state policy is a matter of the political elite protecting the security and health of its citizens (Rokvic & Jeftic, 2015). Several countries have implemented various strategies in response to the threat of this pandemic. When the virus first appeared in China, the Chinese government shut down the city of Wuhan. They restrict entry and exit from the city. Every patient infected with Covid-19 is tracked by the Chinese government (Zhao & Wu, 2020). Unlike the Chinese government, the South Korean government restricted air, land, and sea traffic to China after officials discovered patients infected with Covid-19 (Lee et al., 2020). In another case, the Italian government only prepared to mitigate the threat of Covid-19 after infection cases became more widespread in the country. Because of the great distance between China and Italy, the Italian government initially did not take this threat seriously. Geographic factors made the Italian government less responsive at the start of the pandemic (Capano, 2020). The Indonesian government, like the Italian government, has struggled to mitigate the threat of the Covid-19 pandemic due to a pluralistic society, coordination errors, and the widespread spread of false information. Following an increase in Covid-19 cases, the Indonesian government declared the country to be in a pandemic state via the National Disaster Management Agency (Djalante et al., 2020)

Countries, as well as international organizations such as the World Health Organization, are working to reduce the threat of the Covid-19 pandemic (WHO). This institution, like other international organizations, has a noble and critical mission. As the organization in charge of global health, WHO is responsible for improving the health of the world's population in accordance with international standards and mitigating various disease threats that endanger human life (Ip, 2021). Furthermore, the WHO must improve health standards, particularly for Sub-Saharan Africans living below the poverty line (Havik, 2020). The WHO was the first agency to declare Covid-19 a global pandemic at the start of the pandemic, after the disease spread throughout the country (Capano et al., 2020). Throughout the pandemic, the WHO consistently lobbied countries to reduce the threat of Covid-19 and incorporate it

into national security (Thorp, 2020). Even after health experts discovered the Covid-19 vaccine, WHO's task became extremely demanding. They are in charge of making sure that poor and developing countries receive top priority in vaccine distribution. The WHO prioritizes preventing developed countries from stockpiling vaccines and selling them at exorbitant prices to Third World countries (Kupferschmidt, 2020). Furthermore, as part of governance, WHO has established a standard Covid-19 prevention health protocol to regulate state behavior in the health sector (Javed & Chattu, 2020).

Regardless of the WHO's performance in mitigating the Covid-19 pandemic, the organization's role raises both pros and cons. This debate arose in relation to how WHO can regulate health governance in the future in order to maximize strategies and new disease management. For example, the WHO's role during a pandemic has resulted in various types of trust disintegration. Since 2017, the South Korean government has adopted the WHO-initiated concept of a healthy city, and during the pandemic, the country has been quite responsive in mitigating the threat of Covid-19 (Lee et al., 2020; Woo & Choi, 2022). Unlike the South Korean government, public opinion in the United States is divided into two camps. Citizens in the United States affiliated with the Democratic Party or Liberals are more likely to cooperate and agree that their country should work with the WHO to combat the pandemic. Meanwhile, supporters of the Republican Party and conservatives refuse to cooperate with WHO (Bayram & Shields, 2021). This issue frequently arises in the study of international relations in relation to global governance. The assumption of the neorealism perspective is that global governance is a utopian dream. Countries should concentrate on their own problems rather than delegating global governance to international institutions (Isnarti, 2016). In contrast to neorealism, neoliberalism assumes a more cooperative approach to world problems. Because their real problems are similar, countries should collaborate in a governance mechanism (Ramadhan, 2019). This squabble will undoubtedly complicate future global health governance, particularly for WHO. The author intends to examine particularly in terms of WHO's role as a regulator of global health governance from the perspective of two perspectives, neorealism and neoliberalism. Furthermore, the purpose of this article is to provide an overview of what steps the state should take regarding such governance.

To map the novelty of this article, the author conducted a bibliographical search. The author conducts a bibliographic search for scientific articles using Dimensions media as a data center and processes the results using the VosViewer application. The topic mapping is shown in the image below based on the processing results:



**Fig 1. Topic Mapping**

In the Dimensions data center, the author searches for "World Health Organization" and "Global Health Governance." The author examines articles published in reputable scientific journals between 2013 and 2022. Based on the search results, the authors discovered 485 publications on WHO and global health governance. According to the image above, the topic of WHO research from 2013 to 2019 discussed a lot about the institution's role from the perspective of international organization theory. Furthermore, the image above shows that the research topic is still focused on governance formation and the role of WHO in various countries and continents. From 2020 to 2022, the author discovered that many WHO-related research topics began to discuss the organization's role in mitigating Covid-19. However, the authors observe that no scientific articles specifically examine the role of WHO and global governance from the perspectives of neorealism and neoliberalism. The author also compiles a number of scientific articles on the subject. Several articles from international security studies explain the Covid-19 issue (Ramadhan, 2020, 2021). Furthermore, some articles examine the post-Covid-19 world political order theoretically but do not specifically explain WHO's role in it (Kusumawardhana, 2021). Another article discusses how studying international relations can help to reduce the threat of the Covid-19 pandemic (Davies & Wenham, 2020). Other articles that use the concept of health diplomacy to shape global

health governance are also found by the author (Javed & Chattu, 2020). In light of the preceding examples, the author took the initiative to present a different article about WHO and global health governance in terms of neorealism and neoliberalism.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Neorealism

One of the most popular perspectives in the study of international relations is neorealism. Neorealism is a school of thought that evolved from classical realism and neoclassical realism. This viewpoint sees foreign policy interaction and structure through the eyes of Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli, as full of intrigue and trickery (Alhammedi, 2022). According to the neorealism viewpoint, the state should continue to strengthen itself independently in politics, the military, and the economy. Kenneth Waltz, a neorealist thinker, stated that the state exists in an anarchic system. According to Waltz, anarchy does not imply disorder. However, Waltz's point of view is that the current world situation lacks strict rules or governance to regulate behavior between countries (Alhammedi, 2022). Given the world's anarchy, Waltz explained that countries are always vulnerable to conflict. Thus, neorealism emphasizes that states must consistently develop their strengths in order for conditions to remain safe (Choi & Eun, 2018).

Why is neorealism so preoccupied with conflict? Another fundamental assumption from this perspective is that power development is carried out not only by one country, but also by other countries. Thus, if countries outperform other countries while increasing their power capabilities, they can achieve their national interests (Choi & Eun, 2018). Despite the fact that this fundamental assumption is based on conflictual relations, the realism perspective has reasons for constructing conflict narratives in its thinking. The international system is inherently unstable and devoid of rules. As a result, the state must survive at all costs. As a result, the narrative of morality and justice is not the fundamental tenet of neorealism's assumptions. Thus, a country's main achievement in ensuring domestic and international political security is to increase its power and influence in any way possible, including through conflict (Lundborg, 2019). International politics, according to neorealism, is a competitive arena. Their top priority is to safeguard their country's interests (Syah & Mahmud, 2019).

What is the function of cooperation? In contrast to neoliberalism, which advocates international cooperation, neorealism is skeptical of international cooperation. International cooperation is based on the assumption that the primary task of the state is to protect its national interests, according to neorealism. Cooperation between countries is more focused on the distribution of power and maintaining influence through alliances. The goal is to

compete with their competitors while keeping their country alive through alliances (Meibauer, 2019). According to proponents of the neorealism school, the state can survive if power disparities are implemented. This concept explains why the state must independently increase its power at home. Countries must form alliances in order to remain strong while balancing the influence and power of their competitors (Akdag, 2019).

### **Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism has an understanding that is diametrically opposed to neorealism. Neoliberalism is optimistic about international political governance. The neoliberalist perspective, like neorealism, agrees that the international political environment is anarchic. The neoliberal viewpoint, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of cooperation through the legal framework of the regime or international organizations (Alhammedi, 2022). According to their viewpoint, neoliberalism believes that international problems must be resolved through cooperation rather than conflict. This rationale is inextricably linked to the neoliberal view that global problems are common issues that must be addressed collectively (Navari, 2013).

In contrast to the military perspective of neorealism, neoliberalism is based on an economic approach. Neoliberalism encourages countries to establish a common forum in the form of an institution that can accommodate all types of state interests (Stephen & Oluwaseun, 2022). The World Trade Organization (WTO) regulates tariffs, customs, and trade disputes commonly experienced by countries based on the pattern of interaction described by neoliberalism (Barlow & Thow, 2021). The two perspectives take different approaches to an international institution. International institutions, according to neorealism, are places where power and influence can be spread. However, neoliberalism views international institutions as a tool for regime regulation and humanitarian intervention, as well as media for the spread of democracy (Gromyko, 2020). In the economic context, international institutions, from the standpoint of neoliberalism, serve as a forum for countries to develop economic potentials such as market expansion, capital distribution, and investment in a country (Cornelissen, 2019). This concept's operationalization can be based on at least three criteria, namely the fields of politics, academia, and bureaucracy. The concept of neoliberalism in the political order seeks to change the behavior of the state, which was initially oriented to the political field, to become economic. While in academia, neoliberalism school researchers emphasize the importance of economic integration in each country within a free market framework. Meanwhile, the state must implement various bureaucratic liberalizations and deregulations in order to integrate its interests with those of other countries (Baru & Mohan, 2018). The state then combines the three criteria to form a regime

or international institution encased in multilateral cooperation (Pigman, 2018). The tables below shows the differences between the two schools of thought mentioned above:

**Table 1. Perspective Comparison**

Indicator	Neorealism	Neoliberalism
Point of view	Conflict	Cooperation
Orientation	Politics, military.	Economics and <i>non-high political issues</i> .
Institution and international regime	Power distribution.	Cooperation forum.
Form of international cooperation.	Military alliances.	Multilateral forum, international organization, international regimes.

**Table 2. Basic Assumption of Neorealism and Neoliberalism**

Perspective	Basic Assumption
Neorealism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neorealism is a state centric paradigm. It means state is the main actor in international system.</li> <li>• States are seeking absolute power.</li> <li>• The international system is anarchy. Hence, states have to rely on their own power to survive.</li> <li>• Neorealism believe there is no higher authority than states. International institution is merely an extension of powerful states.</li> <li>• Fear and uncertainty are the main factors that drive state to enhance its political, economics, and military power.</li> </ul>



Neoliberalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neoliberalism believes that the world system is plural. There are various actors beside of states as one of important entities in global politics.</li> <li>• Neoliberalism believes world peace can be achieved through international institution, regime, and law.</li> <li>• The role of other actors such international organization, non-governmental organization, social movement, and individual are much as important as state actor.</li> <li>• Neoliberalism sees democratic state will not engage in conflict with others. Conflict occurs when democratic state is interacting with un-democratic states.</li> </ul>
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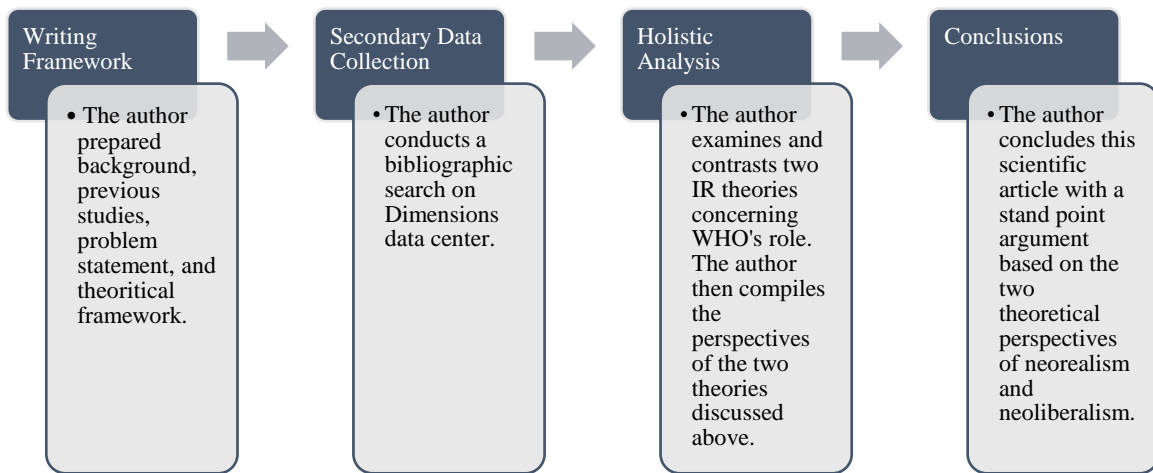
Source: (Isnarti, 2016).

## METHOD

The author of this scientific article employs qualitative methods to analyze socio-political phenomena that occur in society. The author analyzes this phenomenon using qualitative methods because the relationship between the variables presented can be studied qualitatively. Language is used as scientific thinking in qualitative research (Hammarberg et al., 2016). According to Hammarberg's terminology, a qualitative method researcher generally employs methods to describe chronological events descriptively, explain deep relationships between variables, and investigate meanings or values that emerge in society. Furthermore, the author employs the research design in the context of a case study. Case studies are phenomena or cross-border issues in international relations that include aspects of security, diplomacy, foreign policy, or international political economy (Spray & Roselle, 2012). In the context of international relations theory, the case study in this article is related to the phenomenon of international organizations and their contribution to the development of global health governance. In terms of analysis, the author employs a technical approach to holistic analysis to examine two or more cases. The author then investigates the interrelationships between cases and develops an argumentative viewpoint of the author's position on the case (Creswell, 2015). In terms of data support, the author employs secondary data in the form of digital documents from scientific journals obtained from reliable data sources. Dimensions is one such example. Secondary data collection in qualitative scientific articles is scientifically permissible if the writing is supported by credible data such as official documents, interview transcripts, audio-visual documents, or



scientific archives(Creswell, 2015). The author summarizes the process of writing scientific articles in the diagram below:



**Fig.2 Writing Design Flow Chart**

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As stated in the previous discussion, WHO's role during this pandemic is critical. The presence of the WHO, learning from the events of the Covid-19 pandemic, confirms that the world does require global health governance that many countries can adopt. However, WHO's role raises numerous contradictions. For example, following the Covid-19 pandemic, WHO must be able to engage in numerous lobbying maneuvers to persuade countries to open their borders. A country's territories and borders are a fixed cost. Both are components of sovereignty. However, sovereignty is frequently an impediment to WHO's humanitarian mission (Zylberman, 2020). The WHO humanitarian mission focuses not only on health but also on human rights. Access to health care is a critical component of human rights (Ramadhan, 2021). Countries must be persuaded to open their borders by the WHO. These efforts will, at the very least, make international assistance and assistance to uphold human rights in the health sector more accessible (de Mesquita et al., 2021).

We must recognize that sovereignty is a state privilege. They can direct their sociopolitical policies in accordance with their national interests (Pietrasiak, 2020). Opening a state's borders has essentially given rise to new implications, namely the emergence of the term "sharing sovereignty." The concept of shared sovereignty is criticized by neorealism. Sovereignty is the complete right of a state. However, from the standpoint of neorealism,

opening the border is a form of pollution of a country's sovereign rights. As a result, managing sovereignty will be difficult for the state if other actors, such as international organizations, are involved. As a result, sovereignty management may result in conflicts and overlapping interests between states and international organizations (Bickerton et al., 2022). Furthermore, opening the borders will endanger the state in terms of political ideology, identity, and cultural clashes (Benhabib, 2020). As a result, if the state maintains its sovereign existence to the extreme, WHO's efforts to realize global health governance will be difficult. The existence of WHO as an international organization is also criticized by neorealism. International organizations, according to neorealism, are nothing more than a tool for the state to distribute its power. If a country believes that the power of another country threatens its existence, it will join an international organization. As a result, state participation in an international organization is a form of effort to avoid a threat. International organizations are a strategy of "bandwagoning" and "hedging" in countries with extraordinary powers for countries with small powers.

International organizations, on the other hand, are an alliance for countries with great power to distribute their power (Muraviev et al., 2021). Another consequence of joining an international organization is that the state must formally comply with the legal rules established by the organization. The implication is that states must sometimes cede some of their authority and sovereignty to international organizations (Cannon & Rossiter, 2022). Aside from the political implications, joining countries under the auspices of international organizations requires them to accept financial responsibilities. If member countries are willing to contribute financially, an organization can carry out its operational wheel mechanism. The state must be willing to spend some of its funds to keep international organizations running (Moller, 2020). This mechanism contradicts the national interests of some countries. It occurs when they believe the organization is too accommodating to their political opponents.

One example is the US government's criticism of the WHO, which they believe is too close to China. President Donald Trump has slammed the World Health Organization, which they believe is too close to China's interests. As a result, President Trump threatened to cut the US budget to WHO (Norrlöf, 2020). President Trump's actions elicited a response from the American people. At least 51% of Americans oppose their government's participation in WHO (Bayram & Shields, 2021). On the other side, there are numerous countries adopted actions that contradicted WHO guidelines for mitigating the threat. Brazil was one of the countries that rejected WHO recommendations. Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's president, has refused to establish a national health protocol that meets WHO requirements. Bolsonaro also replaced the health minister for the second time with a military commander with no

experience in the health sector. The Brazilian government has published health protocols that deviate from WHO guidelines. As a result, data on COVID-19 cases and deaths in Brazil is inconsistent and invalid (Rocco et al., 2021). The same happens in Spain. Spain, along with Italy, was one of the countries hardest hit by Covid-19 at the onset of the pandemic. In the instance of Spain, the government cut its health-care budget and transferred practically all health-care services to the private sector. Spain restricts citizens' mobility to 5 kilometers from their homes and enforces a lockdown strategy (Reiersen et al., 2022). According to WHO, governments should allocate 15-30% of their national budget during the epidemic. This allocation intends to reduce pandemic transmission and improve health care (Barroy et al., 2020).

Following the Covid-19 pandemic, the WHO has a critical priority in establishing global health governance. One of its primary responsibilities is to establish governance and disease control programs, as well as to set health standards that cross racial, gender, and ethnic lines—the WHO is responsible for achieving a healthy and socio-politically just society by 2030 (Dentico, 2021). The neorealist viewpoint, on the other hand, views the WHO as skeptical of its efforts to achieve global health governance. First and foremost, the international system is anarchic. It means that the current international system lacks rules and governance capable of governing all countries from a political standpoint. The emergence of this anarchy system is inextricably linked to human nature, specifically greed and selfishness (Djatah & Eucharisty, 2021). Humans are the state's driving force. According to the neorealism viewpoint, every country appears to be selfish. So a country's primary goal is to survive in an anarchic environment at all costs (Alhammadi, 2022). One important point to remember is that if a country's attitude is aggressive, the country's proclivity to conflict increases. As a result, any form of collaboration will be easily overlooked (Fearon, 2018). From the standpoint of neorealism, states have only two options in the international system: move to become hegemons or maintain their "status quo." Countries that become hegemons tend to dominate other countries.

Meanwhile, in the context of the "status quo," they only need to balance their strength with other countries so that it is unrivaled and sufficient to create balance in the international political order (Nedal & Nexon, 2019). As a result, neorealism will be skeptical of WHO's realization as a regulator of global health governance. Instead, Neorealism emphasizes the state's independent development of visible powers such as technology or the economy in order to prevent this catastrophic pandemic in the future (McConaughy et al., 2018). Empirical evidence for this country's behavior can be found in the responses of the United States under President Trump's administration and the United Kingdom under Boris

Johnson's administration, both of which are aggressive toward China, skeptical of WHO, and capitalizing on vaccine technology for economic gain (Dentico, 2021; Norrlöf, 2020).

In contrast to neorealism, the neoliberal viewpoint sees cooperation as a necessary alternative in mitigating problems and threats. The WHO declared three important agendas that each country should achieve in the 2019-2023 work program report. The first is that protecting global health standards benefits one billion people. Second, one billion people are safeguarded against various types of health threats. Third, one billion people have a reasonable level of well-being and health (WHO, 2019). However, the WHO's efforts will cross the boundaries of state sovereignty. Meanwhile, sovereignty is extremely sacred in the eyes of neorealism. The neoliberal viewpoint attempts to criticize this viewpoint. The context of sovereignty is no longer relevant in the face of massive and communal threats. Common problems will be resolved at the very least if the state cooperates and institutionalizes the problem to be addressed collectively (Navari, 2013). Common issues include the threat of a pandemic or the emergence of a new disease. These cross-border threats cannot be mitigated by focusing on high-level political issues (Wilner et al., 2022). Cooperation between countries, according to neoliberalism, must be institutionalized. The need for a legally formal organization to regulate and implement programs, political policies, and governance is the goal.

Why is this point so meaningful from a neoliberal standpoint? Because, in essence, each country's capabilities in dealing with a problem differ. Countries can at least reduce the risks or obstacles they face if they have to solve the problem themselves through international institutions (Pan, 2022). As a result, the WHO is not intended to disarm sovereignty issues in the context of establishing global health governance. However, WHO seeks to level the playing field in terms of global health standards and the accomplishments that can be made in dealing with situations such as the Covid-19 pandemic. The author explained in the previous explanation that the position of international organizations such as WHO was met with skepticism by neorealism thinkers. This viewpoint contrasts with that of neoliberalism, which views international organizations favorably. International organizations play the role of accommodating and delegating the national interests of each member country in the preparation of international governance. Why is this the case? The critical implication of this assumption is that not every country is capable of dealing with global problems. As a result, international organizations serve as linkages between all types of interests (Cortell & Peterson, 2022). International organizations play a role in preparing global governance by compiling a standardization that is shared by all countries around the world. Why is standardization so important? This reason is related to the state's ability to overcome

threats. To begin, global threats or problems can affect anyone, including both strong and weak countries.

Some empirical evidence from the perspective of neoliberalism indicates that during the COVID-19 epidemic, some countries did not reject WHO's recommendations for standardization and global health governance. Singapore is one of the countries that has followed the guidelines. When the COVID-19 epidemic struck, Singapore's Ministry of Health adopted a digital tracking policy. To track every visitor's visit to Singapore, the Singapore government built a digital tracking system through the "TraceTogether" and "SafeEntry" programs. Because Singapore was impacted by the epidemic of SARS from 2002 to 2003, the Singapore government took this precaution to avoid the spread of COVID-19. According to WHO recommendations, the Singapore government is supporting widespread vaccination by cooperating with pharmaceutical corporations such as Pfizer and Moderna (Holbig, 2022). Conversely, WHO is working with the Chinese government, specifically encouraging the use of the Sinovac and Coronavac vaccines. The WHO certification is critical for China, as many nations, including Brazil and the United States, rejected the Sinovac vaccine due to concerns about its safety. The WHO approval for the use of the Sinovac and Coronavac vaccines is part of an attempt at convincing governments around the world that these two vaccines are appropriate and safe (Sheen et al., 2023). Another empirical example of international actor collaboration is the establishment of the "Access to Covid-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator" by WHO, the European Commission, and the French government. The program's goal is to work with international organizations, countries, and industries to provide facilities for COVID-19 mitigation, diagnosis, treatment, vaccine distribution, and treatment of individuals at risk (Sheen et al., 2023).

The second point is that each country's capability varies. If a threat is not overcome, it will have a global domino effect. As a result, international organizations should provide a global forum for strengthening coalitions, sharing information, and improving security (Moore et al., 2021). It follows from the preceding assumptions that the role and existence of international organizations such as WHO become critical in mitigating the threat of new diseases. What kind of standardization of health governance should WHO prepare for in the future, based on the case of the Covid-19 pandemic? The organization must at the very least develop health governance policies for new disease alerts, membership payment mechanisms, country coordination patterns, research collaborations, data center preparation, and health capacity and capability development programs (Debre & Dijkstra, 2021). Of course, the main goal is that such governance prevents another Covid-19 pandemic from occurring.

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Regarding the anarchic international system, both neoliberal and neorealism perspectives have one agreement in addressing this matter. The two perspectives presented above agree that the architecture and international political system are analogous to a wilderness governed by jungle law. However, both perspectives have ideas for dealing with the anarchic world situation. Neoliberalism, on the other hand, chooses the path of cooperation to survive in an anarchic political system. In realizing health governance after the Covid-19 pandemic, the presence of WHO has become an oasis amid the hustle and bustle of conflict. For example, the WHO should translate technical language in the context of health into lay language that many people can understand (Heimer, 2018). In a similar vein to the Covid-19 incident, when the world experienced an outbreak of the SARS pandemic in 2002, WHO found it difficult to formulate global health governance norms due to widespread community misinformation. This misinformation impedes the development of global health governance norms. As a result, one of the first tasks of WHO is to eliminate community-wide misinformation about the threat of disease (Heimer, 2018). The world is often filled with uncertainty, which is why WHO deserves to be at the forefront of managing health governance in anarchy.

The Covid-19 pandemic taught us that countries require an international agreement enshrined in governance. The primary goal is to demonstrate how the uncertainty of global conditions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic affects a country's political, economic, and social stability (Fernández-Portillo et al., 2020). The third reason is that the state is currently dealing with a number of systemic crises in the post-nationalism era. Financial, environmental, natural disaster, and disease crises have far-reaching global consequences. As a result, efforts to alleviate the crisis necessitate an approach that is not divided by national borders. To alleviate the crisis, the world needs an institution (Heupel et al., 2021). The final reason is that the nation-state is committed to achieving the third sustainable development goal, which is equal distribution of health standards. As a result of the events of this pandemic, Covid-19 has created a divide between rich and developing countries. Conflict-ravaged developing countries cannot mitigate the pandemic threat. Meanwhile, if individualist realism is our guide, developing countries will not be able to survive a pandemic. Why is this the case? Because the pandemic affects not only health but also one of the most fundamental human rights, the right to health. As a result, organizations such as WHO must serve as a bridge and a spearhead in developing governance and bridging these gaps (Seyhan, 2020).

Based on the two schools of thought discussed above, the author believes that WHO plays an important role in developing health management strategies that can mitigate the threat of a pandemic like Covid-19. WHO has the authority to establish global health governance, which many countries have adopted. However, WHO must pay close attention to several issues



concerning their coexistence with state actors. First, the state maintains sovereignty as an essential component. The state has a fundamental right in sovereignty to create a constitution, run the government, establish order, and uphold justice (Nicholls, 2019). As a result, the WHO must continue to respect the country's fundamental rights. Another critical point is that the WHO initially mitigated the Covid-19 pandemic on its own because it did not anticipate that the implications of this new disease would cause global chaos. Learning from this pandemic, the WHO should create a long-term governance framework that considers the relationship between health and the political, social, and economic fields. Furthermore, future WHO governance policies must be developed in collaboration with United Nations sub-organ institutions such as UNICEF (United Nations Children's Education Funds) or UNDP (United Nations Development Programmes) (Liu, 2022). Furthermore, the authors contend that government positions are not always well-targeted or inclusive. As a result, in this case, the WHO must consider technical aspects, particularly those related to implementing health standards in countries that are WHO partners. Work strategies, resource mobilization, the feasibility of WHO partner countries, types of assistance, and funding allocations must all be included in the governance structure (Chi & Bump, 2018). Furthermore, the authors believe that governance formation cannot be solely the responsibility of WHO. State participation in governance arrangements is required. After all, the state has national interests that can be pursued on a global scale via international organizations. Countries can, at the very least, choose whether to be isolationist or cooperative. Empirically, the British government appears to have underestimated the invitation to collaborate with WHO or to open up like the French government in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic crisis (Benoît & Hay, 2022).

### Conclusions

The COVID-19 pandemic has harmed global stability, but lessons must be learned. The presence of WHO is an incentive for countries and communities to set a consistent standard of health. In light of this pandemic, the WHO must prepare health governance to achieve program goals for sustainable development. The neorealism viewpoint holds skepticism about the realization of governance because the state can rely on no one but itself. From the evidence above, the author concludes that numerous states were rejecting a recommendation from WHO. Their rejection correlates with the basic assumption of neorealist that states must sustain themselves to protect national security. The neoliberal viewpoint, on the other hand, believes that the Covid-19 pandemic crisis should serve as impetus for all countries to collaborate. Neoliberalism sees the Covid-19 pandemic as a signal for the WHO to develop global health governance that every country can adopt. In



essence, such governance should not jeopardize the state's sovereignty. Many states collaborate with WHO since it has a purpose to govern and standardize the world health regulation. However, the country cannot survive on its own and believes that a pandemic like Covid-19 will not occur again. At the very least, the Covid-19 pandemic must be able to serve as a platform for collaboration among countries and international organizations in order to prevent similar incidents from occurring in the future.

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