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The Politics of Global Response to Covid-19: Implications for International Communication of the Health Care Systems

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes global responses to the spread of Covid-19. It examined how International Communication by media on Covid- 19 has been challenged by lack of preparedness and capacity of the nations to tackle the spread of the virus. It was also concerned with how diplomatic relations for cooperation are changed into conflicts among economic and political rivals of the world. It employed the method of non-probability sampling which employed availability sampling and textual reviewing of selected online news media and social networking sites as a response to the epidemics from January-April, 2020. The article draws up on Wallerstein's World Systems Theory as a conceptual framework of the analysis. As a finding, it indicated that Covid-19 spread all over the world to an alarming rate. Most developed States like U.S., Italy and Spain were hardly hit by the virus and could not manage it. The spread of the virus to the developing countries and the number of cases and deaths are recorded in much slighter than the Core States. This incidence contributed to the politicization of global response to, and cooperation on Covid-19. In conclusion, Wallerstein's Categorization of the World through the lens of World Systems Theory will no more explain the nature of Global Health Care system. Hence, a call for Jan N. Pieterse's Critical Globalism to improve global discourse on Health Care System has been suggested. Global integration through media discourse would also shape communication flows and approaches for global cooperation of core, periphery and semi-periphery states.

Keywords
Global response, covid-19, international communication, world systems theory, critical globalism

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INTRODUCTION

This article discusses of global responses to the outbreak and spread of Covid-19. It mainly focused on explaining how global response to the spread of the virus was politicized instead of advocating cooperation of states. The article analyzed online news media coverage of the outbreak and spread of Covid-19. It has supported the analysis with literature about global epidemic preparedness and level of cooperation over the world through the lens of world systems theory. Covid-19 pandemic

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has increasingly becoming a cause for international economic and political agenda among different States of the world including the core, periphery and semi periphery nations. Politicizing epidemic outbreaks, however, is not new. Earlier, Lydia Kapiriri and Alison Ross have published an article on the 'politics of disease epidemics' focusing on the comparative analysis of SARS, Zika and Ebola. Their main argument was that responses to these outbreaks have been political and inherently burdensome to marginalized populations (Kapiriri & Ross, 2018). In their comparison, they situated politics of Ebola in a low-income setting, Zika virus in a middle-income setting, and SARS in a high income setting. Likewise, the categorization of the politics of viruses according to the level of the world economy has influenced the author of this article to analyze global response to Covid-19 within the conceptual framework of Emmanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory.

Following the outbreak of the Covid-19 in China, Wuhan City, States have reacted by possible means's to fight against the Virus. These actions have included the guiding principles reported by world health Organization (WHO) to protect human beings from the Virus. However, at the time, Covid-19 has become more politicized, more racialized as states have started conspiratorial communication against each other. Politicization of Covid-19 was a result of inadequate measures taken by states to fight against its spread. Historical accounts of influenza pandemics and contemporary reports on infectious diseases clearly demonstrate that poverty and inequalities can further contribute to unequal burdens of morbidity and mortality (Quinn & Kumar, 2014, p. 263). Therefore, one can argue that this inequality would also affect the global cooperation on fighting the spread of the virus and caused political frustrations among the states.

In this regard the main objectives this article was to explain how global response to Covid-19 by the media and international public figures has affected international communication of the health system. It also aimed at the examination of the global responses in different sections of the world through the lens of Emmanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory.

LITERATURE REVIEW

International Communication on Covid-19 and the purpose of this article

One of the most significances of International Communication is promoting states' integration on global problems. The cooperation of the global society matters to bring about fruition to world health care system. With regard to Covid-19, even though there are efforts to tackle the problem of the spread of the virus through UN, WHO, individual organizations' donation and voluntarism in some states, the world does not seem to unite as it was expected. This was mainly because of the ideological and political problems rooted among nations during and prior to the outbreak. As a result, one can envisage that the worst is coming to international communication for interdependence. This article attempts to investigate and explain the problems of international communication in tackling the spread of COVID-19 which is challenging the world's health care system as fighting the virus is becoming more racialized, politicized defecting international communication.

Therefore, in this article, international communication can be defined as the wide-ranging and diverse communication of local, national, and international governmental and nongovernmental organizations including business companies, individual political figures on the outbreak of Covid-19 and the global response to tackle it. It can also be understood as how scholars talked about epidemics, and whose concerns are used as agenda for international news stories, and how they influence the global cooperation on Covid-19 reflecting the dimension of communication of current world health care systems.

International communication research has got its potential significance since the debate over the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in 1970's (Hanusch & Obijiofor, 2008). At the time, NWICO was initiated to restructure the perceived imbalance of international news flaws between third world as developing countries complained of suffering various disadvantages in western news coverage, production and marketing (Tussu, 2000, Hanusch & Obijiofor, 2008). However, the problem that this article addressed is more complicated, bigger issues of global human rights and serious political issues erupted with the outbreak of Covid-19. The communication and information revolution of the 20th century coupled with the 21st century

global environmental problems have contributed to more political struggle and this is particularly reflected by the outbreak of Covid-19.

International communication is a communication that occurs across international borders or simply government to government communication (Tussu, 2000). It encompasses political, economic, social, cultural and military concerns. On the other hand, crisis risk communication involves information exchange about health risks caused by environmental, industrial or agricultural processes, policies, or products among individuals, groups and institutions (Glik, 2007). On global response to Covid-19, these two different types of communication are mixed on international media and social media and the effect seemed too much political instead of 'cooperation' on tackling the spread of Covid-19.

The problem of politicizing the case could be an indicator that states have lost their capacity to reduce Covid-19 cases and deaths. The blame for the fast rate of the spread the virus to reduce its spread has challenged states from almost all developed and developing countries. However, the game has more importantly played between U.S, China, Black Africans, WHO and some states from developing countries. What made Covid-19 a central cause for an international political chaos was its complication and ineffectiveness of the global cooperation needed to tackle the problem as it caused economic crisis, deaths and millions of patients due to the virus, and unemployment. The main objective of this article is to examine how global cooperation on tackling the spread of covid-19 has been politicized and reported on international online news media pages and its implication for future global politics and globalization. Specifically, the article was intended to analyze news media and social media reports of global response to Covid-19 within the framework of world system theory. It was also intended to examine how governments and international organizations responded to the spread of Covid-19 and how it has been politicized by nation states. Finally, the article shed some light on anticipating the implication of governments' response to Covid-19 worldwide for the world health care system.

METHOD

This article analyzed some of the contents of selected online news media coverage of the outbreak and spread of Covid-19 from January-April, 2020. Specifically, the article analyses how international communication about the spread of Covid-19 and the world's cooperation to tackle the problem has contributed to the political tensions among states of the world. The article also draws up on Wallerstein's World Systems Theory as a conceptual framework for the analysis of international communication for cooperation on Covid-19. Data was collected from the online news pages of The Economic, BBC, Aljazeera, France 24, CNN, Science, The Guardian, New York Times, Africanews, The Independent and Twitter pages of Leaders. The article also gave emphases to the reports by international organizations such as WHO and international media agencies which are accessed online. To focus only on issues that have a tremendous effect on global politics, it has only analyzed some of the online news stories which are transmitted focusing on the rate of spread and international response from January to April 2020. It has tried to augment the analysis with contemporary literatures about the global response to pandemic diseases and its political implications.

World Systems Theory

World system theory is regarded as an expansion of dependency theory and imperialism theory (Madikiza & Bornman, 2007). Focusing predominantly on relationships between the core, centre and the periphery, it reflects dimensions of development of various sections of the world mainly of information communication technology. It also acknowledges the emergence of a new social system, namely a global or world system. The world-system theory is a complex conceptualization of social and economic dynamics that is presented within the historical framework (Burhanuddin, 2015). Chase-Dunn & Hall (1997), referring to Emmanuel Wallerstein defines the world system as a multicultural network for the exchange of 'essential goods.' Simply, the term 'world system' indicates the social context in which people in the modern era live. The systemic character of the world system is situated in the fact that events in one part of the globe have important consequences for other parts of the world. It can also refer to forms of interaction such as wars, diplomacy,

intermarriages, and most importantly the exchange of information. Thus economic, political, cultural and scientific forms of interaction all form part of the world system.

In this study, the author indicates that the world's health care system is one of the world systems that could be affected or affect the economic, political, cultural and scientific forms of interaction. Therefore, world systems theory can be applied to analyze the structure of communication for cooperation on Covid-19 in different worlds. World system theorists also acknowledge inequality or hierarchy as they prefer to call it in the structure of interactions within the world system (Madikiza & Bornman, 2007).

According to Wallerstein, strong and relatively autonomous states serve primarily to distort the free workings of the capitalist market (Appelrouth & Edles, 2010). This dynamic led to the creation of three hierarchically structural positions within the capitalist 'world economy': Core, periphery and semi periphery. The core region first emerged in Northwestern Europe and now includes US, Canada, Japan and Others. The periphery includes earlier Eastern Europe, now Africa, Caribbean and members of third world. The semi periphery occupies the position between Core and periphery which are states with a labor force, and play an essential role in maintaining political stability of the modern world system through protests and political pressures. Semi periphery societies have been an important source of innovation and transformation in all world-systems that have core/periphery hierarchies as Manning & Gills (2011) argue citing Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997). They are groups of prolific innovators of techniques that both facilitate upward mobility and transform the basic logic of social reproduction.

The periphery and semi periphery mostly described in terms of its struggle to overcome the ideological and political dominance of the 'core' nations. One reason for which the author likes this division was that it does not generalize nations into rich and poor nations. It provided us a division through which we can understand the influence of the core, periphery and semi-periphery world one another and this can better reflect communication of Covid-19. For instance, we can use the resources and opportunities (including communication) in the semi periphery to capacitate the periphery since they are closer to each other than to the core nations. In this way, we can minimize the power influence by the core nations over the periphery nations by integrating the semi periphery and periphery.

Authors such as Wallerstein, Manning and Gills have used world systems theory to analyze worlds' development mainly as affected by information and communication technologies, whereas authors such as Thussu (2000), Madikiza & Bornman (2007) used it as one of the types of international communication theory. Therefore, from both perspectives, World Systems Theory can be used to analyze the structural inequalities and hierarchies of communication among nation states on Covid-19 which has very politicized. World systems theory can be criticized for the fact that it gives little attention to the causes and consequences of inequality, dominance and hierarchy in the world system (Madikiza & Bornman, 2007).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Spread of Covid-19 and Challenges of communication for Cooperation

On 31 December 2019, the first reported case in the COVID-19 outbreak was reported in Wuhan, China. The first case outside of China was reported in Thailand on January 13, 2020. WHOdeclaredCOVID-19 outbreak as a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) on January 30, 2020(WHO report). Covid-19 is a complicated virus that its spread has challenged almost all the states on the world. A group of researchers who studied about the nature of the virus confirmed that Covid-19 is still an unclear infectious disease, which means they can only obtain an accurate prediction after the outbreak ends (Hamzah et al., 2020). Because of its rate of spread all over the world, it has caused a call for the nation and international institutions to unite.

Earlier, the world has experienced several epidemics posing serious threat to global public health, including the 2002 severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) epidemic that caused 800 deaths out of about 8,000 cases, the 2009 H1N1 pandemic with 18,500 deaths, the 2012 Middle East respiratory syndrome (MERS) epidemic that caused 800 deaths out of 2,500 cases, the 2014 Ebola outbreak with 28, 616 cases and 11, 310 deaths (Anjorin, 2020, p. 1). Louise Gresham and Colleagues have confirmed once that disease surveillance networks in the Middle East, Southeast

Asia, and Africa are models for the kind of transnational cooperation that can mount the needed flexible and coordinated response to the spread of 2009 H1N1 influenza and future pandemic threats (Gresham et al., 2009, p. 399).

Likewise, when the SARS virus began its worldwide spread out of southern China in 2003, it caught regional and international health officials by surprise (Anjorin, 2020). Its origins were unknown, its manner of transmission was yet to be discovered, and its rapid spread was unprecedented in recent decades. While China, Taiwan, and countries as geographically proximate to the U.S. as Canada battled SARS, struggling with containment and treatment, the U.S. managed to avoid even a single SARS death (Schwartz & Schwartz, 2010, p. 2). SARS was a particularly contagious and virulent member of the corona family of viruses which cause the common cold. It first appeared in humans in late 2002 in southern China **(**Powers, 2008). According to this author**,** While SARS epidemic lasted for only few months ending by July 2003, it was predicted that its handling from a communication viewpoint will provide important lessons that can better the world for the much larger pandemic in the not-too-distant future. Similarly, in November 2016 the Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO) declared an end to the Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) caused by Zika virus (Bennett & Carney, 2017). However, these two authors were concerned that in the wake of each emergency has come global searching over the best way of strengthening capacity for the future but it remains questionable if it becomes real strengthening of national, regional, and global health systems.

The prediction by the former author has been proofed to fail by the fear of the later authors recently concerned about communication and preparedness of the governments across world. This is observed to come true as Covid-19 is spreading at an alarming rate, most killer compared to other pandemics prior to it as millions have been infected and hundredth of thousands have died. The U.S, one of the leading States from the Core nations, which hardly hit by the virus, is also no more managing the spread of the virus. The SARS epidemic was not only a health crisis, but also an economic and political catastrophe in the areas that were horribly affected (Lee, 2008). Thus, the US's incapacity to manage the spread of the virus, and the number of cases and deaths in the country would indicate the economic and political crisis during Trump's administration. Our World in Data has reported the total death over the world referring to European-CDC situation report as shown on the following chart.
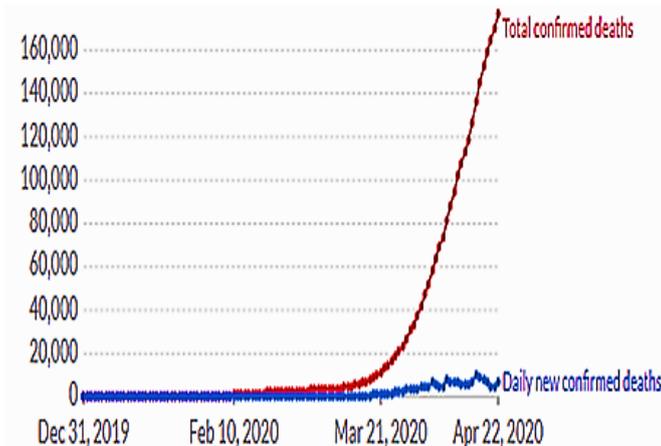

Figure 1. Daily and Total Confirmed COVID-19 deaths, World
(*Source: European CDC – Situation Update Worldwide – Last updated 22, April*).

Its spread and death cases are worst in U.S. and European countries whereas it is mild in Asian countries with no reported cases in North Korea and infrequent reports in Africa. However, some suspect countries with lower cases of Covid-19 with states testing capacity. Rising political tensions as Covid-19 spreads is rooted in the recent international economic and political rivals of the world. The rivals are located in all core, periphery and semi-periphery nations. At this time, international communication for cooperation suffers from more polarized, politically motivated hate speeches from Western to the Eastern and developing African countries. As part of Global response to

Covid-19 very earlier when three new countries in Africa (2) and America (1) have reported cases of Covid-19, the United Nations have launched a US$ billion Covid-19 global humanitarian response plan to support the most world's vulnerable countries (WHO, March, 26/2020). The WHO Director-General mentioned many key issues, action and steps to effectively combat Covid-19. That included maintaining physical distance but not social distance. However, the communication for combating the spread of the virus has not well situated in individual states as it was intended by WHO because of the political situations that polarized the transmission of messages, donations and every attempt taken by states and individual donors in the states.

The politicization of Covid-19 pandemic has begun earlier in January as Donald Trump asserts the virus as China's virus. However, then in April, as the virus spreads almost in all regional states of the U.S, president Trump continued his assault on China and Black Africans. He accused Director General of WHO for coming late to make public that Covid-19 was pandemic. He also added some racial based hateful assertions against director general of WHO Tedros Adhanom. A Covid-19 pandemic has spread to more than 114 countries before it was officially declared as a pandemic by WHO on March 11, 2020 (Anjorin, 2020). The director General has tried his best to defend himself as he says "I'm proud of being Negro, but any offense against black community should stop". This has instigated the conflicts in between China, U.S. and WHO and affected global cooperation on fighting the spread of the deaths. Earlier, U.S. and Japan were mentioned as Core nations in the Emmanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory. State of China, which is a present U.S. rival, was not categorized into any of the three categories.

Gradually, an international cooperation on Covid-19 is changed to global political war between most developed countries particularly U.S. and China and more generally between Westerns and black Africans as it was racialized since French medical doctors once asserted that the drugs should first be tested on Black Africans. This is a point at which a response to Covid-19 has been racialized and discriminated the world population from the periphery nations. Most of notable Africans and WHO have responded to the assertion declaring that Africans are not Lab and the test of Covid-19 passes only through legal processes and principles set out by WHO before. Most of the African leaders have used only their twitter account for assertion against black by Trump and French Medical Doctors. The medical Doctors vowed for apology for their discriminatory hateful assertions against black Africans. Added to this, it was also claimed that in U.S. majority of the infected and died from Covid-19 were people of Color as Betsy Gardner writes on Data Smart City solutions in June 15, 2020. Various media institutions have covered all the politically inflamed assertions after these discriminations.

A politically motivated conflict over responding to the outbreak of pandemic diseases is not new to the world since it has been experienced earlier. For instance, Indonesian government took the controversial decision in December 2006 to cease sharing its H5N1 virus samples with the international community. It did so after discovering that the virus samples it had been forwarding freely to the World Health Organization (Elbe, 2010). Elbe notes that, as a result, a key lesson to emerge from the international virus sharing was that a securitized response to infectious disease management can have unanticipated consequences in terms of further complicating international health cooperation.

Media Reports of Covid-19 Pandemic: Call for Cooperation or Political Competition?

Most news pages of online media were occupied by the updates from WHO about the spread and number of cases and deaths across countries. Attempts have been taken by WHO in warning states and institutions not to politicize Covid-19 epidemic. However, most of the international news media politicized this global problem. This part of the article is concerned analyzing online news media coverage of Covid-19. It mainly focused on elucidating how international online news media pages have been reporting to call nations to integrate in fighting the spread of the virus and how their reports revealed political conspiracies and discriminations among states, particularly in between China and U.S. In this way, online news media reports of the Economic, BBC, Aljazeera, France 24, CNN, Science, The Guardian, New York Times Africa news, France 24, and the Independent have been analyzed.

For instance, The Economics has once reported about the politics of Covid-19 pandemics with short and clear but tougher statements in expressing the imbalance of cooperation among

governments all over the world to tackle the problem. By its March 12, 2020 edition it reported about the problem headed as "All governments will struggle. Some will struggle more than others" which was to reflect that states are concerned with COVID-19 differently based on the severity of the disease in their own countries than acting on it as a global common health problem.

The report has also tried to indicate the seriousness of virus taking Lombardy, the rich Italian region at the heart of the covid-19 outbreak in Europe. In the report, it indicated that Lombardy's hospitals provide world-class Health Care and Health Care givers thought they would cope with the disease only until waves of people began turning up with pneumonia. Since then, the World Health Organization officially declared Covid-19 as pandemic. At the time, the virus was spreading fast, with almost 45,000 cases and nearly 1,500 deaths in 112 countries outside China. Epidemiologists reckon Italy is one or two weeks ahead of places like Spain, France, America and Britain. Less-connected countries, such as Egypt and India, are further behind, but not much (WHO report, 2020). This report tended to give information about the rate of spread of the virus across countries and did not disclose the number of patients who recovered from the disease. However, the numbers of patients recovered indicate the level of health facility and capacity of the states to manage the virus that would have been used to compare.

Some online news stories were politicized much more than 'The Economics' report. Aljazeera international has started analysis of the spreading of the virus to developing countries to be worst. It described the developing countries as "poor countries" that will do nothing to protect their people from the spread of the virus. These kinds of politicized and racialized assertions were not actually to 'cooperate' with the world to tackle the problem. Rather, they were politically motivated to divide the nations into extreme political rival groups. Hence, we could argue that the international communication for cooperation over global problems like Covid-19 is not improved since the first decades of the 21st century, the time the world has experienced similar but less serious virus diseases than Covid-19.

There were also CNN analysts who were very much concerned with Donald Trump's mismanagement of the virus starting from the outbreak to the time the virus declared pandemic. For example, one of the CNN's analysts, Fareed Zakaria, on his Global Public Square (GPS), brought to the scene the fact that "Covid-19 crisis brings out the worst in Trump". He pointed out that "Covid-19 is spontaneous natural disaster. But that does not mean we cannot do anything about it". He pledges for aggressive and intelligent response to the virus by the governments. Comparing different states response to tackle the spread of the virus, he downplayed Mr. Trump's mismanagement and less responsibility. Fareed Zakaria asserted that 'we could track the spread of the virus since January. He referred to the New York Times report of the speech by director of Medical and Bio defense, Dr. Luciana Borio in 2018 about the preparedness of its own national security council by which she asserted that "the threat of Pandemic flu is our number one health security concern. We know that it cannot be stopped at the border" predicting Covid-19 and similar pandemics potential threat to the world in the future. Likewise, Fareed Zakaria criticizes that White House was not responsible for her speech at the time. This showed President Trump's recklessness and irresponsibility for the safety of the people of America. By his other concerns on GPS, Fareed Zakaria has claimed that "Trump's claim of testing turned out to be a cruel hoax". "We Americans have to come to recognize that the U.S. is on track to have the worst outbreak of Covid-19 among wealthy countries largely because of the ineffectiveness of its government and described this as a new phase of American exceptionalism".

There are also other public figures that have downplayed Trump's management of the pandemic. One of the greatest actors, Robert De Niro, appeared on the Stephen Colbert's Late Show and called Donald Trump 'a Fake President' for he always projects and accuses. MSNBC analyst described Donald Trump's actions as "a willful ignorance" referring to Time Magazine. He says Trump has "Stubborn Disregard" for intelligence briefings. He compared him to many serious high school students in America who spend many more hours working exactly what they plan than Donald Trump does. Similarly, another CNN analyst Don Lemon described Donald Trump as he is 'gas lighting' American people and 'rolling the tape", looking at his no action despite his projections, accusations and denial. Most of the CNN's analysts have projected on downplaying and exposing Trump's mismanagement of Covid-19 much more than other media that are concerned more about

his accusations of WHO and hateful assertions towards black African director general Tedros Adhanom in his attempt to Politicize covid-19.

BBC on April 9, 2020 reported WHO chief's call for urgency for unity despite politicization of the virus and continued fire from the U.S. president Donald Trump who claims that the U.S. is one of the agency's largest voluntary funders up to 15% of the total fund. But he claims that WHO is being 'China-centric' so that his management would review it to pass decision to cut fund for WHO. To the contrary, the fact that we came across the news that Taiwan was prepared to distribute 10 million facemasks for the states that are hardly hit by the virus including U.S. was an indication of the world system that is characterized by the mechanism of the redistribution of resources.

From the agency's side, BBC has all reported that director general has received death threats, insults of hates against blacks he didn't give a damn, and WHO is closer to every nation and it is color blind organization. This statement directly refers to the fact that all nation states are treated equally by WHO regardless of their difference on political views and interests. Another important report by BBC posed the question "why are African Americans hit so hard by virus?" the question most people answered because of their living conditions reflects worst case of inequality in America. This shows the presentence of 'periphery' society within the core states. Here, one has to think of existence of lower economic groups to the utmost. Beyond that, one could also pose the same question in different way as 'why African Americans are hit so hard by the virus as America is heading to the 2020 U.S. election? The answer would mean that President Trump is projecting to win the election with white supremacy. This could be another challenge to the world systems theory that categorizes world into different sections. It challenges Wallerstein's category of the core/periphery nations as the core nations become powerless to manage Covid-19.

Science's report on April 8, 2020 was also concerned that WHO's chief response to Trumps criticism, the fact that he says' "we will have many body bags if we don't behave'. Tedros Adhanom also suggested that "U. S and China should come together and fight this dangerous enemy" urging politicians not to exploit global political differences. As of April 12, the U.S. has more corona virus infections than anywhere else in the world. This figure exposed President Trump's mismanagement.

The Guardian has also reported with news head which read as "Trump scapegoating of WHO obscures its key role in tackling pandemic". Contrary to Trump's Criticism, it has also been reported by the Guardian that Global health experts have generally given the WHO good marks for its transparency and the speed with which it has responded to Covid-19, under its director general, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. It is universally seen as much better than it's sluggish, 'error-strewn response' to the Ebola outbreak in West Africa in 2014, three years before Tedros took over. This fact has defended, Tedros as a better Leader who was elected from Africa, one of the continents from the Periphery nations.

Other reports of the Guardian have been concerned with how poor countries can minimize the spread of this virus. For instance, Amanda Glassman, the executive vice-president and senior fellow at the Center for Global Development, said a deeper problem is the WHO's low budget and relatively toothless structure. She noted that:

"The real challenge for the WHO has yet to come, when the pandemic really hits poorer countries with fragile, underfunded health services, who rely heavily on the organisation. Unlike the Ebola outbreak in 2014, the US will not be there to take the lead, and it will be up to the WHO to coordinate scarce resources and expertise. "Can they do that in 40 countries at once? "That is the part that remains to be tested".

Again, to the contrary, the total Covid-19 cases and deaths in Africa cannot be compared to the cases and deaths in the U.S. The Ebola outbreak in 2014 has helped us to experience racialization of the virus as African virus. Trump's calling of China's virus is similar to that assertion of polarity. It would also potentially damage the relations of the sates from the core, periphery and semi periphery. Actually, these assumption-based assertions emanate from having no actual information about how states are acting to tackle the spread of Covid-19 simply giving too much weight for the power of wealth to fight against the virus. But we have come across various instants showing that prosperity could not save the wealthier states. Things have much more depended on how aggressive have states passed the lockdown decisions earlier before the spread of the virus and how they have changed the communication of lockdown and guidelines to protect from the virus into effect. Hence,

one could argue against Glassman's tests as we are waiting to test poor nations' good management than the wealthier western states, but the political implications is yet to be faced as a struggle between the 'core' states on diplomatic rival over 'periphery' states will continue.

As to fight against the racial discrimination on Black Africans, a report from Africa news brought to the scene that many African leaders' stand beside WHO and its director general Tedros Adhanom. As the dispute continued over the reality in Trump's claim, the African Union Commission Chairperson, Moussa Faki Mahamat, posted support for the WHO and Tedros in a tweet of April 8. That tweet set off a reaction from a number of Africa leaders. He noted that "the African Union fully supports WHO and Dr. Tedros. The focus should remain on collectively fighting Covid19 as a united global community. The time for accountability will come."

This call for cooperation directly tells us the contra-flows in global crisis communication from African leaders in response to the U.S. poor communication that could bring the world into further conflict. According to the report by the Africa news, among the leaders of Africa who followed Moussa Faki's Tweet to support WHO include, Hage Geingob of Namibia and Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria, Ethiopian Foreign Minister Gedu Andergachew, South African president Cyril Ramaphosa also considers the call for global solidarity. Kagame's response read in part: "Is it Dr. Tedros, WHO and China under attack or all of them together? Let's focus on the fight against this pandemic, whoever should be held accountable will come later and done properly. Save us too much politics, Africa does not need it". Therefore, it could be argued that there was racial politics undergoing which could hinder international communication of Covid-19. The politics of Covid-19 centred on China, US and Africa. Its implication would become worse and as we will witness further conflicts.

Recently, U.S. and China are on diplomatic rival with Africa particularly Ethiopia, as Donald Trump has pushed Ethiopia to sign bilateral agreement with Egypt on Nile water a few weeks before the outbreak of Covid-19 in Africa. Ethiopia, after more than three meetings to discuss Nile water, finally has rejected to sit for an agreement claiming that the U.S. is pushing Ethiopia to the agreement that affects its national interest over Nile. This current event prior to the crisis communication to tackle Covid-19 has potentially affected the diplomatic relation in between China, U.S. and Horn of Africa.

China is politically and economically supporting Africans as it has already controlled the spread of Covid-19 earlier. For instance, Chinese business magnate investor and politician, Dr. Jack Ma has contributed donations, materials and equipments for Africa through Ethiopian Prime minister Abiy Ahmed. This is one indication of shifting balance of diplomatic relations of the Horn of Africa to the Chinese as President Trump claims to review the US's fund for WHO' as a result of his suspicion that WHO was China-Centric. This can be seen as a sign of general psychological reaction of crisis communication manifested in its hopelessness and withdrawal. In a crisis communication, some people can accept that the threat is real, but the threat looms so large that they feel the situation is hopeless. They feel helpless to protect themselves and so, instead, they withdraw (Parvanta et al., 2010, pp. 335-338). Incapacity of responding to Covid-19 by one of core nations (U.S.), the success in diplomatic relations to Africa by the other core (China) indicated the shifting diplomatic relations and the degree of political influence of the two states. France 24 has also reported that "WHO Director General Tedros Adhanom call for unity and a halting of "politicization" of the global health crisis, urging China and the United States to show "honest leadership", he expected U.S. funding to continue with traditional bipartisan support.

Immediately after UK's prime minister, Boris Jonson's discharge from ICU in London Hospital, Independent has reported on Wednesday April 15, 2020 that he announced that U.K will not cut funds from WHO. The report indicated that UK is one of the biggest donors to the WHO, with an annual fee of around £17m and much larger sums in voluntary contributions to its projects. According to this news story, Boris Jonson's spokesman assured that 'it is essential for countries to work together; global body has a role to play in world's health crisis". This indicated that the two different decisions that states from the core nations have passed on global health crisis which would also indicate hierarchies and inequalities in the diplomatic relations of world health care systems.

Generally, media report on Covid-19 has reflected not much cooperation for interdependence of the states of the world. It has mirrored global political tensions rooted in the states prior to the

outbreak of the virus. The political and economic rival that is reflected through communications on Covid-19 has contributed to less effective measures that the governments passed to combat the spread of the virus. Finally, it was resulted in millions of Covid-19 cases and deaths. That is yet to reach the final number that will be recorded on the world. Therefore, the communication of Covid-19 outbreak and its spread need to be improved through holistic and intercultural communication by the nation states. In this case, it is more important to notice what has been suggested earlier. In the past, although considerable progress has been made, many gaps remain as argued by Morse. A number of the gaps can be addressed through increased political will, resources for reporting, improved coordination and sharing of information, raising clinicians' awareness, and additional research to develop more rigorous triggers for action (Morse, 2007). This would help the nations from the core, periphery and semi periphery to cooperate.

CONCLUSION

Covid-19 is one of the most disastrous diseases that the world has experienced so far. There will be similar global environmental problems in the future. International communication of interdependence to fight covid-19 was very limited despite international institutions such as World Health Organization's efforts to combat the spread of the virus and their contribution to the de-politicization of covid-19 by warning states to project on cooperation. Despite some flaws in leaders' communication some international news media page's contents have tried to balance and shift in some way from the historic of "biasness" in which developed nations made the content in favor of their own political, economic and social policies, and imposed such on the economically and politically weaker periphery states of the world. Most online news media have reported the spread of the virus and global responses to it in a similar fashion. However, some media have tended to be selective as for instance CNN has projected on Americans condition of Covid-19 in general and particularly with president Trumps mismanagement of the virus. On the contrary, Aljazeera and the Guardian have more focused on the status of the spread of Covid-19 to poorer countries which has contributed to the hegemonic bearing of communicating covid-19.

Generally, it was not media coverage of the spread of covid-19 which has been very problematic in politicization of covid-19. Rather, it was the way individual governors have responded to the spread of the virus which was much racialized, stigmatized, and discriminatory especially as negative assertions against WHO and poor black African countries have been well noticed. Nevertheless, the assertions have lost their power as leaders from Africa used their Twitter pages to fight against any discriminatory assertion against black Africans. It indicated that African leaders' potential for communication using social media platforms.

This can make the future communication on global response to pandemic more political as states will be concerned about their own national interest. Therefore, it is an indication of the fact that the future will depend more on the capacity of leaders, even in the periphery nations to wisely use media and social networking sites to sell their ideas. In this case, the politics of Covid-19 has shown the diminished gaps that have been created from the 19th Century communication flows which were mainly from the core to periphery nations. We also witness changes of the historic hegemonic relations of developed and periphery nations that will be reversed in the future. The descriptive potential of Emmanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory is also challenged as Core states have been confronted by Covid-19 much more than the Periphery states.

From crisis communication viewpoint, it could be argued that the media coverage mainly focused on the analysis of governments tweets instead of following pragmatic approach to reporting the crisis with its possible solutions. Leaders have tried to use psychological reactions such as vicarious rehearsal, denial, stigmatization, fear and avoidance, hopelessness and withdrawal from the process of global communication as a response to Covid-19. This will also turn the communication for cooperation into more political crisis. We could also argue that a global response to Covid-19 is a multi-national manifestation of a number of health-related world-systemic crises and cannot easily be resolved by international communication in general, and political elites in the core nations in particular. Therefore, effortless international communication and diplomacy will not solve the problem of world health crisis in the future. From historical and political narratives

point of view, it can be considered as a move beyond post-cold war global narratives such as clashes of civilizations and end of history.

In conclusion, international communication as a global response to Covid-19 can lead us to think about Jan N. Pieterse's Critical Globalism. Pieterse calls for Critical Globalism as the weakness of the endogenous outlook on development is its single and narrow focus (Pieterse, 2010). What is needed according to him is to rethink development as a regional, transnational, global project. Critical globalism for Pieterse is to theorize the entire field of forces in a way that takes into account interstate relations, international agencies and civil society in its domestic and transnational manifestations. By implication, this view is crucial for sustainable development which calls for transformations of global responses to Pandemic diseases.

As a global agenda, critical globalism is posing the central question of global inequality in its new manifestations. This manifestation was clearly observed in nation's response to Covid-19. As a research agenda, according to Pieterse's critical globalism entails identifying the social forces that carry different transnational processes and examining varying conceptualizations of the global environment which is still very crucial for future global environmental crisis. In this regard, it is very crucial to put Pieterse's idea of cultural turn in practice. It is a way out from old paradigm of modernization. Global discourse on health care can be used for integration through media discourse by shaping communication flows and modes of participation to use common discursive space on which the world from the core, periphery and semi-periphery nations will discuss on matters of their own and global health care systems.

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