

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE CORONA PANDEMIC ON POLITICAL SYSTEMS-AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

**Khaled Jamil Abdel Alrahman Mohsen, Applied Science Private University
Abed Alhakim Isleem Salman Alqaraleh, Applied Science Private University**

ABSTRACT

The study aims to demonstrate the level of impact the Corona pandemic have made on political systems, their ability to continue in light of the large spread of the various worldwide, and to analyze the negative and positive repercussions of the Corona pandemic on the political systems. The study relied on the following approaches: the descriptive evaluation approach, the decision-making approach, and the systems approach in analyzing the impact of the Corona pandemic on political systems.

The study concluded that the successful political systems in managing this crisis could be categorized as those systems that have overcome science and scientific methodology over the personal endeavors of politicians and economic interests. The Corona pandemic has restored a degree of trust between citizens and the state, and even opened the door to think about a return to the nation state in light of the decline in the influence of the liberal state.

Keywords: Political Effects, Corona, Pandemic, Political Systems.

INTRODUCTION

The political system interacts with its internal and external environment in an adaptive manner, it also never stops working towards achieving its main goals, and it does not stop providing all means to achieve them, Easton and Almond's analyzes indicate that every political system has two main goals: Preserving its survival and the continuation of its existence over time, and achieving integration between its various parts and components.

The goal of preserving survival and continuity is that the regime exerts efforts in order to preserve its borders and its various structures, roles, values, and systems prevailing in its local environment. Considering that, the implementation of its roles and the continued performance of his functions all depend on the inputs of this environment in the first place. The regime can achieve this goal once it succeeds in developing internal structures and multiple roles that enable it to mobilize society's resources, maintain its basic values, formulate binding policies, achieve internal stability, and face all pressures and challenges from inside or outside.

Among the crises that affected the state and its institutions in various fields is the Corona pandemic, as its effects went beyond health security and the health systems to the national security, and this is evident through the state's capabilities to deal with the epidemic and limit its spread. Therefore, it can be considered a crisis that has shown the divergence of the capabilities of political systems in dealing with crises.

Countries differed in their procedures and policies they conducted in dealing with the

epidemic, according to their circumstances, capabilities, and political legitimacy. Hence, this study came to research the political effects of the Corona pandemic on political systems.

Study Problems

The Corona pandemic has raised new questions related to the type of political regimes and their utility in dealing with crisis. Authoritarian or semi-authoritarian states faced little difficulty in implementing this policy. As for democracies and quasi-democracies, the form of intervention opened new horizons about the state's role in the future, the controls of its intervention, the limits of this intervention in the face of personal and civil liberties, will the future witness more direction towards centralization and nationalization in exchange for what is known as the minimum level of the state?

Countries response to the Corona pandemic was characterized by great variation, without neglecting the different specificities of the ruling political systems and the related impact on the attitudes of decision makers towards adopting specific policies or excluding others. Which contributed directly or indirectly in limiting the spread of the virus or increasing its spread, from here the study seeks to answer the following main question: What is the level of the impact of the Corona pandemic on political systems?

Study Questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Are there systematic scientific policies and procedures that contribute in limiting the spread of the Corona pandemic?
2. Why did countries' policies differ in dealing with the Corona pandemic?
3. What are the nature effects of the Corona pandemic on political systems?

Study Objectives

The study aims to:

1. The study aims to Its ability to continue in light of the large spread of the epidemic around the world.
2. Analyzing the negative and positive repercussions of the Corona pandemic on political systems.

Study Importance

The importance of this study lies in identifying the impact of the Corona pandemic on political systems, which highlights the importance of the scientific and practical sides.

Scientific importance: The scientific importance of this study lies in the fact that it will contribute to enriching the Arab library in general and the Jordanian library in particular with this type of studies which benefit specialists, interested people and researchers by providing research material for the Arab reader interested in the topic of political systems and the impact of the Corona pandemic on political systems.

Practical significance: The importance of the study lies in its attempt to add to the previous scientific and practical studies that shed light on the issue of political systems and their ability to confront the Corona pandemic.

Study Hypothesis

The study starts from the following hypothesis: *"There is a correlation between the capabilities of countries to deal with the spread of Coronavirus and the ability of political systems to continue."*

Terminology of the Study

Corona Virus: a group of viruses that can cause diseases such as colds and acute respiratory infections. As a new type of Corona virus was discovered after it was identified as a cause of the spread of a disease that began in China in 2019; the virus is known as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Corona 2 and it is caused by the virus (Covid 19), which began to spread around the world in March 2020. The World Health Organization announced that it had classified Corona virus disease (Covid-19) as a pandemic in the year 2019.

Coronavirus disease COVID-19: It is an infectious disease whose ability to transmit rapidly between humans and because various deaths due to acute respiratory distress syndrome, it was first reported on January 1, 2019 as *"pneumonia of unknown cause"* (Lian et al., 2021).

Corona pandemic: A global pandemic known as Coronavirus disease 2019 (Covid-19), it is caused by the Corona virus 2, which is associated with severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS-Cove-2), the disease first broke out in Wuhan, China, in early December 2019, and the World Health Organization officially announced on 30 January 2020 that the outbreak of the virus constitutes a public health emergency of international concern, and confirmed the transformation of the outbreak into a pandemic on March 11, 2020, and more than (8) million cases of COVID-19 were reported in more than 188 countries and regions as of January 16, 2021.

Political system: a system that includes the interactions that exist in all societies, through which jobs are provided and in the manner of legitimate compulsory uses or threats to use them. *"Gabriel Almond"* defined it as a specific entity from the interactions that take place in all independent societies, the function of this system is focused on achieving the processes of integration and adaptation, whether related to the inside or in the relationship of the community with other external societies, through the method of actual use or the threat of using legitimate or legal means of material coercion (Almond, 1998).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Game theory or match theory: It is a systematic study of conflict and cooperation, as the theoretical concepts of the game are applied wherever the behavior of several players overlapping, and these players can be individuals, groups, and institutions, and the match theory assumes rational behavior by the parties to the match. This is what their theorists confirm, and by rational behavior they mean that each player has a set of fixed and predetermined goals under which, appropriate policies are chosen to achieve them, and that the player in the match will choose the most preferred return, i.e. the one who achieves the largest possible return and the least possible losses, and in return his opponent will do the same, Its parties are players, and in one match there may be two or more players, some of them primary and others secondary. The rules are a set of controls that determine the options or alternatives available to each player, It is

often a limited strategy that refers to the mechanism by which the player moves in the match or rather is the plan set by the player, which determines the steps that the player takes in light of the supposed move of his opponent (Tawfiq, 2010).

Gaming style or matches: It is a method in which a simulation involves people as players who take on roles, through which they make decisions, respond to the decisions of others, and express their reaction to an incident. Alternative future images are extracted using mathematical models or actual simulations (Hashem, 1984).

Arab Studies

Among the most important studies related to the subject of study are the following: Al-Waheeb study, (2020) entitled: "*Using game theory to analyze the Corona pandemic*". This study is one of the first to use game theory, it establishes a general framework for understanding the human condition in light of the Corona pandemic, with a comprehensive mathematical model for the current game between the virus and humans in its various stages, and the study used the analytical method. The study found results, the most important of which are that the biological characteristics of the virus are consistent with government policies (conservative measures) taken, and the response of human societies to them, given the limited capacity of hospitals and the presence of social, psychological and other factors that govern the success of these conservative measures.

Al-Hamdouni study, (2020) entitled: "*What is the money of the international system after the Coronavirus*". This study showed that it is not easy to talk about the future of the international system after the end of the Corona epidemic (the new Covid 19), as the vision is not clear yet, and the context in which the world is living is characterized by tension and panic. It lacks sufficient clarity of what the events will lead to, what can be done in this paper to monitor the future of the international system will not go beyond theoretical assumptions that may be right or wrong. The study adopted the scenarios approach that relies on research and future studies of issues and questions that are difficult to resolve with answers with a great degree of certainty, and the study reached conclusions, the most important of which is difficult to predict the path that international relations will travel after the end of the Corona pandemic.

Hassan's study, (2020) entitled "*Trends in changing the roles of nation-states in the post-Coronavirus era*". This study showed that the challenges of the Corona pandemic before the nation-states changed their directions, yet it represented a "*re-consideration*" of the state again, especially in light of the failure of the business sector and large international companies to play effective roles during the crisis, in parallel with the diminishing effectiveness of regional blocs and international organizations. In performing its expected functions, the study used the analytical method. The study reached results, the most important of which is that highlighting the negatives of globalization in light of the accelerated transmission of the virus in the countries of the world, and the associated cuts in interdependence between countries, the closure of common borders, and the cessation of air traffic. Therefore, the Corona virus may pave the way for what can be considered a new role for the nation-state in the next stage, and if there is a disagreement about the size and nature of this new role; there is broad agreement that the country in the post-Corona stage will be stronger than it was in previous periods.

Bishr study, (2020) entitled: "*Strategies of countries in facing crises and disasters during the Corona pandemic, a case study of the Kingdom of Bahrain*". This study aimed to identify the

most important mechanisms and tools used by countries to face crises during the Corona pandemic (the case study of the Kingdom of Bahrain) the most important axes of the crisis and the mechanisms to overcome them. As for the research problem, it is summarized in what strategies the Kingdom of Bahrain has taken in containing and confronting the crisis, through which it won the praise of international organizations. The study used the comparative approach. One of the most important results of the research is the exposure of the global economy to great losses estimated at 50 billion dollars. Western regimes have been unable to manage the crisis and basic rights to health and life have turned into a selective process.

Al-Arishi & Al-Ghamdi study, (2020) entitled "*Using Big Data and Artificial Intelligence in Confronting the Emerging Coronavirus Pandemic*". This study showed that many studies used big data and artificial intelligence technologies, most of which were launched quickly. With the aim of helping to understand the development of the emerging coronavirus pandemic-this has greatly affected all aspects of our daily life and mitigates its repercussions, and developing the necessary preventive and remedial measures to confront them. Where the study aimed to shed light on a group of these researches in the journals: prevalence prediction, tracking of injuries, diagnosis of affected cases, suggestion of treatment alternatives, support to public health agencies, and monitoring the psychological state of the public. Although much of this research has not been used widely, and has not been clinically tested, it has provided urgent insights, and medically meaningful information, for policymakers and medical professionals. The study adopted the descriptive evaluation approach, in which the reviewed research was selected.

Foreign Studies

A study entitled "*A study to know the level of awareness of healthcare workers during the corona pandemic*". This study aimed to identify the level of knowledge and practices of health care workers towards occupational risks surrounding them in some hospitals in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is a study to measure awareness using knowledge and skills, and it aims to know the impact of training on the level of awareness. The descriptive, analytical and quasi-experimental approach was used through a pre and post examination of its suitability for this research. The study was conducted on a sample of 326 categories of doctors, nurses, laboratory specialists and the experimental group to conduct training, the results of the study showed that the level of knowledge was good before the training program and the axes of directions. Practices and training were not satisfactory in the total group before the program, and after the training program, the levels of all axes rose with arithmetic averages, some of which reached 100%, which confirms the need to intensify training programs for workers and this is what the researchers recommended in addition to the necessity of having a body responsible for monitoring and developing procedures. Protection from occupational exposure in light of the Coronavirus pandemic and awareness of workers.

What distinguishes this study from other studies: This study is distinguished by the novelty of the topic it deals with, which is related to the ability of political systems to deal with the Corona pandemic, as none of the previous studies dealt with the current subject of study.

METHODOLOGY

The study relied on the following approaches:

1. Descriptive evaluation approach: It is an approach that relies on the study of reality and phenomena as they exist in reality. It is concerned with being an accurate qualitative and quantitative description Khaled & Guidoume (2019), Which will be in the context of the use of published research studies or articles via the Internet, about government policies to deal with the Corona pandemic, to be evaluated and analyzed scientifically and systematically to reach scientific conclusions about the subject of study.
2. Decision making approach: This approach is based on an analysis of any factors or influences surrounding decision-makers, especially in foreign policy. Since decision-making is an interactive process between the parties participating in it from formal or informal institutions to approve public policy. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the stages of decision-making and the factors that affect it, and what are the motives for decision-making Richard. (Snyder, 1983). The approach will be employed in analyzing the decision-making mechanisms in some countries regarding the Corona pandemic.
3. Systems Approach: This approach is based on an interconnected set of variables that revolve around a specific phenomenon. The political system represents the set of interactions that take place in any society through which the process of authoritative appropriation of values or public policy-making takes place (Al-Baldawi, 2008). The method was used to analyze the impact of the Corona pandemic on political systems.

First: What are Political Systems and Their Functions?

David Easton (1965) believes that the political system is *"the set of interactions, overlapping and intertwining roles related to the authoritarian specialization of values."* As for Gabriel Almond, the political system "is the interactions that include actual use or threat to use legitimate material coercion for the sake of achieving and adapting society at the internal and external levels." While most of the scholars who have used the concept of the political system in this sense see that this concept is nothing but a mental conception to understand and analyze political interactions within society, and that this political system is characterized by the following.

1. Continuous interaction between units of the political system on the one hand, and between these units and the environment of the political system on the other hand.
2. The relationship between the parties of the political system is based on mutual dependence, meaning that the actions of each of these parties affect the actions of the other parties.
3. The political system sought to preserve itself by various means.

As for Deutsch & Peter (2000), he believes that the political system is like any other system characterized by a relatively high degree of ability to communicate and interact. He stresses that the political system must be equipped with appropriate and effective capabilities to collect information from inside and outside. Then this information is transferred to decision-making centers responsible for determining the system's response to the pressures and challenges it is exposed to. Gabriel Almond sees in legitimate material coercion the test of the distinction between the political system and other social systems. Legitimate force guarantees the cohesion of the political system (Easton, 1965).

Professor of political systems at the University of Jordan, it is believed: The concept of a system differs from the concept of the state. Whereas, "the system is an analytical complex concept that can be used to understand the political phenomenon and analyze the political process depending on the existence of a continuous pattern of human relations, interaction movement and environmental influences internally and externally. As for the concept of the

state, it consists of several elements, including the region, people, political authority, sovereignty, independence and international recognition.

A distinction must be made between the term (system) and (political organization), as the political system was considered a part of the political organization. In light of this, the political system has been defined as “*the set of institutions between which the political reporting mechanism is divided*” Dougherty, (1971). Accordingly, a distinction can be made between one system and another system, given the nature of the body that bears the supreme responsibility for the executive report. That is, a presidential system where the (executive) responsibility is granted to one person, or parliamentary, meaning the responsibility is assigned to a government responsible to a Parliament (Abu-Saab, 1999). As for the functions of the political system, they can be summarized in: political recruitment, political upbringing, gathering interests, expressing interests, political communication, making the legislative base, the executive function, the judicial function, preserving the national security of the state, and distributing resources among the different groups of society. The following is an explanation of some of those jobs (Amoud & Omar, 2011).

1. Political recruitment: Political recruitment means the process of selecting suitable people to assume official and leadership positions in the state. It is a function that all political systems perform without exception, the bases and criteria for recruitment (selection) differ according to the different political systems. Therefore, recruitment may take place on ethnic grounds or based on religious affiliation, and it may be based on the leadership's competence and political capabilities without regard to ethnic or religious aspects. The choice may be on regional or republican grounds, and it may be a mixture of all these criteria.
2. Political upbringing: It is the process of transmitting political culture. Political upbringing may target partial or comprehensive changes in the political culture of society, it is defined as formal and informal, planned and unplanned indoctrination of knowledge, values, patterns of political behavior, and personality characteristics with political significance at every stage of life, and various institutions undertake this task. Such as family, school, comrades' groups, political parties, civil society organizations, the media, and others.
3. Grouping interests: This function is one of the most important functions of the political system. It means that the political system receives the demands from an environment and formulates them in the form of a specific program to consider achieving them within the framework of the priorities and capabilities of the political system. Political systems depend on characteristics that are interaction, interdependence, self-preservation, power or authority.
4. Interaction: The political system includes a set of movement of interactions between its units and individuals. This interaction can be direct or indirect, bilateral, or multilateral.
5. Interdependence. The interaction between individuals, groups and institutions reaches a point of mutual dependence, meaning that the actions of a party affect the rest of the parties, and any change in a unit or institution affects the rest of the units and institutions.
6. Self-preservation: Every political system always seeks to preserve itself through the institutions, decisions, and goals it seeks or uses, aiming for its continuity and preservation of its existence (James, 1973).
7. Possession of power and authority: that is, it monopolizes legitimate coercion, the use of legitimate material coercion, and the process of applying the law to all.

The political system represents the system of interactions that exist in society and is based on the two functions of integration, internal and external adaptation and the uses of legitimate coercion. As the government is part of the political system, it includes the official institutions and units specialized in the decision-making process, the implementation of decisions and the application of the litigation process.

Generally talking about a government, mean the three authorities; legislative, executive and judicial. However, there are political, economic and social activities for informal authorities such as parties, trade unions, unions, pressure groups. That is, patterns of political interaction outside the framework of formal institutions affect them. Therefore, the government has the responsibility to maintain the political system. According to David Apter's vision, the government structure contains several structures, including an authoritarian structure for decision-making, who makes the decision, and how, what is the level of centralization in the decision-making process, and what is its scope? It is based on issue, accountability and control, building legitimate coercion and punishment, building the exploitation of natural and material resources and the mechanisms for their distribution, building political recruitment and mechanisms for creating political leaders by election or appointment.

Second: Covid-19 and its Impact on Political Systems

COVID-19 has triggered several fundamental changes in the interactions of politics, economy and society, the most prominent of which are those related to the reformulation of the roles of national states and their capacities to respond to the negative repercussions of the outbreak of the virus, especially since COVID-19 has become at the forefront of the priorities of the international system. It is the "*Black Swan*"¹ event that transcended all priorities, and dominated capitals, financial centers, news and social media. Although it is less lethal than other epidemics that occurred in the past, similar to the Spanish flu pandemic that spread in 1918; however, it is considered to have a more severe impact on the economy and people's daily life (Ali, 2017).

Comparative politics field witnessed a development in state and society studies, which is more influential. In the fifties of the 20th century, the traditional theoretical trend that takes the principle of the primacy of the state, or what is called "*nationalization*" has prevailed. This school is based on the assumption of the state's relative independence from society and that it is the ultimate source for all the authorities, concepts such as the hegemonic state or the will and the rentier state have become corrupted, on the other hand, another trend has emerged that takes the priority of society, which stems from the premise of the primacy of society over the state, as society is the origin and the state is its representation that is not independent of it (Hilal, 2015). While Joel Majdal, an American professor of international studies at the University of Washington, put forward the importance of looking at the relationship between the state and society in the context that it is a mutual interaction and not a zero equation. Joel Majdal is considered one of the most prominent of those who addressed the analysis of the patterns of the relationship between the state and society, and put forward four models for this relationship: The strong state and a strong society model (USA), The strong state and a weak society model (China), The weak state and a strong society model (Lebanon), The weak state and a weak society (fragile states and violent conflict situations, e.g. Syria, Libya and Yemen) (Joel, 2015).

It can be said that the outbreak of COVID-19 has carried with it extended and profound effects on the state and society together, whereby new features of the phenomenon of "the return of the state" were formed, after an extended period of promotion and the types of withdrawal e.g. the business sector, large international activity companies and non-governmental institutions.

In one way or another, this reflects the rise of the "*Mass surveillance*" in conjunction with the exacerbation of the outbreak of COVID-19, However, this can face obstacles, especially in

countries that consider tracking the movement of citizens without their consent is unconstitutional, and on the other hand, many countries have tended to penetrate the national economy more in order to save and protect national companies, as the US Senate approved on April 21, 2020, a new emergency aid package to support companies as part of a plan that won bipartisan support and the support of President "*Donald Trump*" included allocating 320\$ billion to provide subsidized loans to companies that employ less than 500 people (Al-Hurra, 2020).

While authoritarian regimes have the ability to make decisions quickly and decisively, which is of great importance during crises such as COVID-19 as any delay in dealing with it will increase losses, and this is due to several reasons: The control of governments over the joints of the state and the absence of people with different interests and complex procedures that share the decision and prolong the decision-making process, which means the ease and speed of passing decisions, so China decided overnight to isolate millions of individuals, stop factories and take many measures this led Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus Director-General of the World Health Organization, to praise China for the speedy discovery of the pandemic, its isolation and transparent assistance to the organization and the countries of the world. Accusing it of fabricating and spreading the epidemic or colluding with the World Health Organization to conceal data about the development and spread of the virus, And then reduce American spending on foreign activities and stop his country's support for the organization, regardless of the validity of this claim, and the two researchers believe that the US President Trump attempt to buy exclusive rights to produce the vaccine against COVID-19 from the German company (BioNTech) is nothing but a means to use in his electoral propaganda. As he is the one who brought this vaccine to the American people, in order to erase the negative image that took him from the beginning of the epidemic as a businessman who introduces the economy to the health of American citizens, and thus the epidemic has been a difficult test for the populist right-wing leaders of the centers of the neoliberal system prevailing globally despite considering themselves in a real state of war against the epidemic.

The intervention of the armies and security forces became more acceptable in many regimes. The world saw the scene of Indian and Bengali army and security men whipping the appearance of people in the streets and popular neighborhoods to impose quarantine, raising an important question here about the limits of state intervention and its controls in the name of the public interest, and what are the guarantees not to persist in using these intrusive methods to threaten personal and civilian life at its core (Salam, 2020).

Israel is at the forefront of countries that have employed intelligence to track people who may be carrying the virus or who have been in contact with an infected person, and the Israeli Public Security Agency took the lead in deploying highly sophisticated cyber technical tools to carry out the mission (Intelligence, 2020).

In Jordan, the strict measures succeeded in curbing the spread of the pandemic, as Jordan was the lowest Arab country in terms of the number of registered cases (compared to stable Arab countries that do not suffer from wars). Three months after the ban was announced, Jordan recorded (1008) cases at a rate of (95) case per million residents, and (9) deaths, despite the success in managing the health aspect of the crisis, and the small number of beds available in Jordanian hospitals, where there are (1.4) beds for every (1000) citizens in Jordan, which is less than the global average (Hartnett et al., 2020), In addition to the Jordanian population being exposed to danger as a result of the high rates of smoking among Jordanians compared to other societies second in the world, and as a result of the high rates of diabetes patients as well, as 52%

of Jordanians are over the age of fifty have it. So, the economic challenges have come to the fore. Have dealt with it through a set of decisions and orders issued under the Defense Law, COVID-19 is considered an unprecedented crisis in recent history, as the Jordanian government declared a complete curfew on March 16, 2020, with the aim of stopping the outbreak of the disease after the first (26) confirmed cases and at that time, there were few global practices - if any-that could the government to rely on to strengthen the government response plan, After many attempts, the government succeeded in limiting direct human interactions (what is also known as social distancing) by adopting distance education, encouraging remote work and employing digital financial services, and setting specific time periods for citizens to buy their needs from supply stores (Al-Ghad, 2019).

In Egypt, for example, the regime exploited the epidemic to strengthen its security grip, either by amending the emergency law in which the country has lived since July 2013 or by granting the right of judicial control to officers of the armed forces, and despite the propaganda campaign waged by civil society and political forces opposing the regime at home and abroad, whether to release prisoners on Similar to what many political regimes in Morocco, Iran and Turkey did. And the regime continued to carry out indiscriminate arrest campaigns against its critics in the press sites and restrictions on doctors and health sector workers, and while the epidemic provided an exit for many political systems to calm the intensity of political polarization, and thousands of political prisoners graduated for a purely objective reason without saying that this was under pressure from the opposition forces. On the other hand, the authority in Egypt decided to accuse its opponents and human rights activists calling for the immediate release of prisoners from all currents, even if in a conditional form, or by strengthening doctors 'wages and means of protecting them, improving their social conditions and equating them with the martyrs of the army and police. Whereas, more repressive countries and regimes have taken similar measures and released their detainees and prisoners so that they will not be held responsible for them if prison conditions deteriorate (Salam, 2020).

That is, the epidemic imposed on political systems and state institutions to take decisions that were out of the ordinary for them, some of them responded in a way that strengthens the relationship and trust between the state and society, such as Jordan at the beginning of the pandemic, and others acted in ways that destroy the idea of the state responsible for protecting its citizens who are under direct responsibility for it dictatorships in more than one country of the epidemic have been used to maximize their opportunities to ensure their control over the people, as they formed an opportunity to bypass the state in Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, Algeria, Hong Kong and Brazil. As there were protests raging at the time of the outbreak of the epidemic, and the regimes used them to weaken these community protest movements, which raises many questions about dictatorship and democracy as classifications that adhere to the state as much as it adheres to political regimes as well (The Economist, 2020).

And if the immediate effect of COVID-19 is to quell all forms of unrest and protests, so that both democratic and authoritarian governments force their inhabitants to adhere to quarantine, then behind the walls of homes, prisons and refugee camps there are people who suffer even before the outbreak of the virus, and their conditions get worsen and their tragedy increases, and shocks are generated, which leads to the possibility of these pressures exploding, and then popular protests to topple any regime in which they see their enemy (Kluth, 2020).

The researchers believe that in the face of the epidemic, we find that most of the countries that have maximized their roles and strengthened their public health sectors and

established the concept of public spending on health and education as rights and did not neglect them as strategic sectors that cannot be left to the private sector and be satisfied with a regulatory role, are the countries that recovered at a faster pace or achieved a smooth coexistence with the epidemic. Therefore, the state's roles in the vital sectors are expected to be strengthened after the epidemic, and it is also expected that the minimum countries will hide and societies will rethink their relationship with the state and political systems based on the policies that the latter has followed in facing the epidemic.

The shifts in the policies of the different political systems in dealing with the epidemic indicate that there is an urgent need to return to the human dimension, and the primacy of society before the economy and profit in rebuilding a social democratic system, which is a correction in an era that some describe as neoliberalism.

In this regard, Stephen M. Walt in an article he published during the height of the epidemic in Europe, a professor of international relations at the American Harvard University, said that "*this epidemic will strengthen the state and strengthen nationalism.*" Governments of all kinds will adopt emergency measures to manage the crisis, and many will hate to give up these new powers when the crisis ends, globalization recedes, as citizens look to national governments to protect them, while states and companies seek to reduce vulnerabilities in the future." He concluded by saying: "*In short, it will create a virus. Coronavirus is a less open, less prosperous, and less free world*" (Hulac, 2020).

Perhaps the positive thing that the spread of the Corona epidemic will have on politics is the decrease in polarization, says Deutsch & Peter (2000), Professor of Psychology at Columbia University: "*The extraordinary shocks that a pandemic brings about such as the coronavirus have the ability to liberate societies from the escalating political and cultural polarization in which they occurred more than 50 years ago, and to change the course towards patriotism and more solidarity,*" he says. There are two reasons to believe this could happen: First is the "*common enemy*", whereby people transcend their differences when faced with a common external threat. The new Corona epidemic presented a formidable enemy that does not distinguish between race and color and has become one common enemy for all, regardless of different orientations, races, nationalities and religions. Second is a "*political shock wave*", as studies have shown that patterns with strong and lasting relationships often become more vulnerable to change after any strong shock.

China was able to compensate for the early response by mobilizing its massive and complex surveillance infrastructure to implement the prohibition campaign using force. Although this method is contrary to the principles of democracy, it succeeded and had positive results on public health. This is not just China; the authoritarian influence of COVID-19 has crept everywhere. Singapore has settled in the same direction by putting in place early proactive measures such as an anti-virus task force, quarantines in hospitals and homes, and a ban on large gatherings. A technique called "contact tracking" was also used, in which a record of the movement of the injured was built through surveillance shots and digital signatures left by ATM card withdrawals and credit card payments, as well as from smartphone tracking applications. Some European Union countries also resorted to the same approach, including the Republic of Hungary, whose parliament approved a bill granting Prime Minister "*Viktor Orban*" the right to rule by decree indefinitely and granting him the right to establish a state of emergency without a time limit, as well as suspending parliament, elections and setting a time. Imprisonment for crimes of spreading "*fake news*" or rumors. In other countries such as Italy, Austria and Israel

communications networks were used to extract location data to track people who suffer from high temperatures, and to monitor whether citizens violate orders to stay in their place. Russia has also used a surveillance camera system between the cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg, which contains 170,000 cameras to recognize faces and arrest people who violate quarantine and self-isolation (Baggio, 2020).

Hong Kong has published electronic bracelets to track the movements of those who have tested positive for the virus. In Turkmenistan, the state-controlled media is no longer allowed to use the word "*coronavirus*", and it has been removed from health information brochures. In India, the state has experimented with stamping people who have been infected with ink that does not wash for weeks, and the Indian central government has also issued a ruling from the country's Supreme Court forcing all media outlets to obtain prior approval to print, publish or broadcast any TV content about the emerging of COVID-19.

All this indicates that many governments saw the spread of the virus as an emergency, requiring privacy and civil liberties aside. Perhaps the clear truth revealed by the epidemic is the great shortcomings in health care systems in many countries, especially the major countries before the developing ones, so it is certain that citizens will demand major changes in the way the health care system works, and perhaps the government as well after the crisis (Can the Coronavirus Heal Polarization).

Both researchers believe that the political debate among researchers on the topic of the political repercussions of the COVID-19 revolves around two central points: the position of the nation-state in domestic and international politics. Has the crisis led to the state's reluctance to engage in foreign affairs, internationally or regionally, or is it otherwise?

At this point, a large number of writers and researchers tend to believe that the Corona pandemic affected globalization, and that the retreat once again towards the "nation state" and the return of this state to its traditional functions, the disintegration of regional systems and the restoration of the concept of sovereignty that Jean Bodin refined in the sixteenth century, and that the Corona It will end with the disintegration of the structure of the current international order, as this idea is evident in the writings of Stephen Martin Walt, a pioneer of neo-realism , and in a manner inconsistent with the views of Joseph Nye (the concept of soft power) and partly compatible with the views of (William Burns) and other thinkers.

As for the second point, will the repercussions of the Corona lead to the growth of conflictualism in a way that reshapes the structure of the international system, or will peaceful competition continue, especially between the major powers? Meaning, is the international community on its way to the zero sum-game or the nonzero sum-game?

The pandemic represented an opportunity for the regimes that the second wave of the Arab Spring in Iraq, Lebanon and Algeria to a large extent, as the protests in the street subsided largely due to the issue of physical distancing, which cannot be done with the placement of demonstrations or protests and sit-ins, especially with the narrow public spaces in some cases, Therefore, early on the regulations tightened the strict imposition of precautionary measures, especially those related to preventing gatherings. In Algeria, the Algerian Minister of Information and government spokesman Ammar Belhimeri considered in a statement on March 16, 2020, "The continuation of popular protests, in light of the outbreak of the Coronavirus, will be tantamount to Suicide (Al-Hamdouni, 2020).

CONCLUSION

The Corona pandemic constituted a major direct challenge to political regimes of various classifications and forms, in light of the great direct and indirect effects of the pandemic on various aspects of the daily life of countries, COVID-19 crisis restored a degree of confidence between citizens and the state, it even helped contemplate a return to the nation-state in light of the decline in the influence of the liberal state. The need for the welfare state or the social welfare state has also become urgent, especially since the central nation state has proven to be the most capable of dealing with the articulated crises threatening the survival of peoples, in the absence of mechanisms of regional and international cooperation and integration, and the Corona pandemic has led to work to reshape the political geography of countries, so that the paradoxes and disparities between regions capable of coping with the spread of the virus, and fragile and soft areas that include societal groups more vulnerable to threats such as refugee camps and areas of displacement have become clear in light of the roles that countries play in facing the epidemic. The political systems that have succeeded in managing COVID-19 crisis can be classified from the systems that have overcome the scientific method or the human being over economic interests, Its work is dominated by effective institutional work, which combines acceptable limits of indicators that combine the fading or absence of vision and personal diligence completely and the existence of institutions, bodies and entities that integrate with each other according to an intertwined system and a clear vision, with the existence of scientific methodologies and foundations that are relied upon in the study of the current situation and possible scenarios, data collection, analysis and decision-making.

RESULTS

The most important findings of the study are the following:

1. COVID-19 pandemic has proven that countries with effective governance systems are the most capable of facing and overcoming crises. The whole world cannot, and the Arab world in particular, cannot ignore the role of governance systems in building the appropriate ground for a promising future.
2. The Corona pandemic crisis revealed the features of a turbulent future for the international organization, so it was expected that international organizations would perform major and pivotal functions during the crisis, in order to control global interactions, stimulate international cooperation, and coordinate response to cross-border crises, but the actual reality proved the inability of these organizations to play a role. Actor, due to its resources and the powers entrusted to it, in addition to other criticisms related to resource allocation, management efficiency, accountability and transparency, and the roles of leaders within international organizations.
3. The Corona pandemic showed that even democratic political systems have resorted to authoritarian measures in order to reduce the impact of the virus on their citizens, and developed countries realized that economic development will not protect them from the spread of the virus, and the different differences between countries such as the United States of America, China, Italy, Germany, and Russia have disappeared, And others resorted to policies that may appear similar to confront the crisis, although these measures robbed citizens of some of their basic rights, but they worked to strengthen the role of the nation-state.
4. The Corona pandemic could lead to the formation of the "globalization of international divergence" based on strengthening countries' tendencies towards focusing on their national issues, focusing on national economies, and reducing cross-border trade and human flows, in exchange for expanding trade in services, technology transfer, and virtual economy patterns via the Internet.
5. The Corona pandemic is a great test for globalization, as it revealed the fragility of the globalized political

system, not its failure, and that of reducing the interdependence between countries, as with the outbreak of the Corona pandemic and the difficulty of controlling the virus, the negative aspects of globalization were highlighted.

ENDNOTE

1. It is a theory that refers to the inability to predict rare events as if they are impossible to happen, the theory took its name from the pelican bird, as it was believed that all birds of this type were white, until the black swans were discovered in Western Australia in the eighteenth century.

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