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POST CRISIS COVID-19 GEOPOLITICAL SCENARIOS

The COVID-19 crisis, which we are present at present, has repercussions both at the moment and on the entire world of international relations, making geopolitical metamorphosis conditional. This is precisely why, and because the new virus is developing dynamically over time and space, research into the impact of the new virus is needed not only from a biogenic perspective but also from a other perspective, including from a geopolitical perspective.

The events we are currently witnessing are challenges to geopolitical changes around the world. Just as the epidemics, the viruses causing them will change and occur over time, one thing remains constant: They will always influence not only interhuman relations, but will condition new realities in the system of international relations

This Article aims to highlight the main repercussions of the new COVID-19 virus on the international relations system. Some scenarios that may develop in the post-crisis period COVID-19 are also reported in this Article.

Key words: crisis; impact; state; politics; coronavirus; international relation; scenario; COVID-19

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ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНІ СЦЕНАРІЇ ПІСЛЯ КРИЗИ COVID-19

Криза COVID-19, в якій ми зараз перебуваємо, має як миттєвий, так і тривалий вплив на всю систему міжнародних відносин, обумовлюючи геополітичні метаморфози. Саме з цієї причини та через те, що новий вірус має динамічну еволюцію у часі та просторі, необхідно досліджувати вплив нового вірусу не лише з біогенетичної точки зору, але й з точки зору інших галузей, у тому числі геополітики.

Події, яких ми сьогодні спостерігаємо – це виклики геополітичним змінам у всьому світі. Оскільки епідемії з часом віруси, які їх викликають, змінюватимуться та з'являються, одне залишається постійним: вони завжди впливатимуть не лише на міжособистісні стосунки, але й на обумовлюють нові реалії в системі міжнародних відносин.

Ця стаття має на меті висвітлити основні наслідки нового вірусу COVID-19 на систему міжнародних відносин.

Також у цій статті висвітлено деякі сценарії, які можуть розвинути в післякризовий період COVID-19.

Ключові слова: криза; вплив; стан; політика; коронавірус; міжнародні відносини; сценарій; COVID-19.

The great geopolitical changes known in human history have been conditioned by the great calamities in the form of wars or epidemics: It is enough to remember the «Justinian plague» (the 6th century), which facilitated the expansion of Islam by affecting and weakening the Roman Empire or the «black plague» (the 14th century), which precipitated the fall of the Middle Ages regime. As for wars, since the end of the 20th century we have lived in the bipolar world emerging from the Second World War, with two political and economic blocs: The Western world led by the United States and the communist world led by the USSR [1].

Постановка
проблеми

Thus, to improve the understanding of the present situation at the beginning of the second decade. XXI, conditioned by the appearance and expansion of the COVID-19 pandemic throughout the world, there is a need to appeal to the statements put forward by Tucicide in the work of the «Peloponesian War» written in the 16th century. IV i.e.n. referring to the impact of epidemics on the international relations system [12].

The Peloponesian War would have triggered the creation of the New World that divided the international

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system into two major blocks: «At the head of one was Athens a great naval power, and at the head of the other Lacedaemonia, a great military power.» Athens, the Democrat and the aristocratic Sparta, sought to rearrange other societies in terms of their own political values and socio-economic system. Athens was a democracy; its people were energetic, bold and enterprising; its naval power, financial resources and the empire were expanding. Sparta, the traditional hegemon of Greeks, was an oligarchy, its foreign policy was conservative, focused only on the narrow interests of preserving the internal status quo. With little interest in commercial activity or overseas imperials, decades gradually compared to its rival [9]. In Tucidide's view, similar situations as Athens and the Sparta will occur in the future, and this inevitable process will always be repeated.

Although these variations and extensions of Tucidide's base model raise many interesting issues, they are too numerous and complex. Instead, the focus will be on the contribution of Tucidide's theory, its applicability to modern history, and its continued relevance to the dynamics of international relations. Tucidide's argument and belief that he has discovered the basis of the dynamics of international relations and the role of the hegemonic war in changing international order can only be understood if his scientific conception and his vision that led to this explanation are taken into account.

Thus, Tucidide uses as a model of analysis and explanation the method of Hippocrate, the great Greek physicist. The Hippocrate says the disease must be understood as a consequence of natural forces and not as a manifestation of supernatural influences. By carefully observing the symptoms and course of a disease, it is possible to understand its nature. Thus, a disease can be explained by recognizing its characteristics and tracing its development from its triggering, passing through the inevitable periods of crisis to the final denouement, healing or death. The development of symptoms and manifestations of the disease is essential in this way, rather than the search for root causes, as modern medicine does. Tucidide wrote his history aimed at demonstrating the fact that the great wars are recurring phenomena with characteristic manifestations. Like a disease, a great or hegemonic war, it has the same visible symptoms and is following an inevitable course. The initial phase is a relatively stable international system characterized by a hierarchical order of the States in the system. Over time, the power of subordinate States is starting to increase disproportionately, which is why they are in conflict with the dominant or hegemonic States in the system. The fight between the two States and their allies leads to a bipolarization of the system, an inevitable crisis and, finally, a hegemonic war. The final phase will be the end of the war in favor of one side and the establishment of a new international system that will reflect a new power distribution in the system [7].

By carefully observing the symptoms and course of a disease, it is possible to understand its nature. Thus, a disease can be explained by recognizing its characteristics and tracing its development from its triggering, passing through the inevitable periods of crisis to the final denouement, healing or death [7]. We will see the geopolitical changes that have been made by the Covid-19 crisis when this pandemic is over [1]. COVID-19

will change the global geopolitical landscape or at least accelerate current trends, where China will be the most beneficiary actor.

Once the pandemic is included with dubious ad litteram enforcement measures in our societies, Beijing is heading toward the West, playing the role of the disinterested savior. China plays its role as a savior given the manifest inability of the United States and, of course, the EU to manage the COVID-19 virus. We can mention looking at the geopolitical events on the international arena that the new 21st century international system, conditioned by the emergence of the COVID-19 crisis, will be colder than the previously existing bipolar system. We can anticipate that our societies will be subject to growing threats whose effects will not always be clearly attributed and their effects will not be immediate or eloquent as those of COVID-19. The situation created by the virus COVID-19 will decide whether a society will survive as such in the complex environment of the 21st century international system.

Faced with the apparent failure of Western governments to manage this pandemic, attention is directed to Asia [11]. What realities does this pandemic reveal? What geostrategic scenarios are possible in the post-crisis situation COVID-19? What will the consequences of the crisis be for life and governance models? Thus, rethinking from all these rhetorical thoughts, Xavier Guilhou offers answers supported by a vast experience in crisis management and international relations [1].

According to the sentences put forward by Guilhou, we are already present at the gigantic economic, cyclical and structural effects conditioned by the COVID-19 crisis. Therefore, with the risk of some criticism from specialists in the field, we could advance a general theory on the geopolitical nature of the pandemic. We should start thinking about the impact the virus could have on the international policy. Thus, to this end, we aim to start from a comment: the pandemic acts as a creator of the New World. A crisis that develops and spends a New World.

The characteristics of the world today are: the weakness of global governance (health) on the one hand; the shift of the center of gravity of the balance of power to China and Asia in general on the other. In the field of global governance, it seems to be the first time that a crisis such as that of Covid-19 has the capacity to transform the international Community. «Power competition» – dominated in practice by the rivalry between the United States and China (as well as Russia) – has become the dominant factor. The international institutions have entered a phase of devitalization, partly because of the American withdrawal, partly because of the discord between the great powers. Thus, in the Covid-19 crisis, the who does not play the central role that it should play. China informed too late about the emergence of virosis to the detriment of other states' ability to react. In the current guidelines, China feels that a «Chinese line» must be brought up in the fight against the virus.

For years, we have been witnessing the rise of China and Asia in world affairs, and the Covid-19 crisis is an illustration of this rise. Beijing's original opacity policy has largely contributed to the spread of the pandemic. But most striking are the chains of effects present across the world: The closure of a large part of the Chinese economy has had and continues to have major effects on the world economy. Unlike the 2008 financial crisis, the crisis we

are experiencing today is the second shortage of supply and demand in the real economy. On the other hand, the «competition between powers» is relenteating the competition on «soft power» between China and its main rivals.

From this point of view, we are witnessing an unprecedented show. While the Trump administration demonstrates its incompetence, the People's Republic, which was initially in difficulty at the beginning of the crisis due to its attitude of repression of the Wuhan 'whistleblowers'; forced to close down its factories appears as a winner of the epidemic with authoritarian quarantine measures, combined with the unprecedented use of artificial intelligence. As stock markets collapse in the West, China is reviving its economy. Despite Donald Trump's statements, he acts as a rescue line for Italy or Serbia, partly because of the embarrassment of their European partners.

In any case, our democracies have revived the debate between authoritarianism, populism and liberalism. It's too early to make forecasts: for some, the scale of the crisis is leading to the rehabilitation of experts, institutions and international cooperation. Others, however, with a sovereign inspiration, claim that the European institutions have proved to be irrelevant and have had to rally to measures to restore border controls.

Today, according to the research published by the Montaigne Institute, we are witnessing the rise of the «new authorities», the junction between geopolitical competition between power centers. Thus, according to the studies submitted, we are witnessing the creation of a new system of governance. The new model is the «Chinese model», which has been developed as a reference for global anti-liberal current. While China is trying to capitalize on its «victory against the virus» to promote its political system, competition from the cold War period is showing its true face in the Covid-19 brightly lit.

Firstly, almost all governments and regimes face the Covid-19 crisis. This is the case with regimes that are already struggling, such as Iran, which is particularly exposed to a further crisis. As an example, the case of Iran can serve us. For the first time in history, Tehran has requested IMF assistance. Another example could be used by the Russian Federation. In the context of the COVID-19 crisis, we could witness two scenarios in the Russian Federation: 1) it will help President V. Putin will go through constitutional reforms, ensuring that his power is extended, and 2) will complicate the battle over oil issues against Saudi Arabia and, indirectly, the United States.

Secondly, the Covid-19 confirms that borders are much softer in today's competition than in the «true» Cold War of the last century: In policy terms, Italy, Germany and France do not follow a more different line from China, even though the implementation is clearly less individual freedoms than what is happening in the People's Republic of China. This is, moreover, an illustration of the world's inclination toward Asia: Not in a failing America [5].

When analyzing the impact of the new virus on the international relations system, some researchers are reporting some features of the new reality.

1. Based on the reasoning according to which it is the first outbreak of the virus, and therefore it is also the first state to suffer consequences, China, and not the US, is the Asian giant to which aid is first and foremost given. By

effectively overcoming the crisis, China has demonstrated the ability to overcome this fight. The percentage of affected and deceased persons compared to its population of 1, 7 billion are more than minimal, unlike what has happened in other parts of the world.

2. Another aspect that will characterize the post-COVID-19 situation will be the increase in distrust of political «giants». If the blame dribbling continues, China and the United States, two great world superpowers (and those most affected by the pandemic, except Italy), will slowly lose their credibility [12].

3. According to the forecasts of some specialists, the European Union will not step «unclosed» in the post-COVID-19 world either. New relationships of forces will emerge between States, there will be a deepening of the existing conflicts and «history will be written as each time by the winners» J. Allen, former NATO commander. According to Allen's position, we are present at a «new zero point» that can rewrite a new geopolitical directions and metamorphosis on the international arena. In practice, those countries that overcome the first humanitarian crisis, regardless of their state of before-pandemic, can set the tone for a new geopolitical game [9].

Due to their virulence and size, in history there are events which, mark the beginning and the end of an era. The coronavirus pandemic has the potential to stir international geopolitical developments. The infection, scientists say, will ultimately be defeated, but experts agree that the world will never be as we know it is. Currently, many people are critical of the EU's poor coordination in the face of the challenge posed by the pathogen. Europe will also be the world's great victim. Although China was the epicenter of the pandemic, it is already trying to show signs of recovery.

Federico Steinberg said the pandemic will have important geopolitical implications, which are still difficult to predict, a senior researcher at the real Elcano Institute. We still do not know whether Covid-19 will strengthen or weaken China. Its seemingly effective response to the pandemic (still to be confirmed) could give governments the wings, but if the economy slows down or is found to be failing to manage its crisis so successfully, the opposite may happen. Let us not forget that the Chinese economy has fallen in the first quarter of 2020 for the first time since the 1968 cultural Revolution. On the other hand, the researcher says, the economic crisis derived from the pandemic could jeopardize the sustainability of public and private debt in some emerging exit countries faced with strong capital outflows and depreciation of national currencies, with political and social consequences. Finally, if the price of oil is kept low by the fall in demand, there would be a significant transfer of income from producer countries to consumers, as well as important economic problems for some exporting countries that are already in vulnerable situations.

According to Steinberg the time has come to reflect on whether the progress of globalization and the depth of global supply chains have not been too disorderly, making European countries particularly vulnerable to intermediate inputs from China. Perhaps the time has come to further diversify the geographical sources of supply. It is not a question of denying the benefits specialization and international division of labor, but to take advantage of the cost reductions that technological advances make

it possible to reduce our dependence and increase our autonomy, without reducing our consumption and wealth capacities.

The opinions with reference to the impact of COVID-19 are provided by Pedro Baños, a specialist in geopolitical. In the opinion of Baños, the coronavirus crisis can be a major turning point, as Bretton Woods was in 1944 or the disappearance of the Soviet Union in 1991. According to Baños's position, Viruse COVID-19 can also impose a new world economic order which would translate into a new order of power. Both the United States and China are trying to play their game. In the first case, to keep his hegemony, and in the second, to continue with that race to overtake Washington. It seems right now that China, the epicenter of the pandemic, is recovering and not only is it recovering, but is sending solidarity messages to the European countries, such as Italy or Spain, by providing support for the drug materials. This can be interpreted as a signal of accelerating the US overtaking process. The Europe reacted late and unevenly, unlike other countries that do not have this weakness of internal fracturing. As for the upcoming US elections, the coronavirus will have a big impact. Here comes a very distorted vision of Trump's reality, making the mistake of not taking action.

Both China and the United States have a much greater responsiveness and much more resources than Europe. We are present in a race between these countries: who is the pioneer in the discovery of a vaccine and an effective treatment that does not exist at the moment and will take some time, and the benefits will accrue to the former.

The sentences about the post-crisis situation COVID-19 are forefathers by Roger Serierrich, a specialist in international relations. According to Senserrich's sentences, the flu in 1918, the immediate post-I World War is the only pandemic comparable to the recent COVID-19 crisis. The other epidemics (SARS, H1N1) were much less serious than the current virus. By analyzing the impact of Virosis on contemporary geopolitical, we can highlight two types of impacts.

The first, will depend very much on how each country has managed the crisis, as far as domestic policy is concerned. We know that natural disasters often have a considerable impact on the popularity of political leaders or on the legitimacy of a regime, even though the leaders of a country often have no control over the outcome. In the Western democracies, we can see political realignments in some places, especially in the United States, where the response of the federal government is very embarrassing. Iran can also see changes, although the Iranian regime has suffered very serious crises since coming to power.

The second impact is how the economic crisis weakens or strengthens the position of some countries. The long-term development path of States is being changed by the pandemic. The EU already faces 15% of the unemployed. If the recession is really hard, it has a very different aspect and completely different tensions than if it is a rapid crisis that is dissipating in a few months, all the more so if countries like China, Japan or Korea are going beyond the pandemic much faster. However, these kinds of impacts are much more difficult to predict, as a severe recession in the United States and Europe would, for example, overcome the Chinese economy. The crisis will probably strengthen China too much as the great power that has come out of the crisis faster

than anyone[6]. From this perspective we could consider developing three geopolitical scenarios.

Thus, the first scenario is radicalisation. The United States will remain «Make America great again». For the Trump administration it is not possible to give up the status of world first power, and this health disaster could be the pretext to get China's power balance up. Already a campaign supported by the CIA, whose elements are beginning to filter through all «accredited networks», is accusing the Wuhan and China of falsifying the initial data of this pandemic and of not being transparent as to its causes, this distorted and delayed the spread of the alert worldwide.

For Donald Trump, it is obvious that he will have to explain to the US «main street» why he dies because of a «Chinese virus» when «prosperity was in the corner». Why relatives and friends die because of a form of SARS in New York, when America decided not to send its «boys» to die on other shores for remote causes ... Why the American economies, which are essential to completing the health and retirement system, evaporated in two weeks with the collapse of the stock markets due to the pandemic. Moreover, why it would be essential for Americans to pay this human, social and economic breakdown, while the Chinese, responsible for the global pandemic, would have the opportunity to invest thousands of billions of dollars to establish their hegemony over the world through continental and maritime routes?

The battle is already in the race to obtain vaccines to show the world that the United States is always the first thanks to their start-ups. Trump can also simply take advantage of the seemingly inevitable financial crisis to bring the Chinese economic system to its knees and thus challenge the legitimacy of the Chinese people by using the leverage of the prevailing superstition. It is obvious that this tough scenario can lead us to escalation logic, which the Russians could shake their heads for the benefit of the Americans, if they consider that this recalibration of the Chinese power will give them a privileged place in the games that will come to the Pacific, to the north, in particular, as regards the control of the north route. If Europe were to be consumable again, a new one the US-Russia alliance could well come up with a secret agreement on joint re-administration of the Northern Hemisphere in the run-up to a new Cold War, the common opponent of which would be China.

The second scenario is neutralization. The United States is playing the game of cooperation with China. Certainly, the Trump administration has the means to bring China to its knees and to break the demands of Xi Jinping. To understand what makes Donald Trump act strategically, it is necessary to read his bestseller «The art of Deal». Similarly, Xi Jinping is surrounded by a business oligarchy, all figures like the Jack MA media are members of CPC and are now on the front to accompany its international «mask diplomacy». In this scenario, it is preferable to find a co-option environment, even cooperation at scientific and technological level, with the epidiosm problem far from being resolved in a world that continues to grow tiered on demographic levels with multipliers of megalopolites, like Wuhan, but much more dangerous in humanitarian terms. In this perspective, it is perhaps better to form a «strong double pole» to keep all the constraints that come out of the complexity of the

world's operation, rather than to shake the other one to take precedence on the international arena.

It is, of course, a scenario that we could call reasonable and intelligent. This implies an unprecedented level of political maturity between the parties. Now this pandemic can also open up a geostrategic awareness field and help leaders develop governance models.

This scenario can also be very appropriate for the Russians who will keep their role as a bridge between the world of yesterday, with their essential role in mastering energy and entering the world of the future, with the mastery of cyber systems alongside the Israeli one. There are no premises and no defeated in this game, there are only associates and the sharing of influence zones. This is not a new Cold War, but a «new business» to manage the transition phase before the geostrategic role is increased of the Indian Ocean over the next 30 years. In this scenario, Old Europe could take its signs and redefine a new identity, even a mediator seat.

The third scenario is acceleration. The USA allows China to become «China first». America is shaken by a financial accident and the country is falling by itself with a huge recession worse than in 1929. What applies in this scenario to the United States also applies to Europe, in a situation of EU implosion with a domino effect, with migratory pressure coming from the African continent. In this scenario, China does not need to make war, «what it doesn't want» in line with the official rhetoric of diplomats. But as in 2008, China will not hesitate to impose sacrifices on its people to become «China first» by implementing coercive measures with the help of the army. In this scenario, regardless of the responsible administration, the United States will resign the first place they will come second and come back to the administration of their priority influence area with a new Monroe doctrine. Europe, which will be in debt and bankruptcies, will become, like the African continent for raw materials, an asset-taking area.

As far as Russia is concerned, it can only opt for an opportunity alliance with China to remain in the game of the powerful in the medium term. This scenario of affirming China's hegemony would not have any consequences for the North Pacific, in particular in the neighborhood relations on the Chinese Sea and with ASEAN, as well as with the Indian dream of a historic adversary on its southern flank. This Asian area has not made its resistance from the great wars of the 20th century and all countries have kept border or moral disputes. It is possible that a China which will regain its Imperial status after the century of Western contempt will change the situation with regard to the stability of this region and the world balance for the next half century. Of course, unthinkable that we can have other scenarios, even a mixture of these three in terms of combinations.

Висновки

The COVID 19 pandemic can bring profound challenges to both local and international governance. Challenge not only the vital, but also the way of exercising power tomorrow and think about the terms of power. Exiting this crisis will face major challenges in hegemonic battles for power[2]. COVID-19 will change the global geopolitical landscape or at least accelerate current trends, where China will be the most beneficiary of the actor. Once the pandemic is included with draconian dubious ad litteram enforcement measures in

our societies, Beijing returns to the West with a friendly face, playing the role of the disinterested savior. Given the manifest inability of the United States and, of course, the EU, to manage the COVID-19 crisis, China will take the lead on the international arena [11]. The international system of the 21st century will also be much colder than that of the bipolar order.

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