

COVID-19: Potential Implications for International Security Environment— Overview of Issues and Further Reading for Congress

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Some observers argue the COVID-19 pandemic could be a world-changing event with potentially profound and long-lasting implications for the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world. Other observers are more skeptical that the COVID-19 pandemic will have such effects.

Observers who argue the COVID-19 pandemic could be world-changing for the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world have focused on several areas of potential change, including the following, which are listed here separately but overlap in some cases and can interact with one another:

- world order, international institutions, and global governance;
- U.S. global leadership and the U.S. role in the world;
- China’s potential role as a global leader;
- U.S. relations and great power competition with China and Russia, including the use of the COVID-19 pandemic as a theme or tool for conducting ideological competition;
- the relative prevalence of democratic and authoritarian or autocratic forms of government;
- societal tension, reform, transformation, and governmental stability in various countries;
- the world economy, globalization, and U.S. trade policy;
- the characteristics and conduct of conflict;
- allied defense budgets and U.S. alliances;
- the cohesion of the European Union;
- the definition of, and budgeting for, U.S. national security;
- U.S. defense strategy, defense budgets, and military operations;
- U.S. foreign assistance programs and international debt relief;
- activities of non-state actors;
- the amount of U.S. attention devoted to ongoing international issues other than the COVID-19 pandemic; and
- the role of Congress in setting and overseeing the execution of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

Issues for Congress may include whether and how the COVID-19 pandemic could change the international security environment, whether the Trump Administration’s actions for responding to such change are appropriate and sufficient, and what implications such change could have for the role of Congress in setting and overseeing the execution of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

Congress’s decisions regarding these issues could have significant and even profound implications for U.S. foreign and defense policy, and for the status of Congress as a co-equal branch relative to the executive branch in setting and overseeing the implementation of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

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Introduction

Some observers argue the COVID-19 pandemic could be a world-changing event with potentially profound and long-lasting implications for the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world. Other observers are more skeptical that the COVID-19 pandemic will have such effects. This report provides a brief overview of some potential implications the COVID-19 pandemic might have for the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world, and a bibliography of CRS reports and other writings for further reading.

Issues for Congress may include whether and how the COVID-19 pandemic could change the international security environment, whether the Trump Administration's actions for responding to such change are appropriate and sufficient, and what implications such change could have for the role of Congress in setting and overseeing the execution of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

Congress's decisions regarding these issues could have significant and even profound implications for U.S. foreign and defense policy, and for the status of Congress as a co-equal branch relative to the executive branch in setting and overseeing the implementation of U.S. foreign and defense policy.

Appendix A presents a list of CRS reports that provide more in-depth discussions of issues presented in this report. **Appendix B** presents a list of additional writings reflecting various perspectives on these issues. A separate CRS report discusses the question of whether the U.S. role in the world is changing as a result of factors other than the COVID-19 pandemic.¹

Overview of Potential Implications

Areas of potential change reflected in writings from observers who view the COVID-19 pandemic as a potentially world-changing event include but are not limited to those discussed below. Although these areas of potential change are presented separately, they overlap in some cases and can interact with one another.

World Order, International Institutions, and Global Governance

Some observers have focused on the possibility that the COVID-19 pandemic could cause or accelerate a decline or erosion in the U.S.-led liberal international order that has operated since World War II, in the international institutions and norms that contribute to it, and consequently in global governance.² A decline or erosion in the U.S.-led liberal order or the international

¹ CRS Report R44891, *U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress*, by Ronald O'Rourke and Michael Moodie.

² For more on the U.S.-led liberal international order and the concept of world order generally, see CRS Report R44891, *U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress*, by Ronald O'Rourke and Michael Moodie. As discussed in that report, the term *international order* or *world order* generally refers in foreign policy discussions to the collection of organizations, institutions, treaties, rules, norms, and practices that are intended to organize, structure, and regulate international relations during a given historical period.

Other terms used to refer to the U.S.-led liberal international order include *postwar international order*, *rules-based international order*, and *open international order*. Observers sometimes substitute *world* for *international*, or omit *international* or *world* and refer simply to the *liberal order*, the *U.S.-led order*, and so on. In the terms *liberal international order* and *liberal order*, the word *liberal* does not refer to the conservative-liberal construct often used in discussing contemporary politics in the United States or other countries. It is, instead, an older use of the term that refers to an order based on the rule of law, as opposed to an order based on the arbitrary powers of hereditary

institutions form part of it could set the stage for its replacement by a new or modified world order reflecting changed rules, norms, and practices, or by a more disorderly world.

U.S. Global Leadership and Role in the World

Some observers have focused on how, in their view, the COVID-19 pandemic is demonstrating that the United States is maintaining or reasserting its role as global leader, while other observers suggest that, in their view, the COVID-19 pandemic is demonstrating that the United States has chosen to withdraw from or is no longer capable of performing that role. The COVID-19 pandemic could influence discussions over the costs and benefits to the United States of acting as a global leader, not only with respect to global health but across a range of issues. Related to this, some observers have focused on how the COVID-19 pandemic may be illustrating the strengths or weaknesses of the Trump Administration's "America First" approach to the U.S. role in the world, or the merits of the U.S. system of government and economic model as potential examples for other countries to emulate.

China's Potential Role as a Global Leader

Some observers have focused on how the COVID-19 pandemic may be providing insight into whether China desires and is working to become a global leader on par with (or in the place of) the United States, whether China has a capacity for doing so, and how other countries might view China acting in such a role. China's transparency, particularly regarding its actions in the early days of its COVID-19 outbreak in Wuhan, as well as China's so-called donation diplomacy or mask diplomacy—meaning China's actions to send medical supplies and personnel to other countries, and the highlighting of these actions in statements from China's government and state-controlled media—have become new elements of an ongoing discussion regarding China's capacity or suitability for acting as a global leader. This ongoing discussion includes consideration of a range of other issues, including China's actions for implementing its Belt and Road Initiative, China's territorial disputes with other countries, its participation in international organizations, and its technology-development and international lending activities.

U.S. Relations and Great Power Competition with China and Russia

Some observers have focused on how the COVID-19 pandemic has become a significant element in U.S.-China relations, and in U.S. great power competition with China and Russia, which the Trump Administration has placed at the center of its national security construct. For some observers, the COVID-19 pandemic presents an opportunity for U.S.-China cooperation on an important international issue of common interest. For other observers, the COVID-19 pandemic is a major new source of dispute and arena of competition between the two countries, and is causing U.S.-China relations to harden more fully into a Cold War-like adversarial situation. Some observers have focused on how the COVID-19 pandemic provides a prominent new factor in the discussion of whether the United States should decouple its economy from China's and reduce its

monarchs.

Though often referred to as if it is a fully developed or universally established situation, the liberal international order, like other international orders that preceded it, is incomplete in geographic reach and in other ways; partly aspirational; not fixed in stone, but rather subject to evolution over time; sometimes violated by its supporters; not entirely free of might-makes-right behavior; resisted or rejected by certain states and non-state actors; and subject to various stresses and challenges.

dependence on China for key materials and products, including hospital supplies and pharmaceuticals. Some observers have focused on whether the U.S. and Chinese responses to the COVID-19 pandemic will affect views around the world regarding the relative merits of the U.S. and Chinese forms of government and economic models as potential examples to emulate.

Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Autocracy

Related to the point above about forms of government, some observers have focused on how the COVID-19 pandemic appears to be challenging democratic systems in various countries and providing national leaders with an opportunity or rationale for taking actions to seize greater power and move their countries away from democracy and toward authoritarianism or autocracy, or strengthen or consolidate their already-existing authoritarian or autocratic forms of government.³ As discussed in another CRS report, a key element of the traditional U.S. role in the world since World War II has been to defend and promote freedom, democracy, and human rights as universal values, while criticizing and resisting authoritarian and illiberal forms of government where and when possible.⁴

Societal Tension, Reform, and Transformation, and Governmental Stability

Beyond the specific point above about potential movement toward greater authoritarianism and autocracy, some observers have focused on the possibility that the COVID-19 pandemic more generally could cause increased social tensions in certain countries, could lead to (or present opportunities for) societal reforms and transformations, and could destabilize and perhaps cause the downfall of governments, akin to the effects of certain past world-changing events, such as World War I.⁵ Such changes could alter the political orientations, national strategies, foreign policies, and defense policies of the countries in which they occur, potentially inducing follow-on effects among governments and other global actors that interact with those countries.

World Economy, Globalization, and U.S. Trade Policy

Some observers have focused on the possibility that the COVID-19 pandemic could lead to significant and potentially long-lasting changes to the world economy that in turn could reshape the international security environment. Among other things, observers have focused on the possibility that the COVID-19 situation could be leading the world economy into a significant

³ For additional discussion of the issue of the prevalence of democracy and authoritarian or autocratic forms of government around the world, see CRS Report R45344, *Global Trends in Democracy: Background, U.S. Policy, and Issues for Congress*, by Michael A. Weber.

⁴ See CRS Report R44891, *U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress*, by Ronald O'Rourke and Michael Moodie.

⁵ For brief discussions of the impacts of World War I on societies and governments, see, for example, Robert Wilde, "The Consequences of World War I, Political and Social Effects of the War to End All Wars," *ThoughtCo.*, July 10, 2019; John Horne, "The First World War: the Aftermath, The Years Following the End of the War Were Marked by More Wars, Political Upheaval and Deep Social Change," *Irish Times*, April 24, 2018; Steven Mintz, "Historical Context: The Global Effect of World War I," *History Now* (Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History), undated, accessed April 16, 2020; Margaret MacMillan, "World War I: The War That Changed Everything," *Wall Street Journal*, June 20, 2014; Steven Erlanger, "The War to End All Wars? Hardly. But It Did Change Them Forever," *New York Times*, June 26, 2014; Jay Winter, "How the Great War Shaped the World," *Atlantic*, World War I issue (September 29, 2014); Kathleen Haley, "100 Years after WWI: The Lasting Impacts of the Great War," *Media, Law & Policy* (Syracuse University), July 28, 2014; "Aftermath of World War I," Wikipedia, updated April 11, 2020, accessed April 16, 2020.

recession—an effect that could contribute to the societal tensions mentioned in the previous point. Noting that the COVID-19 pandemic has reduced world trade volumes and disrupted global supply chains, they have focused on the question of whether economic globalization will as a result be slowed, halted, or reversed. Observers are monitoring how such effects could influence or be influenced by U.S. trade policy.

Allied Defense Spending and U.S. Alliances

The so-called burden-sharing issue—that is, the question of whether U.S. allies are shouldering a sufficient share of the collective allied defense burden—has long been a point of contention between the United States and its allies around the globe, and it has been a matter of particular emphasis for the Trump Administration. Some observers have focused on the possibility that the costs that U.S. allies are incurring to support their economies during stay-at-home/lockdown periods will lead to offsetting reductions in their defense expenditures. Some observers argue that the NATO allies in Europe in particular may experience contractions in their defense budgets for this reason. More generally, some observers argue that if the COVID-19 pandemic causes a global recession, allied defense budgets could be further reduced—a potential impact that could affect not only NATO allies in Europe, but those in Asia as well.

European Union

Some observers have additionally focused on the question of whether the COVID-19 pandemic is creating tensions among the European Union member states, particularly in connection with actions they are taking to close their national borders, and what impact the COVID-19 pandemic might ultimately have on the cohesion of the European Union.

Definition of, and Budgeting for, U.S. National Security

Some observers have focused on the question of whether the COVID-19 situation will (or should) lead to a revised definition of U.S. national security, particularly one that is less military-centric and more focused on what are sometimes called human-security-oriented challenges or global issues, such as climate change, that are currently more at the periphery of U.S. national security policy and plans. Such a change in definition could lead to a changed allocation of funding between the Department of Defense (DOD) and other government agencies that perform national-security-related tasks, a realignment of resources within DOD between combat-oriented programs and other programs (such as those related to DOD's mission of providing defense support of civil authorities), and perhaps a changed allocation of funding among the agencies other than DOD that perform national-security-related tasks.

U.S. Defense Strategy, Defense Budget, and Military Operations

Some observers have focused on the question of whether the large federal expenditures being made in response to the domestic U.S. economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the impact these expenditures will have on the federal budget deficit and federal debt, could lead to greater constraints in coming years on U.S. defense spending levels. As a follow-on matter, these observers are additionally focusing on the question of whether responding to such increased constraints will (or should) lead to revisions in U.S. defense strategy, changes in U.S. defense programs, and a reduction or termination of certain overseas U.S. military operations.

U.S. Foreign Assistance and International Debt Relief

Some observers have focused on the question of whether the COVID-19 pandemic is providing a new lens through which to measure the value of U.S. foreign assistance and international debt relief in promoting U.S. interests, particularly in connection with the previously mentioned issue of whether to revise the definition of U.S. national security to make it less military-centric.

Non-state Actors

Some observers have focused on how non-state actors such as international terrorist and criminal organizations are reacting to the COVID-19 pandemic, and on how much priority should be given to countering such actors in the future, particularly in a context of a changed definition of U.S. national security.

U.S. Attention to International Issues Other than COVID-19

Some observers have focused on whether responding to the COVID-19 pandemic is affecting the time and resources that U.S. leaders and agencies can devote to addressing other international issues of concern to the United States that predate but continue to exist in parallel with the COVID-19 pandemic. Administration officials have warned other countries to not take actions during the COVID-19 pandemic to challenge U.S. interests around the world or otherwise test U.S. resolve or responsiveness on the thinking that the COVID-19 pandemic is distracting U.S. officials from other concerns or reducing U.S. capacity for responding to any such challenges.

Role of Congress

At least one observer has focused on the issue of how the COVID-19 pandemic has affected the ability of Congress to conduct oversight of the Administration's foreign policy actions.

Further Reading

For further reading on the issues outlined above, see the CRS reports presented in **Appendix A** and the additional writings presented in **Appendix B**.

Potential Issues for Congress

Potential issues for Congress regarding implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world include but are not limited to the following:

- Will the COVID-19 pandemic change the international security environment, and if so, in what ways? How clearly can potential changes be anticipated?
- How should the United States respond to potential changes in the international security environment arising from the COVID-19 pandemic and its effects, particularly in light of uncertainty regarding the precise nature and likelihood of these changes? How might U.S. action or inaction influence or accelerate these changes?
- What actions is the Administration developing to respond to potential changes in the international security environment arising from the COVID-19 pandemic?

Does Congress have sufficient visibility into these actions? Are these actions appropriate and sufficient? What metrics should Congress use to assess them?

- What implications do potential changes in the international security environment arising from the COVID-19 pandemic have for the role of Congress in setting and overseeing the execution of U.S. foreign and defense policy? Is Congress appropriately organized for maintaining Congress as a co-equal branch of government relative to the executive branch in addressing these potential changes? If the COVID-19 pandemic becomes a world-changing event for the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world, what implications, if any, might that have for congressional organization and operations?

Appendix A. Related CRS Reports

CRS reports that provide more in-depth discussions of specific issues discussed in this report include the following, which are presented in alphabetical order of their titles:

- CRS In Focus IF11496, *COVID-19 and Foreign Assistance: Issues for Congress*, by Nick M. Brown, Marian L. Lawson, and Emily M. Morgenstern.
- CRS Insight IN11288, *COVID-19 and the Defense Industrial Base: DOD Response and Legislative Considerations*, by Heidi M. Peters.
- CRS Insight IN11279, *COVID-19 and U.S. Iran Policy*, by Kenneth Katzman.
- CRS Legal Sidebar LSB10424, *COVID-19: An Overview of Trade-Related Measures to Address Access to Medical Goods*, by Nina M. Hart.
- CRS Report R46304, *COVID-19: China Medical Supply Chains and Broader Trade Issues*, coordinated by Karen M. Sutter.
- CRS Insight IN11305, *COVID-19: Defense Support of Civil Authorities*, by Lawrence Kapp and Alan Ott.
- CRS In Focus IF11421, *COVID-19: Global Implications and Responses*, by Sara M. Tharakan et al.
- CRS Insight IN11280, *COVID-19: Industrial Mobilization and Defense Production Act (DPA) Implementation*, by Michael H. Cecire and Heidi M. Peters.
- CRS Legal Sidebar LSB10436, *COVID-19: International Trade and Access to Pharmaceutical Products*, by Nina M. Hart.
- CRS In Focus IF11434, *COVID-19: U.S.-China Economic Considerations*, by Karen M. Sutter and Michael D. Sutherland.
- CRS Report R46270, *Global Economic Effects of COVID-19*, coordinated by James K. Jackson.
- CRS In Focus IF11480, *Overview: The Department of Defense and COVID-19*, coordinated by Kathleen J. McInnis.
- CRS Insight IN11231, *The Defense Production Act (DPA) and COVID-19: Key Authorities and Policy Considerations*, by Michael H. Cecire and Heidi M. Peters.
- CRS Insight IN11337, *The Defense Production Act (DPA) and the COVID-19 Pandemic: Recent Developments and Policy Considerations*, by Michael H. Cecire and Heidi M. Peters.
- CRS Insight IN11325, *U.S. Travel and Tourism and COVID-19*, by Michaela D. Platzer.

Appendix B. Additional Writings

In presenting sources of additional reading, this appendix includes some examples of writings reflecting various perspectives on the potential implications of the COVID-19 pandemic on the international security environment and the U.S. role in the world, organized by specific themes or topics. Within each section, the items are presented in chronological order, with the most recent on top.

General/Multitopic

Edith M. Lederer, “UN Chief Says Pandemic Is Unleashing a ‘Tsunami of Hate,’” *Associated Press*, May 8, 2020.

Nikolas K. Gvosdev, “Why the Coronavirus Won’t Transform International Affairs Like 9/11 Did,” *National Interest*, May 5, 2020.

Deepanshu Mohan, “The Geopolitical Contours of a Post-COVID-19 World,” *East Asia Forum*, May 2, 2020.

Andrew Ehrhardt, “Disease and Diplomacy in the 19th Century,” *War on the Rocks*, April 30, 2019.

Dmitri K. Simes, “The Perfect Storm,” *National Interest*, April 24, 2020.

Fred Kaplan, “What Happens if Oil Doesn’t Recover? If Demand Doesn’t Pick Up This Summer, We Could See Major Shifts in Global Power,” *Slate*, April 23, 2020.

Barry R. Posen, “Do Pandemics Promote Peace? Why Sickness Slows the March to War,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 23, 2020.

Joseph Cirincione, “How to Prevent War During the Coronavirus Pandemic, How Will the Coronavirus Threaten Global Peace?” *National Interest*, April 22, 2020.

Frank Hoffman, “An American Perspective on Post-Pandemic Geopolitics,” *RUSI*, April 20, 2020.

Gordon Bardos, “Will the Coronavirus Crisis Force America to Look in the Mirror and Reform?” *National Interest*, April 18, 2020.

Nicholas Eberstadt, “The ‘New Normal’: Thoughts about the Shape of Things to Come in the Post-Pandemic World,” *National Bureau of Asian Research*, April 18, 2020.

Steve Coll, “Woodrow Wilson’s Case of the Flu, and How Pandemics Change History,” *New Yorker*, April 17, 2020.

Jackson Diehl, “The Pandemic Is Killing Truth, Too,” *Washington Post*, April 12, 2020.

Edith M. Lederer, “UN Chief Warns COVID-19 Threatens Global Peace and Security,” *Associated Press*, April 10, 2020.

Stratfor Worldview, “How the Coronavirus Pandemic Is Changing the World—and the Future,” *National Interest*, April 4, 2020.

Daniel W. Drezner, “The Most Counterintuitive Prediction about World Politics and the Coronavirus, What If Nothing Changes?” *Washington Post*, March 30, 2020.

Ali Demirdas, “Western Values May Not Survive the Coronavirus. European Unity and American Military Power Just Haven’t Held Up,” *National Interest*, March 28, 2020.

John Allen et al., “How the World Will Look after the Coronavirus Pandemic,” *Foreign Policy*, March 20, 2020. (Includes short contributions from 12 authors.)

Maxine Whittaker, “How Infectious Diseases Have Shaped Our Culture, Habits and Language,” *The Conversation*, July 12, 2017.

World Order, International Institutions, and Global Governance

Edward Fishman, “The World Order Is Dead. Here’s How to Build a New One for a Post-Coronavirus Era,” *Politico*, May 3, 2020.

Rebecca Wolfe and Hilary Matfess Sunday, “COVID and Cooperation: The Latest Canary in the Coal Mine,” *Lawfare*, May 3, 2020.

Joshua Keating, “The Decline of the Nation-State, Trump’s War with the Governors Hints at a New Political Order,” *Foreign Policy*, April 29, 2020.

Yukon Huang and Jeremy Smith, “Pandemic Response Reflects Unlearned Lessons of U.S.-China Trade War,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 27, 2020.

Mihir Sharma, “Diplomacy Is Another Victim of the Virus,” *Bloomberg*, April 26, 2020.

Brahma Chellaney, “The WHO Has Failed the World in its Pandemic Response,” *Strategist (Australian Strategic Policy Institute)*, April 23, 2020.

William C. Danvers, “The World Bank steps up its role in fighting for the future,” *The Hill*, April 22, 2020.

Eric A. Posner, “The Limits of the World Health Organization,” *Lawfare*, April 21, 2020.

Amitav Acharya, “How Coronavirus May Reshape the World Order,” *National Interest*, April 18, 2020.

Joseph S. Nye Jr., “No, the Coronavirus Will Not Change the Global Order,” *Foreign Policy*, April 16, 2020.

Karen DeYoung and Liz Sly, “Global Institutions Are Flailing in the Face of the Pandemic,” *Washington Post*, April 15, 2020.

Colin H. Kahl and Ariana Berengaut, “Aftershocks: The Coronavirus Pandemic and the New World Disorder,” *War on the Rocks*, April 10, 2020.

Lanhee J. Chen, “Lost in Beijing: The Story of the WHO, China Broke the World Health Organization. The U.S. Has to Fix It or Leave and Start Its Own Group,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 8, 2020.

Colum Lynch, “Can the United Nations Survive the Coronavirus? In the Absence of U.S. Leadership, the U.N. Is Struggling to Carve Out a Role in the Face of What May Be the Greatest Threat Since Its Founding,” *Foreign Policy*, April 8, 2020.

Timofey V. Bordachev, “Visions Of The Post-Coronavirus World: Russian Expert On Europe Bordachev: The Liberal World Order Will Not Survive,” MEMRI, April 6, 2020.

Matthew Lee and Edith M. Lederer, “Global Diplomacy Under the Gun in The Time of Ccoronavirus,” *Associated Press*, April 4, 2020.

Thomas Wright, “Stretching the International Order to Its Breaking Point, The Greatest Error That Geopolitical Analysts Can Make May Be Believing That the Crisis Will Be Over in Three to Four Months,” *Atlantic*, April 4, 2020.

Henry A. Kissinger, “The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 3, 2020.

Ryan Broderick, “After The Coronavirus Passes, Your World Will Not Go Back To Normal, Before the Pandemic Began, the Systems That Govern Our World Were Brittle. Today, They Are Broken. When We Emerge, the World Will Be Different, and So Will We,” *Buzzfeed News*, April 2, 2020.

Rick Gladstone, “U.N. Security Council ‘Missing In Action’ in Coronavirus Fight,” *New York Times*, April 2, 2020.

Ian Goldin and Robert Muggah, “End of International Cooperation? How Coronavirus Has Changed the World Permanently,” *National Interest*, March 31, 2020.

U.S. Global Leadership and Role in World

Jose W. Fernandez, “In the Coronavirus Era, Trump’s ‘America First’ Means ‘Latin America Alone,’” *Foreign Policy*, May 7, 2020.

Drew Hinshaw and Lukas I. Alpert, “U.S. Makes Diplomatic Push for Taiwan to Attend WHO Summit,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 7, 2020.

Fred Kaplan, “Trump’s Medical Nationalism Will Make It Harder to Defeat COVID-19,” *Slate*, May 7, 2020.

William Booth, Carolyn Y. Johnson, and Carol Morello, “The World Came Together for a Virtual Vaccine Summit. The U.S. Was Conspicuously Absent,” *Washington Post*, May 4, 2020.

Matthew Petti, “Trump Administration Defends No-Show At Global Coronavirus Conference,” *National Interest*, May 4, 2020.

Anne Applebaum, “The Rest of the World Is Laughing at Trump, The President Created a Leadership Vacuum. China Intends to Fill It,” *Atlantic*, May 3, 2020.

Charlotte Klein, “Trump’s ‘America First’ Mentality May Hamper Global Race For Coronavirus Vaccine,” *Vanity Fair*, May 3, 2020.

Nahal Toosi and Natasha Bertrand, “Fears Rise that Trump Will Incite a Global Vaccine Brawl, The President’s ‘America First’ Philosophy Courts Disaster for Entire Regions of the World, Diplomats Warn,” *Politico*, May 3, 2020.

Kori Schake, “America’s Built-in Protection Against Bad Leadership, For All Its Failures, the U.S. Has Structural Advantages Over Rival Powers—and Will Come Out of the Pandemic Even Stronger,” *Atlantic*, May 1, 2020.

Colum Lynch, “WHO Becomes Battleground as Trump Chooses Pandemic Confrontation Over Cooperation,” *Foreign Policy*, April 29, 2020.

J. Stephen Morrison and Anna Carroll, “WHO and President Trump on the Ledge,” Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), April 28, 2020.

Jeffrey Becker, “COVID-19 Offers a Golden Opportunity to Reengage with the Indo-Pacific,” *Defense One*, April 27, 2020.

Joseph S. Nye, “How COVID-19 Is Testing American Leadership,” *East Asia Forum*, April 26, 2020.

By John Hudson, Josh Dawsey, and Souad Mekhennet, “Trump Expands Battle with WHO Far Beyond Aid Suspension,” *Washington Post*, April 25, 2020.

Katrin Bennhold, “‘Sadness’ and Disbelief From a World Missing American Leadership,” *New York Times*, April 23, 2020.

David Brunnstrom and Humeysa Pamuk, “Pompeo Says U.S. May Never Restore WHO Funds after Cutoff over Pandemic,” *Reuters*, April 23, 2020.

Julianne Smith and Garima Mohan, “In a Crisis, a Fumbling America Confirms Europe’s Worst Fears,” *War on the Rocks*, April 23, 2020.

Luke Allen, “Why Trump Defunded the WHO,” *National Interest*, April 20, 2020.

Yu-Jie Chen and Jerome A. Cohen, “Trump Is Right That the WHO Has a China Problem. Cutting Funding Isn’t the Answer,” *Diplomat*, April 20, 2020.

Jeffrey Cimmino, “Trump Should Be Tough On the WHO – And Recommit to Strengthening Global Health Security,” *National Interest*, April 19, 2020.

Brett D. Schaefer, “The World Health Organization Messed Up—But Don’t Defund Them,” *National Interest*, April 16, 2020.

Salvatore Babones, “Donald Trump Is Right To Dump the WHO,” *National Interest*, April 15, 2020.

Kevin Baron, “Don’t Be Fooled. Trump’s Cuts to WHO Aren’t About the Coronavirus,” *Defense One*, April 15, 2020.

Bonnie Kristian, “The Coronavirus Shows How US ‘Diplomacy’ Is Anything But, Absolutist, America-First Approaches Isolate Us and Make Us Less Safe,” *Defense One*, April 15, 2020.

Eli Lake, “Trump Is Punishing the WHO for China’s Deceptions,” *Bloomberg*, April 15, 2020.

Thomas R. Pickering and Atman Trivedi, “America First? The Coronavirus Couldn’t Care Less,” *Foreign Policy*, April 15, 2020.

Emily Rauhala, “Trump’s Critique of WHO May Be a Diversion, But It Resonates Beyond the White House,” *Washington Post*, April 15, 2020.

Steve Holland, “Trump to Convene G7 Leaders in Video Call to Discuss Pandemic,” *Reuters*, April 14, 2020.

Fred Kaplan, “The End of American Leadership, The Coronavirus Pandemic May Mark the Final Shift of Global Power Away from the United States,” *Slate*, April 13, 2020.

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