HUMAN RIGHTS AND GLOBAL HEALTH GOVERNANCE: WHO's ACTIONS UNDER COVID-19

HE ZHUANGYI

School of International Relations and Diplomacy, Beijing Foreign Studies University, Beijing, China
E-mail: 15813318142@163.com

Abstract - In 2020, global health issues has become dominant part in international relations and global governance for the outbreak of COVID-19. The concern on Diseases and epidemic is not just because of the heated discussion on health and security under the era of globalization, but it refers to the security problems in other areas such as inequality, education, economic recession, international relations and the resilience of international organizations, institutions and cooperation mechanisms in international stage. The most popular topic when talking of global health governance is the protection of human rights, which includes, the effectiveness of current rules, conventions, or mechanism in global health, the protection of human lives during governance, whether the actions of actors in global governance such as WHO and other transnational subjects guarantee human rights, etc. This essay mainly focuses on WHO's mission and actions during the 2020 pandemic and its relevance to human rights, emphasizing its interaction with countries, NGO and its own actions and its leading role in the recovery of global health order.

Keywords - WHO, Human Rights, COVID-19, Democracy, Global Governance

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Democracy in global health governance

According to the definition in Longman Dictionary, democracy means 'fair and equal treatment of everyone in an organization,etc., and their right to take part in making decisions'. In Wikipedia, democracy is described as a form of government in which the people have the authority to choose their governing legislation. Democracy, more than a state of domestic authority,but it also constitutes a picture of life:freedom of speech, inclusiveness and equality,membership,consent,voting,right to life and minority rights.[1] when talking about democracy in domestic political system, the most common explanation is the equal participation and right of each citizen in a nation on votes, policy-making and freedom of speech. What about the democracy in international community? With the development of globalization, governance also become a heated discussion in the international realm. Water pollution, cross-border criminals, climate changes, poverty are not just a national problem, but global challenges must be solved byhuman beings in the world. However, in a nation, there is an authority or central government that governs the country and makes whole public policies for people, but at the same time, people strive for rights in the participation of decision-making. In international communities, according to the theory of realism in international relations, anarchy is the classical characteristics of the world politics, so great powers--- with rich natural resources and strong hardpower andsoftpower
--- would lead the international order and influence most in international governance. However, other countries with less capacities also have intention to participate in global governance and their identity in international organizations pushes them to be part of the active actors in it. Thus, participation is the fundamental but quite important cause of democracy in global governance.[2]

Human rights,the basic topic in politics, is basically defined as the collection of all the fundamental rights guaranteed by national or international constitutions.The Universal Declaration of Human Rights(UDHR) consists of 30 articles detailing an individual's "basic rights and fundamental freedoms" and affirming their universal character as inherent, inalienable, and applicable to all human beings.Adopted as a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations", the UDHR commits nations to recognize all humans as being "born free and equal in dignity and rights" regardless of "nationality, place of residence, gender, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status".[3]

In order to protect human rights, people in international politics fought a lot. For instance, in 1973 and 1974, people from Africa and Latin America strongly resisted the inequality of economic status of African countries in the international economic order,which was raised the attention of UN, organizing an international conference on the elimination of colonized identity and accomplishment of equal trade relationship with developed regions, which marked the historical event of the shift of international economic order.[4] The relationship between human rights and democracy is , by protecting human rights and reduce the cases of human rights violation, each person is equal to participate in global issues,also the resources and international public goods can be rationally distributed.

2. Human rights in globalhealth

The protection of human rights in public health is frequently discussed when talking about the rights of being equally protected and got medical help. Even in

recent years, the era of rapid development of medical technology, the medical supply and immediate medical system in undeveloped regions are still scarce. In 2020 during the pandemic, African countries are one of the most severe regions in the spread of virus and uncontrollable numbers of the infected makes the futureuncertain.

The subject of promoting human rights globally is also regarded as WHO, however, besides proposing international actions, conventions, and seeking for global funding, other micro-actions should be implemented by national institutions, private sectors,civil society groups and grassroot organizations, which will be detailedbelow.
The importance of local sectors can be fully manifested during the COVEID-19, when many NGOs maximize their resources and assisted those in need. For example, INGO Action Against Hunger UK, with the final goal of eliminating poverty, diseases and water pollution in developing countries, responded rapidly to the pandemic supporting health centres, raising awareness of about how to prevent outbreaks, and providing essential supplies ranging from medicine and hygiene kits to developing regions.such NGOs played a leading role of the progress in the stability of the number of theinfected.[5]

There are 4 main points on how human rights promotion can strengthen democracy in public sectors with proper examples.
Firstly, the establishment of conventions,policies on human rights can play a restrictive role in main actors' behaviors. The Framework Convention on Global Health (FCGH)aims to the promotion of human rights. It suggest that it could further the right to health through its incorporation of rights into national laws and policies, using litigation and community empowerment to advance rights claims and prominently establish the right to health as central to global health governance. the conventions multilateral treaties or agreement signed by members in global health organizations plays an important role in constructing the universal concept of human rights in health and hygiene areas. FCGH raises people's awareness worldwide to care about the field of health crisis and the urgency of increasing assistance for children and women during medical treatment. Also, FCGH proposesseveral useful ways in which human rights can bolster the global health initiatives,which guides the specific actions. Laws in UN are also significant implication to human rights.In codifying a normative foundation for global governance in the aftermath of World War II, states came together under the auspices of the UN to develop human rights under international law."Health and Human Rights' Past seeks to elucidatethe history of health and human rights. [6] Some mechanisms in UN system are also active in human rights: UN Human Rights Council attracted most attention to the work in human rights.[7]

Secondly, global health organizations(GHOs) matters.
NGO's participation particularly the engagement of local civil community are of vital importance in promoting human rights. On the one hand, they get more familiar with local policies and environment in geography, economy,cultures and so on, which reduce the communication cost when they participatein the projects of health and hygiene. Also, compared to government, NGOs have more time and energy in following specific projects, making their goals sustainable.In order to implement actions plan, WHO often partner with local committee and organizations by allowing them to join UN projects, gain consultative status with the United Nations. For example, during the 2020 pandemic, The Amity Foundation, one of the international organizations focusing on humanitarian aid and refugees protection based in China, Britain and Switzerland, funded and networked worldwide for the victims and provided medical supplies and necessary information for developing countries by taking advantages of its regional networking. These kinds of organizations not only build up a bridge between societies and government, reducing the communication asymmetry, but also flexibly settle down social issues in a shorter term compared to the input time of government which rely heavily on hierarchy. On the other hand, They can act as advisers, providing knowledge and experience, including at local levels, perhaps otherwise unavailable to states and international organizations. They are critical not only to the work of relevant UN special procedures in supplementing their limited resources but also in informing their findings. They can be instrumental in strengthening respect for human rights in international and national health frameworks and to the establishment and effective functioning of national human rights mechanisms and institutions.[8]

Meanwhile, the importance of nations' engagement. Both leadership in one country and countries' preference of participating in the actions of humanitarian assistance during global health crisis influence the GHOs' efficiency. Even though the purpose of the establishment of international organizations is to solve global issues, the important actors in global governance are still nations.Therefore, the willingness of nations' participation in global governance would decide on the quality and process of global governance. It could be impressively explained by the withdrawal of the United States from many international organizations from 2017 to 2018, and its default in UN, leading to the difficulty of paying-off UN staffs and project operation in UN. This essay will elaborate America's arrogance when facing WHO's initiatives in 2020.

Furthermore, multilevel governance in global health is quite necessary. In an increasingly globalised and rapidly changing world, decision-making processes becomes more complex as more actors participate and contribute to it. Individual governments or government departments now rarely have all the power, resources and governance structures that are required to adequately respond to public policy challenges under their responsibility and effectively govern their constituencies. This means they are required to work with, or seek the aid of, others from the public, private, non-government organisation or community spheres, and often across a range of sectors, to achieve their objectives. Understanding and managing the issues associated with governing across a range of boundaries are thus paramount to achieving positive public policy outcomes in today's environment. [9]One important subject is private actors, which gain economic benefits as the primary goal but at the same time are encouraged to shoulder more social responsibilities through private-public partnership. Normally, private companies do not have obligations to offer public goods, however, guiding them to involve in the health care system is a state's duty if a state leader hopes each member in this governing area to be close to the social health progress. WHO describe these partnerships as covering a"wide variety of ventures involving a diversity of arrangements, varying with regard to participants, legal status, governance, management, policy-setting prerogatives, contributions, and operational roles." [10] In 2020, many enterprises signed technology cooperation with WHO in health to fight together against COVID-19. on October, 15,2020, Estonia and WHO made an two-year agreement on heath care services and medical security. The enterprises in Estonia will have more opportunities to gain economic and policies support from government to implement this agreement. Second, NGOs are also important subject in sustainable development process in global health,which have already analyzed above. [11] However, the core of multilevel governance is the relations or links among these actors, that is , how private actors, NGOs and governments as well as individuals cooperate to complete public projects in health, Governments are seen as the primary actor to govern societies and offer public services, but it is governments' limitations in resources, human capital and technology, time that pushes governments to collaborate with others. For example, governments set up communicationstage for citizens with the form of public hearing, online supervision system to stimulate people to concern about social issues around them. Civil society are created because of their high awareness of community development. If a resident complaint about local health care system but there is no response from government, he or she could maintain its own rights from local community,which can negotiate with governments for residents.[12]

3. The challenges remained on human rights development in globalhealth

In most cases, global crises challenge the function and flexibility of global governance mechanism.Before 2020 pandemic, there were also health challenges in the world, posing threats to WHO and countries,which also challenges countries' response and the stability of cooperation mechanism. What's worse, global health can also arise through other problems such as air pollution, climate changes and even economic recession. This paper focuses mainly on outside factors and internal causes of the bottlenecks in global health.

Firstly, from the perspective of control and treatment work, insufficient resources allocation of medical services and supply would slow down the efficiency of medical assistance during health crisis. [13] For as of 2017,more than half of people globally were not covered by essential health services. as to medical technology, if a developing country does not have sufficient economic input on health, they can not respond to an unknown virus or pathogen's presence timely and produced effective treatment. This difficulty can be released but can not be removed through international cooperation because some undeveloped regions are unable to afford the new technology or vaccine. Therefore, each health threat intertwines with political, economic, social, and environmental factors that shape how it emerges and spreads. Those countries in economic downturn and religious disturbances may not establish a effective health care system. [14]

Second, the competition among great powers inmultilateral health organizations may weaken the influence international organizations. Though members in international organizations should obey institutions, great powers can break out the rules if institutions contradicts with its interest. Different from domestic policies which limit both political leaders and citizens by law, international society has no superior authority restricting countries' actions. It can be obviously reflected in 2020 pandemic time, when American administration rejects the cooperation with WHO and even makes threats to the withdrawal from WHO. Nationalism and multilateralism always become counterparts in world politics.In order to maintain national interest and improve national ability of discretion in international structure, great powers tend to break out international norms, rules. The reasons why global issues will lead to different reactions of countries are related to countries' conception of consequences and national interest. Policies serve to national interest, so if countries cannot gain more benefits than they think, they would not actively engage in this activity. For example, for China, China emphasize its international influence and the significance of multilateralism, so it

improve the quality and frequency of international cooperation and establish multilateral mechanism with its leading such as Shanghai Cooperation Organizations. By contrast, America nowadays reduces its responsibilities worldwide and withdraw from many international treaties so as to maintain its economic interest and prevent developing countries benefiting more from the international public goods offered by America.

Third, the clear concept of human rights has never been found or there is no uniform ideas about human rights. Just like what UN chapter promotes, " fundamental freedom." but UN also affirms that nations cannot interfere with domestic matters. Many countries can suspend any actions in human rights with the excuse of the interference of domestic issues. The first time the concept of human rights becomes universal is the establishment of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights,which claimed that man, no matter what race, nationality, sex and education background they are, enjoys the same right in the world. It is the common definition of human rights, however, once people, countries, and international communities approach the problems on human rights, things become more complicated, because it ties with individual and group interest.For example, in Africa, there are lots of civilizations, religions, cultures that influence locals in different ways, which complicates the health assistance process from other countries unfamiliar with local languages and cultures. External help itself is instrumental to the improvement of local health system but it may violates local customs and the result adverse to both sides.

II. REVIEW ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WHO AND HUMANRIGHTS

First of all, relationship between human rights and WHO. WHO is one of the most important organizations in UN system in health issues after WWII, it is a multilateral platform for countries to negotiate and make decisions on international conventions, laws and policies to push the development of global health cooperation mechanism.So, the goal of WHO framework is to pursue the equality of people's right to health services. [12]Global governance, international health law and WHO looking.The WHO Constitution was the first international instrument to enshrine the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health as a fundamental right of every human being ("the right to health"). The right to health in international human rights law is a claim to a set of social arrangements - norms, institutions, laws, and an enabling environment - that can best secure the enjoyment of this right.It is an inclusive right extending not only to timely and appropriate health care but also to the underlying determinants of health, for example access to health information, access to water and food, housing, etc. [15]The right to health is subject to progressive realization and acknowledges resource constraints. However, it also imposes on states various obligations which are of immediate effect, such as the guarantee that the right will be exercised without discrimination of any kind and the obligation to take deliberate, concrete and targeted steps towards its full realization.[16]

Secondly, the ways WHO promotes human rights. First, WHO mainly focuses on the marginalized and disadvantage group. The violations of human rights always happen in areas with serious health problems. People living in these places lack safe water and housing, as well as fundamental education in hygiene, so they are facing inequalities and inequities. WHO needs to focus on the study of these places and the demand of the people there to improve their access to healthcare prevention, treatment, rehabilitation and care services. Also, women and children are groups under privileged in most undeveloped regions, where religion,culture and politics hinder the rights to health of women and children.WHO tracked their life situation and helped them through funding and empowerment training as well as the project implementation to keep noting this problem.[17]

Meanwhile, the broadcast of human rights through WHO-NGOs cooperation. [18]Contacts with NGOs in order to create mutual understanding and assist in developing mutual interests frequently take the form of exchanges of information and reciprocal participation in technical meetings. This type of informal contact may continue on an ad hoc basis, without time limit and without written agreement. However, the definition of the broad objectives of collaboration and the possibility of enlarging its scope to include specific joint activities in line with the particular expertise of the nongovernmental organization are also explored at this stage. [19]There are many ways that WHO and NGOs can cooperate in the issue of gloal health.For example, in media promotion, NGOs worldwide can join the campaign, activities and declaration launched by WHO to improve WHO's reputation and the people's involvement of latest actions.in terms of technology support, NGOs andsome institutes can offer technical equipment,methods to WHO project teams. For example, many NGOs set up information co-sharing online database with WHO during 2020 pandemic to support coordinating and monitoring work of WHO. However, it does not mean each NGOs in the world could have access to WHO structure. They need to meet the official criteria of WHO working requirement, such as NGO's size, framework and whether their mission could fit WHO etc.

III. OUTCOMES OF WHO IN 2020 EPIDEMIC

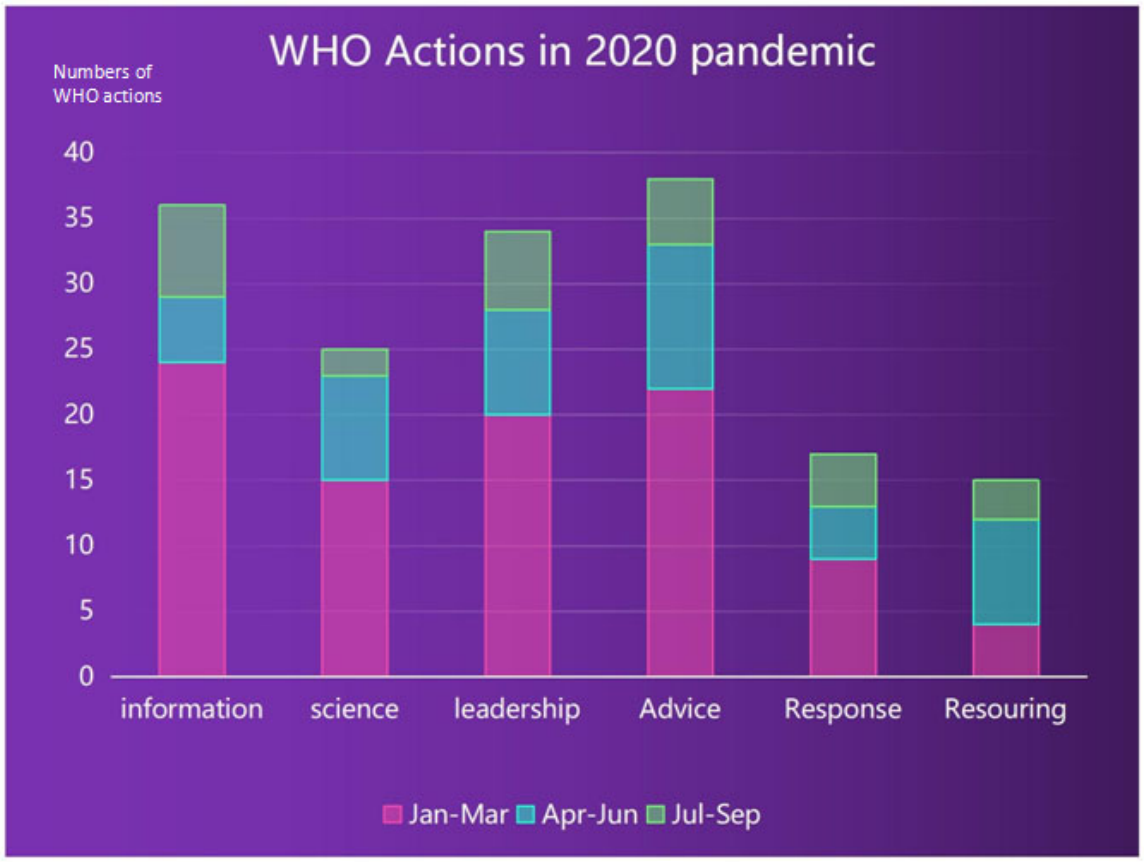


Fig.1 Actions of WHO in 2020 pandemic outlined on WHO official website from Dec.2019 to Sept. 2020

At the beginning of COVID-19, as the most important multilateral mechanism in global heath, WHO negotiated and contacted with countries like China and European countries in a serious condition on the current situation and possible treatment on the new coronavirus in an urgent time through different ways shown above. Here are the details and description on this picture:

- Information section. After WHO realized the seriousness of the new coronavirous in the end of 2019, WHO officials (WHO's Epidemic Intelligence from Open Sources Platform) announced the outbreak of the novel coronavirus immediately online through press briefing. In order to universalize the consensus of control work of epidemic in the beginning, WHO upgraded latest news on social media about travel pattern, track and numbers of the infected in the world, as well as the prediction of human-to-human transmission density. According to the data above, WHO had a close track with all the countries' changes in pandemic situation at the beginning of pandemic, in total of 25 information outcome. From March, WHO shift their emphasis to other areas such as science, advice and funding.[20]
- In terms of Science part, WHO seeks for more experts, medical workers and policy-makers to jointly negotiate how to effectively prevent the wide transmission of deadly virus.After announcing the risk of this global epidemics on Jan 10,2020, WHO official research team initiated a global strategy that allows the rapid activation of research and development activities in the following months. The contributions in science and technology include the study of genetic sequences, RT-PCR assay for the novel coronavirus from China ,proposed the proper prevention measures with experts around the world, held Global Research and Innovation Forum, published the Global Research Roadmap for the novel coronavirus developed by the working groups of the Research Forum,introduced the Solidarity trial, sped uo the development of adoptive vaccine and so on. These actions clearly showed the leading role of WHO in science research and pool of relevantresource.
- Leadership. The speed of response to the epidemics and its responsibilities of reshape global health order witnessed WHO's remarkable leadership in 2020. On 22-23,Jan,2020, only one month after the outbreak of novel coronavirus, WHO Director-General convened an IHR Emergency Committee (EC) regarding the

outbreak of novel coronavirus. In order develop the accuracy of information and decisions, WHO frequently communicated with China and discussed continued collaboration on containment measures in Wuhan, public health measures in other cities and provinces, conducting further studies on the severity and transmissibility of the virus, continuing to share data, and a request for China to share biological material with WHO. When the coronavirus swept the globe in April, WHO immediately collaborated with other international organizations such as EU, managing to find out target actions to European regions on the containment of wider transmission.

- Advice output. Due to being uncertain and unknown to this virus in the beginning, WHO played a key role in requesting ideas from scientists and offering advice to those countries in serious conditions. For example, in January, WHO published a comprehensive package of guidance documents for countries, made exchanges with medical teams who have rich experience in H1N1 and Ebola outbreaks. What is regarded as a significant document is the release of a consolidated package of existing guidance covering the preparedness, readiness and response actions for four different transmission scenarios: no cases, sporadic cases, clusters of cases and community transmission. In the latter of pandemic, WHO focused on issuing the protection for citizens in developing countries and those still at work, adjusting policies based on the development of infectious situation.
- Response and resourcing. In my opinion, the capacity of allocating and distributing resources is a key index of response in dealing with urgent events.though the report on these two aspects are not so sufficient as others, WHO actions can be summarized the process of improving the efficiency of resourcing. Scientific breakthroughs and information release are the contributors to response, which means WHO's ability of communication with the public.Also, during the pandemic, WHO also actively called on more financial support for regions in underdeveloped ones which seek for funding from other countries.

When we analyze all the actions types in the picture above by horizontal comparison, it is clear that WHO received the great change of global health situation immediately by providing a mass of information and assistance for people, making great contributions as mediators, experts, fund-raiser and leader in global health.

In all, Immediate response of WHO releases the pressure of global prevention and control work to some extent, especially providing channels of medical supply and other assistance for developing regions such as African regions. At the beginning of the outbreak, WHO quickly held media meeting online with China on the acquaintance of current situation of diseases. Then within a month, WHO established Incident Management Support team and designed online system for promotion and volunteer activities. In order to promote the global consensus on the global prevention work of 2019 novel coronavirus, WHO convened a global Research and Innovation Forum in February,2020. In March, after ensuring the core work tasks, WHO initiated fund-raising for most vulnerable countries and coordinated to develop new diagnostics. During the wide spread of virus, WHO called on the joint efforts with other local regional NGOs on global humanitarian response plan and guided global operational mechanism.

IV. DILEMMA FACED BY WHO IN 2020

Contributions made by WHO in pandemic still cannot recover the international order effectively, first of all, WHO is an international organization with a specific function,but 2020 pandemic leads to complicated problems for not only global health system, but also other areas in economy, trade, education, gender inequality and so on.

From the perspective of theory in international relations, according to realism, anarchy is the established state of the world politics,so nations, the most important subject and highest sovereign actors in international relations, pursue interest maximum and relative interest to protect themselves. Realists believe that international rules or mechanism are the tools for great powers in alliance, the improvement of international influence, if they think international organizations are good places to accomplish their goal, they would follow the principle in organizations, or they would violate rules and orders. However, it does not indicate the neglect of the importance of international organizations, because of the the unavoidability of globalization. Also, multilateral platform offers anopportunity to countries in communication with over 2 countries together, enlarging the whole benefits in cooperation.

In terms of the relationship between great powers and international organizations, Interstate cooperation takes a variety of institutional forms. Sometimes it operates through international organizations, sometimes through formal agreements, and sometimes through tacit understandings. If the rules, norms and decision-makings do not fit great powers' interest, the role of international organizations can not take effect. In the historical context, the principle of the Concert of Europe in the nineteenth century were violated by the conflicts of great powers due to the uncoordinated interest in Eastern question. Therefore, in my opinion, WHO nowadays also faces obstacles in implementation, supervision and laws-making in the process of developing global health system. There

are 3 main levels of analysis that explain the difficulties of WHO in 2020pandemic.

- Flaws of working mechanism, limitation and delay of information in coronavirus study makes the work of WHO inefficient. Funding is actually insufficient and core members in WHO are all confronted with the worse situation of infection. Without support from core members such as America in financing, scientific research and information exchanges, WHO would not have enough power to implement its plan and actions effectively.
- WHO's role in maintaining international order seems more difficult than we hope because pandemic is not the only problem that people should handle in 2020. globalization makes things convenient but at the same time complicated: people's flowing, countries' closer connection in economy, cultures, environment, security and mutual interdependence more obvious than 20 years ago. So, the outbreak of COVID-19 leads to multiple problems for international order: the dynamic of global economy is declining dramatically, poverty issues in some underdeveloped regions is become more serious, health system should be considered more carefully in policy-making in one country... for example, before the COVID-19 pandemic, the United Nations had set a goal of ending hunger by 2030. To reach that objective was never going to be easy: conflict, climate change, and economic downturns all threw obstacles in the path of progress. The pandemic has made the goal more elusive by creating an economic crisis, increasing food prices, and disrupting supply chains. Since the pandemic's onset, global hunger has reached its highest level in decades and, if left unchecked, will almost certainly exacerbate the outbreak's death toll. The pandemic is the final straw for millions of people already struggling with the impacts of conflict, climate change, inequality and a broken food system that has impoverished millions of food producers and workers. Meanwhile, those at the top are continuing to make a profit: eight of the biggest food and drink companies paid out over $18 billion to shareholders since January even as the pandemic was spreading across the globe - ten times more than has been requested in the UN COVID-19 appeal to stop people going hungry**.** complex results are not easy to be resolved only by WHO, all international organizations and other actors should work together to face pandemic.
- WHO members' opposition to WHO initiative slows down WHO's function and authority. The United States leads the world in both infections and deaths from COVID-19, with close to 300,000 people projected to die by the end of 2020.The failures of the U.S. pandemic response are by now well known. The country was slow to initiate diagnostic testing. It lacked testing materials, personal protective gear, drugs, and devices. Americans resisted wearing masks and taking other protective measures, and public health authorities were able to muster only anemic efforts to track and trace infections. American doctrine" America First" is reflected in its refusal to fund WHO in 2020.global cooperation is of vital importance in front of global challenges, but the attitudes of American administration deteriorate the efficiency of global cooperation in each area especially in the development of vaccine and information in virus transmission track and geneticvariants.

V. CONCLUSION

By analyzing the relationship between human rights and global heath organization--WHO, core mission of global governance, WHO's achievement and challenges in global health recovery from COVID-19 and countries' role in shaping human rights issues in global governance, it is obvious that the protection of human rights are the central goal of global health system and destination of the progressof human development. Heath issue is not a single topic in globalization, it is always discussed together with global economy, environmental protection, education, no poverty and so on. That can be clearly seen, human rights is a universal topic in each field, when we talk about protecting a right to equality, it must be a comprehensive task which can not be separated into fragments in different area. So, WHO's limitation in ability of maintaining human rights and justice is understandable, but improvable. How to mitigate members' conflicts in self-help framework, and improve WHO capacity will be the concern of multilateral cooperation.

REFERENCES

[1] Wikipedia. [Online]. Available: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy.

[2] Charnovitz, Steve. "The Emergence of Democratic Participation in Global Governance (Paris, 1919)." Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, vol. 10, no. 1, 2003, pp. 45–77. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/gls.2003.10.1.45. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[3] Wikipedia.[Online].Available:https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_Declaration_of_Human_Rights.

[4] Ghosal, Sarbani Guha. "HUMAN RIGHTS: CONCEPT AND CONTESTATION." The Indian Journal of Political Science, vol. 71, no. 4, 2010, pp. 1103–1125. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/42748940. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[5] Bond. [Online]. Available:http://www.bond.org.cn.

[6] MEIER, BENJAMIN MASON, and LAWRENCE O. GOSTIN. "EDITORIAL: Human Rights for Health across the United Nations." Health and Human Rights, vol. 21, no. 2, 2019, pp. 199–204. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/26915389. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[7] LAGON, MARK P., and RYAN KAMINSKI. "The Global Human Rights Regime: Assessing and Renovating the Architecture." Human Dignity and the Future of Global Institutions, edited by Mark P. Lagon and Anthony Clark

Arend, Georgetown University Press, 2014, pp. 123–150. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qdsd2.12. Accessed 7Nov. 2020.

[8] ROSAND, ERIC, et al. The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations and Civil Society in Promoting the Human Rights Framework in the Strategy. Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2008, pp. 17–19, Human Rights and the Implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: HOPES AND CHALLENGES,www.jstor.org/stable/resrep20284.7. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[9] Daniell, Katherine A., and Adrian Kay. "Multi-Level Governance: An Introduction." Multi-Level Governance: Conceptual Challenges and Case Studies from Australia, edited by KATHERINE A. DANIELL and ADRIAN KAY, ANU Press, Australia, 2017, pp. 3–32. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1zgwjv0.6. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[10] De Wolf, Antenor Hallo, and Brigit Toebes. "Assessing Private Sector Involvement in Health Care and Universal Health Coverage in Light of the Right to Health." Health and Human Rights, vol. 18, no. 2, 2016, pp. 79–92. JSTOR,www.jstor.org/stable/healhumarigh.18.2.79.Accessed 7Nov.2020.

[11] Saito-Jensen, Moeko. Multilevel Governance Theory. Center for International Forestry Research, 2015, pp. 2–6, Theories and Methods for the Study of Multilevel Environmental Governance, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02152.5. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[12] De Wolf, Antenor Hallo, and Brigit Toebes. "Assessing Private Sector Involvement in Health Care and Universal Health Coverage in Light of the Right to Health." Health and Human Rights, vol. 18, no. 2, 2016, pp. 79–92. JSTOR,www.jstor.org/stable/healhumarigh.18.2.79.Accessed 7Nov.2020.

[13] Fidler, David P. The Challenges of Global Health Governance. Council on Foreign Relations, 2010, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24171. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[14] FRIEDMAN, ERIC A., et al. "Global Health in the Age of COVID-19: Responsive Health Systems Through a Right to Health Fund." Health and Human Rights, vol. 22, no. 1, 2020, pp. 199–208. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/26923486. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[15] HANNAH, JULIE, et al. "Assessing Human Rights in Global Health Governance." Health and Human Rights, vol. 21, no. 1, 2019, pp. 283–286. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/26727091. Accessed 7 Nov.2020.

[16] World Health Organization. [Online]. Available: https://www.who.int/topics/human_rights/en/.

[17] Friedman, Eric A., et al. "Advancing the Right to Health through Global Organizations: The Potential Role of a Framework Convention on Global Health." Health and Human Rights, vol. 15, no. 1, 2013, pp. 71–86. JSTOR,www.jstor.org/stable/healhumarigh.15.1.71.Accessed 7Nov.2020.

[18] World Health Organization. [Online]. Available:https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/human-rights-and-health.

[19] World Health Organization. [Online]. Available:https://www.who.int/governance/civilsociety/principles/en/.

[20] World Health Organization. [Online]. Available: https://www.who.int/ emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/interactive-timeline#!

★★★