

# End of Globalization, COVID 19 and the Rise of National Sovereignty

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## ABSTRACT

Complex interdependence at the global level ensured the vitality of liberal internationalism. The expansion of economic independence had gradually destroyed the national sovereignty due to the domination of global political environment. Globalization, from 1970s, has been connecting the world with free flows of goods, services and technologies. By acknowledging all the dimension of COVID-19, it would be very difficult to make an estimation about the future of globalization in such a state of suspicion and fear. The outcomes of Coronavirus has horrified our planet and shocked the very survival of human society. Emergence of COVID-19 could be considered as most vulnerable for globalization, the widespread dissatisfactions given immense intellectual ground for addressing the future of free world order in the coming days. Global economic crisis has come up as a result of corona pandemic, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific presented its survey report by arguing the most pernicious economic catastrophe that the world has even faced. It will be more difficult for all the nation states to establish mutual trust and relationship as it was before the pandemic, national conservatism and closed-border sovereignty has reflected a massive retaliation against globalization in general and COVID-19 in particular. All the developed and developing countries are facing the vicious result of global supply chain, Particularly the third world countries have experienced the hardship of labour economy and magnitude of migration issues. The consequences of COVID-19 would not be defined only a conspiracy of China but a wider aspect of neo liberal economy which has survived more than four decades. Eventually, the essence of openness came with a humanitarian erosion, Coronavirus will be proved the national capacity for its defence against such pandemic. Globalization has turned its face from liberal international independence to national dependence.

**Keywords** – internationalism, globalization, sovereignty, conservatism, liberal economy

## I. INTRODUCTION

The outcomes of cold war politics altered the entire international system. All the political theorist, particularly from international relations, extended their research standpoint to analyse the nature of international system after a shadow war. Rhetorically, western political ideas were emerged with the supervision of USA and supplied a hardcore political agenda called “liberal world order”. Much discussion has been made since the end of the cold war, one of the significant contributions to this field was the end of history thesis proposed by Francis Fukuyama. All the developed countries from the west had celebrated the “Death of Communism” by imaging a liberal capitalist world. Liberal internationalism won the cold war battle and deescalated the velocity of worldwide tension and suspicion. The global interconnectedness has universally been recognized for managing international trade and financial transaction. A new era was evolved from the graveyard of cold war, the worldwide battle between capitalism and communism came to an end, after a long march of liberal democracy the world had experienced the globalization as a child of free world order. But history is quite helpful for us to estimate a new world order, primarily from a humanitarian perspective, we have experienced the fault lines of global capitalism and recently the same crisis persuade us to think very closely. One of the greatest challenge before the globalization is the role of COVID 19 and related dimensions through which a liberal estimation at the global level might be withdrawn. After the expansion of Coronavirus, all the countries have been struggling for a better place but unfortunately, COVID 19 imposed a serious question mark before our world system. Globalization denotes a free and open world where all the sovereign states are allowed to improve their financial and developmental

endeavour by compressing the national sovereignty. A new world order has emerged through the novel coronavirus, public health degradation and economic downturn imposed severe tension regarding the validity of the globalization. Global political environment, however will be faced certain unprecedented challenges such as Rise of the national culture, economic hardship and erosion of international interconnectedness. This paper will analyse the brainstorming effects of COVID 19 over the global political economy by highlighting some relevant points. Global capitalism has faced a precarious downflow, international markets are supposed to work in a “Death Nail”, coronavirus altered the whole conception of the free world order. Since the outbreak of the deadly coronavirus, all the national entities are searching for a permanent relief, undoubtedly it seems impossible to reach the place of security. Through this paper I will discuss the drastic changes that are going to occur at the global stage, it is a perception regarding the death of globalization that reflects the essence of this paper.

#### Research Objectives

- To understand the State system in the COVID 19 pandemic.
- To examine the concept of globalisation in a closed world .
- To unveil the dark side of globalisation to promote state sovereignty.

## II. MATERIALS AND METHOD

This paper primarily shows a balanced approach between both qualitative and quantitative research. The study depends on sources such as academic articles, online website materials and literatures pertaining to globalization. This research paper highlights the present global situation through qualitative investigations of previous works. In every section of the study, globalization and national power equation has been given more priority.

#### Liberal world order and globalization: an understanding

After the second world war the whole world was divided into two hostile camps – western bloc with American supremacy on the other hand Eastern bloc with soviet leadership. Cold war politics demonstrated an ideological paroxysm that started by showing up each other capabilities. As compared to the previous wars and battles, cold war was more vibrant and destructive through its proxy wars and brinkmanship. But the actual goal behind the cold war was to establish a hegemonic

model by perpetuating the ideological fundamentalism, therefore both USA and USSR were never constrained themselves for managing their own model of development. Ultimately the cold war politics reached at its final decision and gave the ultimate recognition to the USA. What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government(Fukuyama, 1989). The euphoria of Fukuyama had developed a realization that the liberal democracy is the one plausible system of governance, interestingly our fellow researchers are still in a state of suspicion whether the end of cold war has established a liberal democracy or wrongly altered the state - centric approach of USSR. Post cold war world was started with a more complex interdependence. Globalization has improved the international sphere through the process of trade and commerce. One of the valid argument with regard to the globalization would be the maximization of national capital but seems insecure with regard to its helplessness and uncontrolled – ridden capitalism. Globalization is the word used to describe the growing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, brought about by cross – border trade in goods and services, technology, and information(Kolb, 2019). Imposition of globalization has been interpreted the global governance through the prism of national interest, but the present situation is nearly inappropriate to claim the vitality of globalization. Now the world order reflects the freedom and autonomy in term of financial transaction but COVID 19 has changed the entire conception of globalization. Global connectivity is in crisis and national sovereignty is at the forefront to check the nature of globalization.

#### COVID 19 and globalization

The outbreak of Coronavirus has saddened the human world by imposing a severe survival problem. Global political system seems more complicated and destructive than the previous humanitarian crisis. Even the death rates and health security proves the deadly effects of COVID 19, however our world political landscape has deteriorated with the emerging global issues. The interconnected world itself, earlier it was a system of development, strikes down for protecting the livelihood of the masses. Global freedom was responsible for the spread of the Coronavirus, although the public attention has been centred

towards china. It is a matter of global concern, primarily the public security will be hardly effected not only in the health degradation but also the failure of capitalism to tackle the present scenario. A spectre is haunting the world but it is not COVID 19, it is the idea that the pandemic could lead to the end of globalization (Angel Alcalde, Jose M. Escribano, 2020). It would be inappropriate to claim that CHINA as a responsible entity for CORONA pandemic, but in a wider way, it is the globalization whose invisible hands have made it possible. Before the outrage of COVID 19 the world had already experienced the financial crash and the trade war between USA and CHINA. But the present situation makes more difficulties for improving financial ties and human exchanges. As a NON- STATE actor, like terrorism, the pandemic has been spreading from one country to the other only through the medium of global connectivity. Public transportations and cooperative markets are hugely affected through the continuous crisis in terms of national security and conservative domestic policy. The biggest challenge before the process of globalization is the restoration of global financial transaction which was there before the pandemic. Openness and freedom are the two pillars of globalization, but in an era of crisis it would be so ridiculous to have a better global system for internal development and external cooperation. Paradoxically, the emergence of COVID19 has a dominant impact on global capitalism, a longest- survived economy seems helpless to achieve its giant success. It is quite appropriate to argue that the manner of capitalism was revived after the cold war and in the name of regime change the developed west had to explore its model beyond its territorial sovereignty. Coronavirus has pointed out the problem of capitalism and also the relation between globalization, the allegation for this crisis has been imposed to china but in a broader sense the expansion of the virus was possible only because of our uncontrolled global system. Over the last thirty years globalization has occupied a significant level and influenced the world's economic order. Tariff free trade, international human communications, invisible linkages. But the most breath taking issue behind the expansion of COVID 19 was the failure of globalization, entire world order reduced to a national entity and really scared about the future of global cooperation. Even the competence of global brotherhood did not anticipate the deadly effect of coronavirus, international institutions were failed to predict the futuristic outcomes and now, after a great lockdown the national sovereign power

system will come up to repair the wrongdoings of the globalization.

### **End of globalization**

Global political system has to be analysed within the purview of human development, because our initiatives are directly involved with the problems and solutions of human society. International cooperation, at the very heart, deals with the maximization of mutual understanding and minimization of long- term conflicts and mismanagement. The democratic peace theory also upholds the character of democratic cooperation at every level to avoid the "crime against capitalism". But the COVID 19 pandemic altered the nature of cooperative global order by destroying the liberal internationalism and financial drawbacks. The COVID 19 pandemic is now expected to trigger the worst economic downturn since the great depression (Jun Du , Agelos Delis , Mustapha Douch, 2020). Chinese economy, which has emerged as a great alternative against USA, its exports to EU fell by 29.9%, while the imports from the EU declined by 18.9%. even the trade transaction has been declined of the USA by 27% and 8% respectively. the degradation of globalization was first appeared during the time of great recession where the financial interconnectedness came down. In this current pandemic the "great lockdown" has brought several challenges for globalization such as economic slowdown, localization and self – help strategies. "The world organization had predicted that global trade volumes could decline by 13- 32% in 2020"(Dhar, 2020). On the other hand the "foreign direct investment has been declined by 30-40% and a 44- 80% drop in the international airline passengers in 2020"(Altman, 2020). Here "End of Globalization" denotes a kind of mistrust and pessimism towards the future of liberal world order. COVID crisis is a challenge never seen before and it is going to be a bigger shock for the world economy. the developing countries will be severely impacted due to the national reconstruction and management of public resources. in the recent address to the G 20, Japanese finance minister Taro Aso admitted "the spread of coronavirus is both a health and economic crisis that can cause serious risk to the global macroeconomy by halting production activities and interrupting people's moments and cut off the supply chain"(Rapoza, 2020). From the beginning of the pandemic The model of globalization could not achieve its desired objectives during the Corona pandemic, interestingly the recent military stand- off between

China and India has resulted the rejection of Chinese apps which shows the instability of globalization. China is the first country to realize the hardship of coronavirus, on the one side it had lost the logistic support from the world due to the outbreak of the deadly virus and another side the widespread unemployment due to the decline of internal markets and external demands. There are some basic arguments need to be clear regarding the “End of Globalization”. Firstly, the destruction of global supply chain, earlier it was accessible to all over the world and nation states through the free trade agreements and communication, has damaged because of the fall of mutual demands in terms of goods and services. Some sectors such as tourism and global hospitality has badly been affected out of the catastrophe, interestingly the ration of import and export will be synchronised in the future as well. Secondly, international capitalism itself has been continued with certain dramatic downturn, the first shock was come up with the great recession 2008, afterwards the nature of capitalism is in question. From a Marxian standpoint, it would be better to analyse the virus within the capitalism that is supposed to be more dangerous than the coronavirus. The international institutions are working under the supervision of developed west, even the term “Americanization” reflects the global tendency. Due to the internal contradictions the global capitalism is at the bottom of crisis, not only that the people’s trust on capitalism seems a nightmare by considering all the facts that are contradicting with its free market and open globalism. “The COVID 19 pandemic and the threat of increasing and more deadly pandemics is a product of this same late- imperialist development” (John Bellamy Foster, Intan Suwandi, 2020). Thirdly, earlier globalization had overthrown the sovereign power of a state by imposing the global financial syndrome, therefore a state had to make its policy decision on the basis of mutual goodwill and trade escalation. But now, at the bank of coronavirus the development model of globalization has been shrinking, even the developed countries are more suspicious about the future of capitalism. The expansion of welfare measures could be seen as an alternative to capitalism. By analysing the three arguments, it would be better to claim that the future of globalization is not easy than the previous decades, surely the expansion of globalization will be limited or even less in the coming days.

#### **Possessive Sovereignty and welfarism**

Modern state system emerged during the Westphalian treaty which denotes state sovereignty.

After the great wars and alliance system the value of sovereignty came down to a very narrow application. The cold war era was the real testimony One of the peculiar pillar of state is its sovereignty, from 1980’s almost all the nation states had suppressed their national power by participating in different international forums. For the sake of economic prosperity the sovereign identity was in crisis. The so-called liberal slogan “state is a necessary evil” projected a free and open society since 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the emerging instability seems desirable to develop a possessive attitude for national sovereignty. “National sovereignty triggers concern about a return of a survival-of-the-fittest mentality. At its worst critics says virulent nationalism leads to war. Nazi Germany, always help up as the prime example” (Junior, 2020). COVID 19 brought the state at the middle point between excessive liberalization and national or international catastrophe. State sovereignty received enormous support from within to handle this pandemic through welfare measures. The responsibilities of state has increased to a great extent, legitimately the government acquired public attention through health care facilities and solved their domestic problems. All the countries, basically developed countries have expanded their welfare initiatives for citizens by supplying necessary measures such as free services for worker, farm labourer. The sovereign powers of the state are supposed to overthrow the aspiration of the globalization. The economic recovery will be deeply influenced by the nature and level of state intervention. The national development and public welfare are the two important sides of present situation. “The particular hazards this pandemic poses has also led to changes to specific social insurance payments. Even the US, which had no nationally mandated sick leave prior to this crisis, finally introduced some sick pay in response to the pandemic” (Sandher & Kleider, 2020). Public health and security are the two main areas that need to be focused for recovering the economy and livelihood. One of the critical point here is the helplessness of capitalism and globalization, after 6 months the international capitalism is not in a position to assist the people or could not tackle the pandemic in an efficient manner. The famous liberal capitalism could not revive the nature of global crisis because of its internal problems, but the most important thing would be the nature of welfare state. It is the state whose power and leadership has maintained the human capabilities such as self- help methods and protectionism. “The reserve bank of India has announced that consumers have recourse to a 3-

month moratorium on their EMIs, while the US has announced that those with student loans from federal sources can postpone payments up till September 30<sup>th</sup>, with a waiver of interest charges. In France, prime minister macron has announced a freeze on rent and utility bills for small business”(Menon, 2020). The debate around the world, particularly after the cold war, regarding the necessity of state is in a mode of uncertainty. Evolution of democratic structures and freedom contains the value of liberalism, all the countries at this point of time are regulating themselves through the democratic principles. the COVID 19 has altered the loose sovereignty which was a manifestation of global economic balance and internationalisation of sovereignty. The burning example in this regard would be India’s initiatives for sustainable and holistic development, since march of this year, the entire nation has been obeying the lockdown and outlining the hidden energy of India. The foreign visits will not be possible, on the other side the investment range has come to an end because of the state security. Competition for open market and throat cut competition for capital accumulation would not be possible to exercise in the coming years. COVID 19 has taught us about the authenticity of state welfarism, even the great powers are following the path of state- controlled development. India’s self-reliant strategy will be guiding principle for the world, health care policies and the settlement of migrant worker’s problem were the two biggest achievement of India. “National sovereignty is back. But ideology is not vanquished. the government has junked traditional liberal party free market ideas for state control”(Junior, 2020).

#### **If not globalisation, then what?**

a paradigm shift has occurred that altered the entire conception of globalization, given the term as “Slowbalization”. Mutual gain also came down with the widespread Coronavirus, primarily nation states are escaping themselves from global competition, for instance India’s policy of development through self- reliance. Globalization need to be modified from its anarchic situation, there is no central authority to control it. The age-old economic system would not be vanished at the first stroke of COVID 19, but the protectionism and suspicion that gives the way to look inside not outside. National culture should be revived to protect its products and people in such a horrific situation. Liberal world order pushed us to survive without any invisible hand, COVID 19 has brought up the methods of our own survival. The biggest obstacle before us is to uncover the upcoming

world order, presumably liberal world order has to minimize her optimism because of the failure of capitalism in uplifting the stress and tension. To replace globalization from the world will be more confusing, even the evolution of world history has been so renowned for its mutual contradiction and decay. In a wider perspective, the famous Fukuyama’s assertion “End of History” has been dismantled after the emergence of china, entire global structure seems to be confined according to the overwhelming power of China. Abolition of globalization might hit the global economic system, so the post COVID 19 world is likely to be more protectionist pertaining to their national interests. Open world order will not be realized exactly that was there since 1980’s, individual identities would necessarily be come up to fulfil the requirement. Liberal world order will be come down, however, the dramatic downfall of globalization shows a clear picture which need to be clarified. With a liberal world the humanitarian protection would not be possible, probably we have seen in the COVID 19 pandemic, to rescue from such a deadly pandemic. So here is a question – “what would be the next option”? at this juncture we could choose one among the two options – first, the liberal world order can be restructured and second, the welfare politics can be revived. Among the two, first option will be more appropriate than the second one because of the nostalgic effects of capitalism. Even if the world would be able to produce the vaccine then it will be more problematic for worldwide vaccination within a welfare model. A free world order will be more efficient for circulating the future vaccine. We will have to choose a middle path between the two, therefore a mixed state system should be established to recapture the human development and global peace. After the outbreak of the COVID 19 the tension and mutual suspicion has restored among the great powers. The multilateral world order has need to be checked by some international forums, otherwise a peaceful world would be a false dream. Welfare state system given an enormous effect to redraw a line between national capacity and international cooperation.

### **III. CONCLUSION**

By considering all the facts about the destruction of globalization it might not be so radical to bear a pessimistic world view for COVID 19. much debate has been made in the recent time to overcome the bondage of globalization. Necessarily, the security issues of mankind are supposed to be achieved through the “self – help” strategy. India’s self- reliant strategy Open competition at the global level could be minimised

by articulating the result COVID 19. it is the time to “manufacture” the national sovereignty which was not there before. Another outcome of the COVID 19 is to strengthen the national resources for developing policy frameworks. The art of statecraft has been considered as a plausible method of survival. Philosophically, the words of Francis Fukuyama “End of History” is no more valid because of the internal contradictions as proposed by Karl Marx. Post – COVID world order will be characterized by controlled- capitalism at the global level with a localized tendency.

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