

Global South, Capitalism and Sovereignty

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Abstract

Understanding the regions historically shaped by colonialism, imperialism and uneven development - parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America, middle east and the Caribbean, is inextricably linked with “Capitalism”. This essay will explore the nature of capitalism and identify its correlation with global south and its political and economic development. The primary argument put forward in this essay is – it is in the nature of capitalism to promote colonization, imperialism, and uneven development. It will further argue that the era of capitalism is coming to an end along with the era of sovereignty, without a known economic and political system to replace it. Hence, understanding these historical shift coinciding with the end of a period in history will remain crucial for the global south to chart their economic, political and foreign policy for the future.

Introduction

Capitalism, an economic system, is an improbable social formation. Although the only known and tested economic system capable of generating wealth and prosperity, some academics have long predicted its end¹. Along with this, sovereignty, a period in history, is also being predicted to end². Much of the churn within the international system currently underway is the result of these historical shifts³. Yet much of the academic attention is focused on the symptoms – great power rivalry, dysfunctional multilateral institutions, trade wars, reversal of globalization, uneven capital flow and technology transfers, and not on the fundamental cause underlying this phenomenon. I argue, understanding the end of capitalism and sovereignty from a historical perspective is key to making sense of the international situation that faces the region categorized as global south. I further argue that, global south as a category of thought results from the practice of capitalism, just as colonialism and imperialism. From a historical perspective, capitalism is not just an economic system that evolved naturally, but originated in the specific conditions of a particular geographical

1 Streeck, Wolfgang, *How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System*. London: Verso, 2016.

2 HG Wells (1940), *The New World Order: Whether It Is Attainable, How It Can Be Attained, and What Sort of World a World at Peace Will Have to Be*, Secker & Warburg: United Kingdom.

3 The Churning of the Global Order, Dossier no 72 | Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research January 2024. Available at https://thetricontinental.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/20240118_D71_EN_Web.pdf [Accessed on 22 February, 2026]. Rakesh Sharma (2023), *India Impacted by the Great Geopolitical Churn*, Vivekananda International Foundation, 15 March. Available at <https://www.vifindia.org/print/11361> [Accessed on 14 January, 2026].

region. Similarly, sovereignty, is a religious concept before it was adapted as a concept in political science.

The Marxist literature, in particular, although not dismissive about capitalism, identifies certain flaws in its laws of motion⁴. The nature of capitalism is similar to the nature of war. The primary nature of war is to serve itself and hence Carl von Clausewitz's famous dictum, "war is a continuation of politics by other means" (Vom Kriege). Violence being the personality of war, Clausewitz's dictum dissects the nature of war to serve itself, and hence this primary nature of war needs to be regulated with the political objectives. After the initiation of war, it is the self-serving nature of war that dictates the decisions made during the course of war, including the decision to cease or continue with hostility or whether to be on the offensive or defensive. It was this nature of war, that dissuades Chinese war philosopher Suz Zi, to understand war as a "matter of vital importance to the State," calling it the "path to survival or ruin". Likewise, capitalism's nature is to serve its own interest, sometimes at the cost to the very foundation it stands upon. For example, advanced capitalist societies are now stressing on the importance of culture, spiritual health and family. The *US National Security Strategy* released in January 2026 states, "we want the restoration and reinvigoration of American spiritual and cultural health, without which long-term security is impossible.... This cannot be accomplished without growing numbers of strong, traditional families that raise healthy children". Family is the most basic foundation of any social formation; without it no other higher social formations are possible. Capitalism, given its self-serving nature, has preferred individuals to family and conceptualize humans as rational actors having perfect information⁵. Furthermore, capitalism has redefined the relationship between man and nature itself, where nature is an object or commodity for the 76vman to exploit⁶. The genesis of capitalism is associated with the break-down in the previous societal structure of feudalism and a disconnected market place, and originates in the 16th-18th century world of mercantilism – the stage of pre-capitalism. Some kind of capitalism may have existed since the Middle Ages⁷. The industrial revolution of the 18th century, and the global expansion of the capitalist market place in the 19th century represent important historical events in the linear evolution of capitalism⁸. Unlike any known economic system, capitalism has generated global wealth and increased man's living standard and deconstructed the previous feudal structure and the social relations arising from it⁹. While man produced for subsistence in feudal society, under capitalism, for the first time, man produced to sell a surplus and accumulate capital¹⁰. Yet such an achievement has come at a human, environmental, cultural and societal cost while remaining a highly unstable system prone to crisis at regular and now increasingly frequent intervals. Studies on real wages concludes that, historically, extreme poverty was uncommon and arose particularly under colonialism. Furthermore, rise of

4 Marcello Musto (2021), Marx's Theory on the Dialectical Function of Capitalism, *International Critical Thought*, DOI: 10.1080/21598282.2021.1965902.

5 Steven Horwitz (2007), *Capitalism and the Family*, Foundation of Economic Education, 01 July. Available at <https://fee.org/articles/capitalism-and-the-family/> [Accessed on 12 January, 2026]. Tristan Claridge (2020), *What is Social Capital*, Institute for Social Capital, 30 March. Available at <https://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/what-is-social-capitalism-2/> [Accessed on 22 January, 2026].

6 Sohrob Aslami (2021), *Marxism, capitalism, and nature-society relations: An introduction*, Liberation School, 12 October. Available at <https://liberationschool.org/marxism-and-nature/> [Accessed on 2 February, 2026]

7 Michael Novak (2010), *How Christianity Created Capitalism*, *Religion & Liberty: Volume 10, Number 3*, July, 20.

8 Ian Stubbs (2023), *How the Industrial Revolution Shaped Modern Capitalism*, *Georgetown Law (The Denny Center for Democratic Capitalism)*, 10 January. Available at <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/denny-center/blog/industrial-revolution/> [Accessed on 5 February, 2026].

9 Claudio J. Katz (1993), *Karl Marx on the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, *Theory and Society*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Jun., 1993), pp. 363-389.

10 Prabhat Patnaik (2017), *The Concept of Primitive Accumulation of Capital*, *Communist Party of Marxist*, 07 September. Available at <https://cpim.org/concept-primitive-accumulation-capital/> [Accessed on 04 January].

capitalism since the 16th century saw decline in wages below subsistence, and this decline has not recovered in South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America¹¹. According to Ellen Meiksins Wood, in his work *The Origin of Capitalism*, argues that Capitalism was not a natural and inevitable consequence of human nature, nor simply an extension of age-old practices of trade and commerce. Rather, it was a late and localized product of very specific historical conditions, which required great transformations in social relations and in the relationship between humans and nature¹².

Capitalism's core ideal of "free market" triumphed with the collapse of Soviet Union in the late 20th century which was politically and economically organized to achieve socialism. Yet this triumph did not absolve capitalism from instability and recurring economic and political crisis. In moments of major crisis, capitalism would reinvent the wheel through innovations to swim through the crisis, such as the revolution in the domain of *Information Technology or Artificial Intelligence*. Yet, even with such revolutionary breakthroughs, the unstable and crisis prone nature of capitalism remains partially addressed. All economies are now challenged with securing employment generation and economic growth through innovation.

Global South as a category of thought, as I argue, is rooted in capitalism which is a successful economic system known to mankind and developed under the huge economic impact of the all-powerful catholic church in Europe. Global South can also be conceptualized as a region that which initially resisted capitalism during the mid-20th century and sought socialism in lieu of their national circumstances and in particular, due to a breakthrough – a scientific way to understand the society, Marxism. As a method, Marxism defines the field of social sciences. Marxism came to dominate not just the economic thinking, but also the associated political thought and school of history. It was a stress on political violence that promoted Marxism in regions where conditions for achieving socialism were thinly present – Soviet Union and Zhongguo (China), among others. Marx had formulated his economic theory with a particular aim in mind for the political-economic system in capitalist societies of the West. Marx proposed that mankind can transcend a crisis prone and unstable economic system and establish a new economic system in support of a socialist society that will lead mankind towards communism – a society where man shall be free from his social relations and time. The early period of communist struggle in Soviet Russia and China was dedicated for establishing a political organization and a united front against capitalism. This was an error, Marx has not articulated socialism as an antagonist or a substitute of capitalism, but an evolution which can only be brought about by a revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The revolution is violent if there is a reliance on political violence in a given society, which was the case in Soviet Russia and China, but not India. With socialism evolving only after an advanced capitalist system has been established, regions designated as the global south are intensifying their economic and political relations with capitalism. In fact, no nation has registered economic progress without adhering to the economic and political ideals of capitalism in the 20th century while participating in the global capitalist market space. This calls for the global south to embrace a system where the state plays least role in the market, although such a call comes at the cost sovereignty. Without the state, the concern for directing the economic activity towards common good cannot be addressed. In this regard, the sovereignty of many in global south has been compromised for economic development and political stability. For example, research on recurrent economic crisis faced by global south with respect to capital flow suggests deregulation of the financial system as a possible solution¹³.

11 Dylan Sullivan, Jason Hickel, Capitalism and extreme poverty: A global analysis of real wages, human height, and mortality since the long 16th century, *World Development*, Volume 161, 2023, 106026, ISSN 0305-750X, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.106026> .

12 <https://www.versobooks.com/products/1782-the-origin-of-capitalism>

13 Graciela L. Kaminsky (2005), "International Capital Flows, Financial Stability and Growth", DESA Working Paper No. 10 ST/ESA/2005/DWP/10, December.

The foundations of Marxism as a scientific method to enquire about society rests on – *Historical Materialism* and *Dialectical Materialism*. This scientific method used by Marx to study the societal progress and human condition led him to discover a materialist paradigm. In theory, man’s societal progress is dependent on the material condition of his existence and the social relations established in pursuit of such material conditions. Capitalism promotes social relations that cultivates class structure, owners and workers, where one class exploits the other in pursuit of profits. In this regard, it is not given that after a violent class struggle when workers command the factors of production, an equitable and just order will come about. The birth of an economic superpower in the region of global south resulted from the Communist Party of China undertaking opening up and economic reforms enabling it to join the *World Trade Organization*. Hence while the path to Communism is through Socialism, the path to Socialism is through Capitalism. The past, present, and future of Global South is inextricably linked with the history of capitalism as an economic and political thought and remains a category of thought only in relation to the governing principle of the human civilization – *Capitalism*.

Capitalism

Understanding capitalism as an economic system is necessary, yet insufficient. The foundations of capitalism are rooted in religion – Christianity, to be specific it was the Church that initially fueled and shaped the development of capitalism¹⁴. The story of Capitalism originates in the Christian monastic order of the Middle Ages which, for the first time, established a model of dedicated labor force. This labour force made of monks, nuns and local farmers sacrificed its needs, interests and social time, while offering its energy and talent to realize the objectives of a large scale proto corporate enterprise. According to Catholic historian Michael Novak, “The church had established the preconditions and building blocks for capitalism: the rule of law and a bureaucracy for resolving disputes rationally; a specialized labor force; the institutional permanence that allows for transgenerational investment and sustained intellectual and physical efforts, together with the accumulation of long-term capital for reinvestment; and a zeal for wealth creation all under the missionary guise of spreading the word of God”. Furthermore, according to historian Harold Berman, “Without constitutional law, corporation law, contract law, property law, and the other fields of law that developed in Western Europe from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, the economic and political change of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, which contemporary social theorists have identified with capitalism, could not have taken place”.

The preconditions of capitalism, as Max Weber saw it, was put in place by the Church more than any other agent. It was through the freedom for enterprise, markets, and competition that the Catholic Church ensured that the technological breakthroughs of the Middle Ages – mechanical clocks, wind mills, water mills, the ocean-going ship rudder etc. – was available to ordinary people through easy exchange¹⁵. Along with this, the Church broke the traditional tie between family and property that had been fostered by feudalism. According to economic historian David Landes, religious foundations of the Western Civilization – individual as a creator, religious value attached to hard and good manual labour, subordination of nature to man, and understanding progress through a linear conception of time – underwrote its achievement. Yet, as capitalism that once grew in the shadows of the Church saw the oversight of the Church as a hindrance during the course of its development in the industrial age. The state with a standing army came to replace the church in this regard.

Marx, who is generally dismissed as a non-believer was in fact a devout Christian and his economic thesis has much to do with Christianity. Writing in the mid-19th century, Marx was

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15 Jean Gimpel (1977), *The medieval machine: the industrial revolution of the Middle Ages*, New York: Penguin Books.

disappointed with the condition of the labour in the industrialized societies and was in fact angry with God for not helping with the situation. Marx wished to take matters into his own hands and formulate a theory of political-economy that will enable mankind to free itself and progress towards the creation of a happy society. Marx has looked through the laws of motion governing capitalism and concluded it as an improbable social formation prone to crisis. The nature of capitalism, which is to serve itself, required it to be regulated by social ownership of the factors of production. This according to Marx, who had used the method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, would help in resolving the class struggle between the relations between the factors of production. This resolution of class struggle has not yet occurred and the category of thought – global south – is nothing but a representation of a class struggle. The global south while is endowed with labour, land, natural resources lack capital to take advantage of it. The global south has no choice but to develop relations with the nations endowed with accumulated capital which happen to be the advanced capitalist nations of the West. China, a industrialized nation of the global south succeeded economically only after it had decided to allow foreign capital to play a major role in its economic planning.

Global South, in order to secure its economic rise and well-being will have to operate within the paradigm of capitalism which has been in making for hundreds of years. This is both a solution and challenge since the global cannot adapt within a capitalism world system without compromising on its sovereignty. The following section will discuss the systematic evolution of sovereignty and how sovereignty as a period in history is coming to an end.

The Systematic Evolution of the Concept of Sovereignty

The concept of “sovereignty” is a socio-politico mechanism which constructed according to both historically and doctrinally. It originated within a specific context and has continuously evolved over a period of time to adapt to the social realities. In given times, sovereignty is located at the level of “state” which is most fundamental unit within the international system, and the idea of state held sovereignty according to Mircea Djuvara (1999) is – “The state is an absolute reality, as it does not recognize any higher authority, as the private person recognizes the authority of the state. The state does not recognize anything superior to itself”. Yet, it is a fact that in given times there is no state in the world that can claim to not be in recognition of any authority superior to itself. In the context of global governance, which is simply not a new phenomenon, but has been in making for some time, for example, *De Monarchia* (1311, Dante Alighieri, Trans; 1949 On World Government). A series of efforts in the 20th century - *League of Nations* (1920), *A Federal Union of Democratic States* (Great Britain 1938), *The United Nations* (1946), *General Agreement on Trade and Tariff* (1947), *UNCLOS* (1982), *World Trade Organization* (1995) and also the *Belt and Road Initiative* (PRC, 2013) were and are in fact an effort to deal with the concept of sovereignty. In other words, any sovereign agreeing to these political or economic initiatives is compromising its sovereignty. Hence, hypothetically, global governance is a mechanism to deal with the concept of sovereignty.

The concept of sovereignty originated in the religious wars of 17th century in Europe. The Thirty Years’ War (1618 - 1648) took place between the Protestant Union (Swedish Empire, Kingdom of Bohemia, Kingdom of France, Kingdom of England and others) and the pro-imperial Catholic League (Holy Empire - Roman, Bavaria, Spanish Empire, Archduchy of Austria and others). With no hegemonic power to establish peace, work began to negotiate a peace treaty in the province of Westphalia. The negotiations ended in the *Treaty of Westphalia* which established the principle of ‘state sovereignty’, i.e. each signatory party undertakes to respect the territorial rights of the other parties and not to interfere in internal affairs. The original idea of ‘Westphalian Sovereignty’ in its strictest and purest terms means – a sovereign undertakes to respect the territorial rights of the other sovereign and not to interfere in its internal affairs. This original idea is no longer in practice

given the transformation of the international system which in many ways is globalized and each sovereign while conscious of its own sovereignty cannot help to intervene in others sovereignty. The Westphalian sovereignty was aimed at establishing peace among warring political units in Europe, and with transformation of this social reality the concept of Westphalian sovereignty underwent radical transformation in the 19th century when the world for the first time became a closed political system.

The concept of Westphalian sovereignty came to define the modern state system – the concept of national sovereignty, equality of states as a principle of international law, an international community with independent states, equality of states in relation between them, and most importantly the idea of “balance of power” as a means of peace keeping. A theory of “State Sovereignty” was first developed by Jean Bodin in his work *The Six Books of the Republic* (1576). Bodin attributed sovereignty to the King and the power of the state to make laws. In order to disassociate the King from the clutches of Papal, he saw King as accountable only to God – a secular theory of sovereignty. With Bodin being the first to introduce the notion of state and sovereignty into political theory saw sovereignty as having the following attributes - the prerogative to appoint senior magistrates and to define the function of each; enactment or repeal of laws; declaring war or concluding peace; the right of judgment, of last resort; right to life and death.

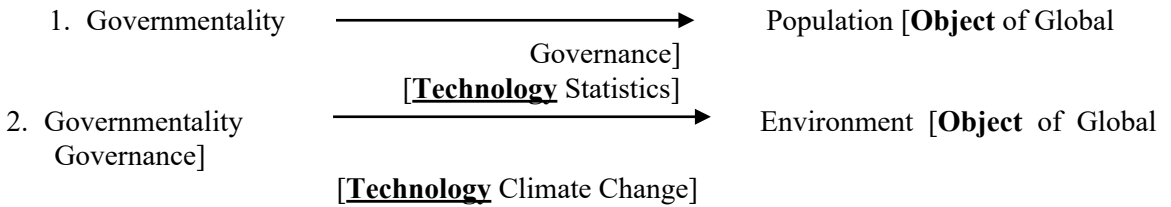
Yet another major breakthrough in the development of the concept of sovereignty with the work of the Dutch jurist and diplomat Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) in his work *De jure belli ac pacis*, wherein he differentiated the “bearer of state power” and “the state as a subject of power and sovereignty”. The most defining moment in the development of the concept of sovereignty arrived in 18th century when the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), who most explicitly formulated the classical theory of sovereignty, based on the social contract in his famous work *The Social Contract*. According to Rousseau a public person call “state” was created through a social contract where in the citizens created sovereignty and legitimized it. According to Rousseau, “there is no fundamental law in the state that cannot be revoked, including the social pact itself; for if all the citizens came together to break this pact by mutual agreement, no one would be able to doubt that it was broken very legitimately”. The idea of “People’s Sovereignty” was put forward by the English philosopher and politician John Locke (1632-1704), wherein he argued (*Two Treaties of Government*) that, “the people entrust the realization of state power to the legislative assembly, which the people themselves elect. Following this delegation, the people do not lose their status as sovereign. In case of necessity, the people have the right: to cancel the social contract; to remove or overthrow and / or modify the composition of its representatives within the power of the state; to revolt”. Also in 18th century, the concept of national sovereignty was introduced by French jurist and philosopher Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755) in the scientific and political circuit the category of nation, attaching it to the notion of sovereignty, thus generating a new conception, namely that of *National Sovereignty*. Furthermore, the correlation between state and sovereignty was established by Giorgio del Vecchio, Italian philosopher, professor of law who argued that - A state is not such, or at least not perfectly so, if it lacks sovereignty. The so-called semi-sovereign states, states under protectorate or vassal states, represent imperfect state figures. By 18th century, the concept of sovereignty had relocated from the monarch to the people – Popular Sovereignty - with the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America (1776), later enshrined in the Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights (1789) and the Constitution of revolutionary France (1791).

The idea that a sovereign has no authority above itself was untenable as history progressed through 19th and 20th century. Advent of capitalism which in turn produced imperialism and colonization on a global scale required a much-moderated form of sovereignty. Georg Jellinek, as a pioneer of moderating theories that argue for self-limitation of sovereignty, claimed that states accept international law as a self-imposing necessity and yet stand to violate such laws. In this

regard states limit their sovereignty by their own will through submission to international treaties and conventions. Other scholars such as G. Scelle’s conception reconsidered sovereignty as an amount of power that states could delegate to a greater or lesser extent to international bodies. Hence, since the origin of the concept of sovereignty (Westphalian Sovereignty), the concept has undergone radical transformation and the 21st century brings new interpretations to the notion of sovereignty, caused by the intense global transformations that have affected the role and functions of the nation state. Attempts to deal with sovereignty in an effort to further the cause of global governance – *The League of nations or The United Nations* – have failed and are now at cross roads due the concept of sovereignty.

The Myth of Global Governance

Global governance is a socio-economic-political mechanism. An object of governance, for example, population came into being due the advancement in technology – “statistics” in 1662. Similarly, the current debates on global governance can be better understood in terms of “technology” that have introduced new objects of governance. For example, environment has now become an object of governance given the advent of a technology – climate change. Hence, for global governance an appropriate technology is required or such a technology happens to come about with the advancement is science and technology. This technology is appropriate for global governance only if it is able to deal with concept of sovereignty. Global governance to be successful needs to penetrate sovereignty, without this any attempt at global governance will fail.



Many of the new age technologies are post-sovereign in nature and come to be objects of governance beyond the traditional limits of state-sovereignty – territorial. Hence, all efforts at understanding, formulation and implementation of mechanisms of global governance are meant for a post-sovereign world order. From a realist perspective, this entire enterprise of global governance is a ploy to direct an order centered on the authority of the sovereign state to an order centered on “one world government”. This idea is now being institutionalized, for example, according the UN General Secretary, “Secretary-General has said, “we cannot create a future fit for our grandchildren with a system built by our grandparents”. In September, 2024, the United Nations adopted *The Pact for the Future, the Global Digital Compact, and the Declaration on Future Generations* to transform global governance. Key deliverables in the pact pertaining to the domain of peace and security are as following;

1. The most progressive and concrete **commitment to Security Council reform** since the 1960s
2. The first multilateral recommitment to nuclear disarmament in more than a decade
3. A clear commitment to the goal of **totally eliminating nuclear weapons**.
4. Strengthen international frameworks that **govern outer space**, including a clear commitment to **prevent an arms race in outer space**
5. Steps to avoid the **weaponization and misuse of new technologies**, such as lethal autonomous weapons, and affirmation that the laws of war should apply to many of these new technologies.

The objects of governance as articulated within the pact infringe and depend on sovereign authority for its realization. The objects of governance in other domains such as sustainable

development, climate and financing for development, on digital cooperation, youth and future generations, and human rights and gender also seek to intervene and manage the domain of sovereignty. This essay demonstrates that the entire enterprise of global governance is gearing to dismantle an international system made up of sovereign-state actors. The world history is now at the end of the period in world history – sovereignty. In other words, the concept of sovereignty is an outdated concept and major impediment to the idea of global governance. Even as we now practice a very moderate or diluted form of sovereignty, the friction between sovereignty and global governance is intensifying.

The relevance of sovereignty, at a time when a fierce debate on global governance is ensuing, is underscored by the answer to a question – What do we want overall? - raised by the *National Security Strategy* (NSS) (November, 2025). In its answer, the key architect of the global governance in the post-War era, the United States NSS states, “First and foremost, we want the continued survival and safety of the United States as an independent, sovereign republic whose government secures the ““God-given natural rights of its citizens’ and prioritizes their well-being and interests”. Some of strategic objectives outlined in the security strategy document is a complete denial of *The Pact for the Future, the Global Digital Compact, and the Declaration on Future Generations* which calls for complete nuclear disarmament and observation of laws of war with respect to future technologies. For example, the US NSS states, “We want the world’s most robust, credible, and modern nuclear deterrent, plus next generation missile defenses – including a Golden Dome for the American homeland – to protect the American people, American assets overseas, and American allies”. It further states, “We want to ensure that U.S. technology and US standards – particularly in AI, biotech, and quantum computing – drive the world forward”.

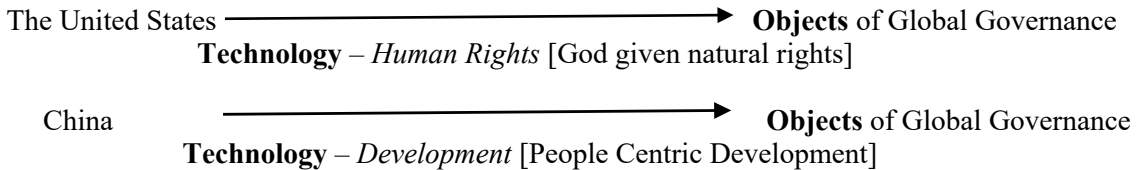
The world’s fundamental political unit is and will remain the nation-state. It is natural and just that all nations put their interests first and guard their sovereignty. The world works best when nations prioritize their interests. The United States will put our own interests first and, in our relations with other nations, encourage them to prioritize their own interests as well. **We stand for the sovereign rights of nations, against the sovereignty-sapping incursions of the most intrusive transnational organizations,** and for reforming those institutions so that they assist rather than hinder individual sovereignty and further American interests.

The US National Security Strategy (November, 2025)

Global governance, the authority and legitimacy needed to actualize it is an ill-fated concept of global domination. In this regard global governance is a myth – something that is true, and also untrue simultaneously. As a political mechanism, global governance is the extension of political order practiced in Europe. The traditional architecture of global governance stands transformed with the rise of global south, especially the rise of China. According to Madeleine Herren (*A Global History of Governance*, 2018), concepts and practices of global governance intertwined modern nation-building and imperialism since the late nineteenth century. China, according to some scholars (Yongjin Zhang; 2008) is the “last bastion” of Westphalia, or the ‘champion’ of the Westphalian conception of absolute sovereignty. For example, in 1999 when the United Nations General Secretary Kofi Annan stated that, “State sovereignty, in its most basic sense, is being redefined”, while at the same time, individual sovereignty – by which I mean the fundamental freedom of each individual, enshrined in the charter of the United Nations and subsequent international treaties – has been enhanced”, China rejected this view by stating that “Sovereign equality, mutual respect for state sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other are the basic principles governing international relations today If the notion of “might is right” should prevail, a new gun boat policy would wreak havoc” (Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan).

While both the US and China – the only two great powers – champion the cause of sovereignty, they also seek global governance through technologies that are dissimilar and incompatible to

each other. While the US employs Human Rights, which has been now upgraded to ‘God given natural rights’ as a technology to implement its vision of global governance, China has employed development as a technology to realize its own vision of global governance. Both Human Rights and Development as technologies of global governance intervene in the sovereignty of other countries and this is required as it has argued elsewhere in this essay for global governance. This is the dilemma or contradiction that faces us - Global Governance □ Sovereignty. The more global governance we have, the less sovereignty we have and vice-versa.



Conclusion

With respect to global south, this essay has argued for an inverse relationship between the concept of sovereignty and global governance. Having traced the evolution of the concept of sovereignty since it first originated in peace treaty signed in 1648 in Europe, the concept is undergoing major transformation in the 21st century globalized world. In a globalized world many of the solutions to the problems faced by a sovereign are outside the jurisdiction of the sovereign. The concept of sovereign is now the biggest impediment for the success of global governance, yet many nation-states, especially great powers are now turning inward in absolute defense of their sovereignty while implementing technologies that violate or intervene others sovereignty.

In its evolution, the concept of sovereignty which was once located with God, transferred to the Papal, then to King, and then to people and citizens. In given times, sovereignty is mostly popular sovereignty with a social contract that allows the state to practice sovereignty on behalf of the people. In a globalized world a moderate sovereignty is in practice, where a sovereign by its own willingness sets the limits of his sovereignty in relation to other sovereigns. The purest definition of Westphalian sovereign where in a sovereign does not interfere in others sovereignty is a thing of the past. Some sovereigns are more sovereigns than others due to the breakthrough in science and technology in the domain of nuclear physics. Disarmament as object of global governance is aimed at sovereignty and not nuclear weapons and this remains a major problem for global governance in the 21st century. As social scientist, it is important for us to revisit and reinterpret the concept of sovereignty in the 21st century and relocate it at a level that fosters global governance. The concept of sovereignty originally developed as a religious concept where it was God that was sovereign and had the authority and this authority was assumed by Political authority. For example, “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Me” (Mathew 28:18). Karl Max stated, “I wish to avenge myself against the One who rules above” (Marx, cited from Richard Wurmbrand, Marx and Satan, p. 12). Nation-States in Asia and others outside Europe have adapted to the concept of sovereignty and have been in practice of their indigenous political theories in the past.

It is now required that we understand the concept of sovereignty in the context of developments in the 21st century and relocate it to an acceptable place where all of mankind can live with each other in harmony. Attempts to invent new technologies for global governance is underway in some parts of the world. For example, The U.S. Congress has held multiple hearings on UFOs/UAPs, notably in 1966, 1969, 2022, and 2023, marking significant periods of inquiry, with the 2022 session being the first public hearing in over 50 years, driven by increased military sightings and calls for transparency on Unidentified Anomalous Phenomena. Most certainly, we do not need aliens to bring us together. Attributing, sovereignty at the level of nation-state which is self-centered and deeply consumed with its own survival will remain a challenge in the 21st century.

Global south, in terms of preference for political and economic strategies, is faced with a contradiction amidst a period in history. Both the era of capitalism and sovereignty are coming to an end. In this transforming period the global south is faced with strategic challenge to embrace capitalism with all its flaws while not compromising on its sovereignty. The global south must under such circumstances prepare for the future by organizing itself for a post-capitalist and post-sovereign world order – when you are victim of a process it is important that you lead this process.