AI AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
A NEW BALANCE OF POWER IN A NEW WORLD ORDER

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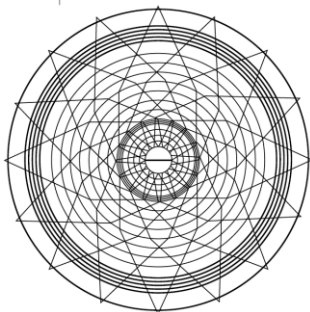*f.roumate@um5s.net.ma*

Abstract:

In this paper, we will discuss three main topics on AI and international relations. First, we will describe how AI is influencing international relations. Second, we will be highlighting international society post-COVID-19. Third, we will try to underline the challenges imposed by all these changes. The new balance of power is based on smart power and new types of war. The balance of power swings between geostrategic interests and those linked to the global governance of virtual space and the race to technological sovereignty. In conclusion, the role of diplomacy is an important and urgent condition to manage all the changes, which characterize this new multipolar world order.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, international relations, new balance of power, new world order

Introduction

The emergence of the use of AI, especially during COVID-19, is creating big changes in international relations. It's the most important characteristic of the new world order with new diffusion of power and the expansion of transnational relations. The massive interconnection between all actors, in virtual space, with closed border since the beginning of the pandemic COVID-19 is a new phase of multilateralism. This explains the new balance of power and the race toward AI which is an important feature of the new world order, and it means the emergence of new economic forces, new players, and new international game.

AI is influencing international society and imposing new challenges on international actors (states, international organizations, NGOs, and transnational corporations). Nowadays, AI offers new opportunities for international cooperation and conflict resolution and is considered as a new tool that reinforces the role of the emergent actors within global governance. This explains the emergence of new phenomena, such as this new

phase of multilateral relations with closed borders and open societies. This invites researchers and policymakers to rethink many concepts linked to the state notion as it is sovereignty, diplomacy, and security considering the appearance of a new concept as e-diplomacy, cyber security, cyberwar.

The specific feature of the new world order is the massive use of AI accompanied by evolution on many levels – evolution of concepts, notions, and some practices and phenomena which illustrate the international society in this new age. The current era is characterized by a new power: the use of AI to create political changes in some countries and to influence global affairs. This was confirmed by the Arab Spring, where the youth under the influence of AI and media changed many political systems. These movements illustrate the beginning of a new age in history, where the AI influences geopolitical affairs, and where new actors contribute to global governance as much as traditional ones. The age of AI is marked by the emergence of a new territory, which is difficult to be controlled by the state.

In a sense, one should ask several questions:

- What is AI's impact on international relations?
- How AI is changing the balance of power and how is it facilitating the emergence of new players?
- How is it changing wars and their impact on international law?

We will answer these questions using the new balance of power and new players in a multipolar world based on AI.

1. Artificial intelligence and a new balance of power in international relations

In the age of artificial intelligence (AI), the balance of power swings between geostrategic interests and those linked to the global governance of AI and the race to technological sovereignty[1]. The principal goal of the competition between China and the USA is racing toward technological sovereignty, which means, according to Nicholas Westcott, having a seat at the international table at the age of AI (Westcott, 2008, p. 4-5). Therefore, Power is now smart, and it is evaluated considering three fields related to AI: science and technology, economy, and military.

1.1. Artificial intelligence and Hard power

International relations are currently facing new challenges linked to AI and hard power. The global investment of states in AI-related to the military which will be more than 16 billion dollars in 2025. Lethal Autonomous Robots (LARs) are increasing exponentially, and
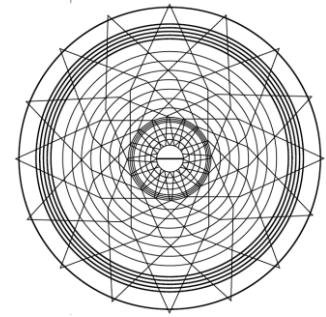
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[1]This new notion is defined as "the ability of a state or a federation of states to provide the technologies it deems critical for its welfare, competitiveness, and ability to act and to be able to develop these or source them from other economic areas without one-sided structural dependency".
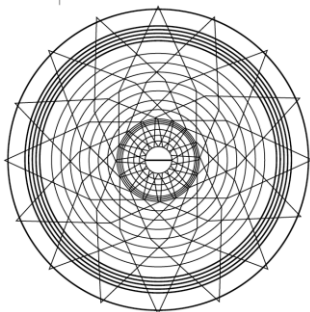
unit prices are falling significantly. The future of humanity will be decided by non-state actors when they will own LAWS bearing in mind that innovation in this field is growing faster than international law and diplomacy (Allen & Chan, 2017). In a sense, cyber-attacks and states investments in this "new market" will cost $10.5 Trillion annually by 2025 (Morgan & Calif, 2020). American security strategy focuses on the improvement of strategic planning and intelligence (The White House, 2017). This leads us to data sovereignty, which is conditioning the state's independence at all levels and even the protection of borders. Canada, the UK, Russia, Israel, China, India, and France are prioritizing AI. China has said it wants to be a global leader by 2030 (Stober, 2018). Therefore, international law such as norms concerning the use of force and defence need to be revised. International law and the rules made after World War II are still needed but they should be updated, considering the impact of social media using AI systems on the international society in general. Hillary Clinton argued that "rules-based global order…. would have to be more flexible and inclusive than before" (Clinton, 2014, p. 33), considering the interaction between all actors and all sectors. In the age of AI, everything is influencing everything and that is why for Hillary Clinton, traditional foreign policy tools are not enough to ensure global governance. By this, she means the "Hard power" of military force or the "soft power" of diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, and cultural influence" (Clinton, 2014, p. 33).

1.2. AI and soft power (Soft Power):

Economy and Trade are the second priority which is important to face AI's challenges, and which need a new vision, new strategy, and new diplomat's missions. In the age of AI, diplomacy should focus on AI investment for economic growth. Global AI investment reaches $77.5 billion in 2021 (Figure 1), according to the Tortoise Global AI Index (INDIAai, 2021).

The United States of America is leading in this global AI investment and according to Tortoise, «US-based companies pulled in two-thirds of total global venture funding in AI in 2021» (INDIAai, 2021). The global race for technological sovereignty extends to other fields such as science, education, culture, and media which are one of the most important pillars of soft power. With AI, it becomes a cornerstone of what Obama's administration called smart power. Considering its psychological influence on international and national security, media and AI are new kinds of "weapons" in the psychological war which starts before the military force, it also continues at the same time as traditional war.

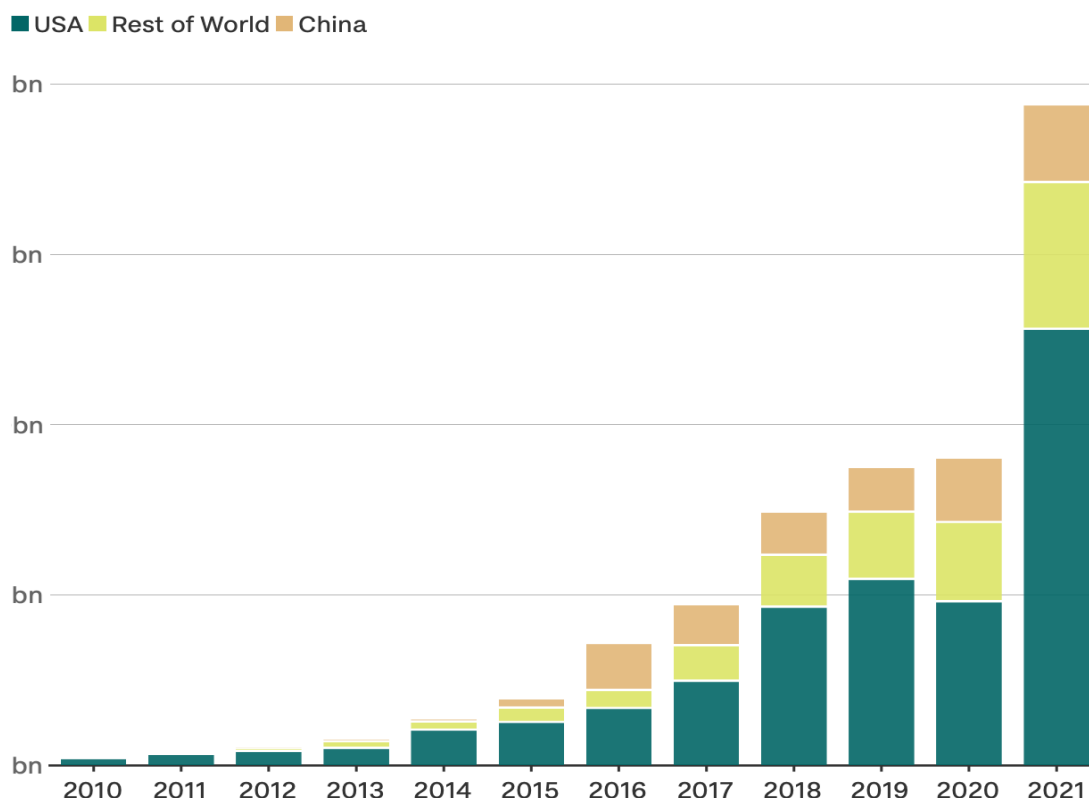■ USA ■ Rest of World ■ China

Figure 1. Global AI investment (INDIAai, 2021).

There are many aspects of the psychological warfare program:

- AI and public opinion manipulation;
- AI and cyberattacks.

AI is a new "tool" used by States, but also by other international actors to influence global issues according to their interest by creating targeted agendas, analysing mass-collected data, or influencing social media content. AI offers the possibility to analyse human behaviours, moods, and beliefs based on available data (Bhatnagar & Cotton, 2018). The malicious use of AI leads us to think about one of the most important negative impacts, especially the attacks on democracy. AI is not only expanding existing risks, but it's creating new threats.
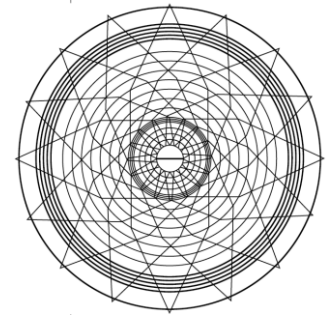
1.3.   AI and smart power

Smart power as a concept was used by Joseph Nye, Suzanne Nossel, and other authors, it means "choosing the right combination of tools – diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural- for each situation" (Clinton, 2014, p. 33). The idea is to complete
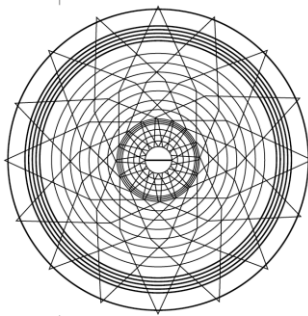
the traditional diplomatic tools by new ones, like in Iran; the USA "used the financial tools and private-sector partners to enforce stringent sanctions and cut Iran off from the global economy" (Clinton, 2014, p. 34). This signifies that all is legitimate to ensure and protect the national interest as it confirms this interaction between global and local issues, which impose the inclusion of all in global governance. This idea was confirmed by James Rosenau, who calls this decentralized fusion between local and global "fragmentation". The result of this fragmentation is the spreading of power away from the state and the growing role of other actors (Brown & Studemeister, 2001, p. 3) that is why it is necessary to rethink the role of the state and its relationship with other actors, especially transnational corporations. For the role of the state, we share the point of view of Truchet, who said that the first responsibility of the state is to ensure security. However, this concept was changed by the evolution of the state notion and by the evolution of society and individual needs.

COVID-19 accelerates the use of AI in education, science, and culture. The emergence of e-learning and the appearance of this new kind of cultural colonialism linked to AI's impact on cultural diversity and indigenous languages is the first reason which pushes this field to the top of foreign affairs priorities. The second reason is that protection and promotion of cultural identity are conditioning a state's right to existence. Education, science, and culture are the only way to ensure human resources adapted to the new employment market and able to face all challenges linked to data sovereignty including education to ethics of AI. The goal for foreign policy is to protect the country from any intervention in interior affairs, using AI, for example, to influence public opinion or elections.

Rethinking foreign policy is not limited to these new priorities linked to AI. Traditional criteria to identify partners and allies are still needed; therefore, new challenges are demanding a new vision thinking about new players in a multipolar world.

2. Artificial intelligence: new players in a multipolar world

In this multipolar world, the balance of power is now based on new criteria such as AI and robotics investment, 5G technologies, and Research and Development in AI. Considering traditional criteria of power and the military conflict in Ukraine, Russia advances the USA and European Union in military personnel (Figure 2) (Koop, 2022).

Country	Active Military	Reserve Military	Paramilitary	Total Military
🇻🇳 Vietnam	482,000	5,000,000	5,040,000	10,522,000
🇰🇵 North Korea	1,280,000	600,000	5,889,000	7,769,000
🇰🇷 South Korea	599,000	3,100,000	3,013,500	6,712,500
🇮🇳 India	1,455,550	1,155,000	2,526,950	5,137,500
🇨🇳 China	2,185,000	1,170,000	660,000	4,015,000
🇷🇺 Russia	1,014,000	2,000,000	554,000	3,568,000
🇺🇸 United States	1,388,100	844,950	Not disclosed	2,233,050
🇧🇷 Brazil	366,500	1,340,000	395,000	2,101,500
🇹🇼 Taiwan	163,000	1,657,000	11,800	1,831,800
🇵🇰 Pakistan	654,000	550,000	291,000	1,495,000

Figure 2. Top countries in military personnel including paramilitary forces
(Koop, 2022)

On the Figure 3 we can see that the first defence budget in the top 15 countries in the world is belongs to the USA followed by China. Russia is the fifth country in defence budget rating according to International Institute for Strategic Studies in its fact analysis influence titled: "Military balance 2022 Further Assessment" published on 15th February 2022 (IISS, 2022).

The war is changing in this new world order based on the international technological order which explains the race to AI in the military, especially the growing investment in Lethal Autonomous Weapons (LAWs). In a sense, the USA is the leader with 778232 US§ (SIPRI, 2021, p. 17) and "a further $18 billion earmarked for autonomy development through 2020. Owning over 20,000 autonomous vehicles, the United States of America is projected to spend $17 billion on drones through 2021, including 3,447 new unmanned ground, sea, and aerial systems" (Statista, 2019). China dedicated an annual budget of $250 billion to weapons development and $4.5 billion invested in drone technology by 2021 (SIPRI, 2021). Russia is the leader in the LAWs race looking to remove humans from the decision-making loop partially or make them fully autonomous by 2030 (Tucker, 2017) with the implementation of two programmes: "Creation of Prospective Military Robotics through 2025" and "Concept for Deployment of Robotic Systems for Military Use until 2030" (Bendett, 2017).

Concerning economic power, the United States and China would occupy the first two places in GDP ranking. The US and China's margin is coming down in nominal ranking as China's GDP growth rate of 8.02% is higher than the US's 5.97% in 2021 (IMF, 2021).
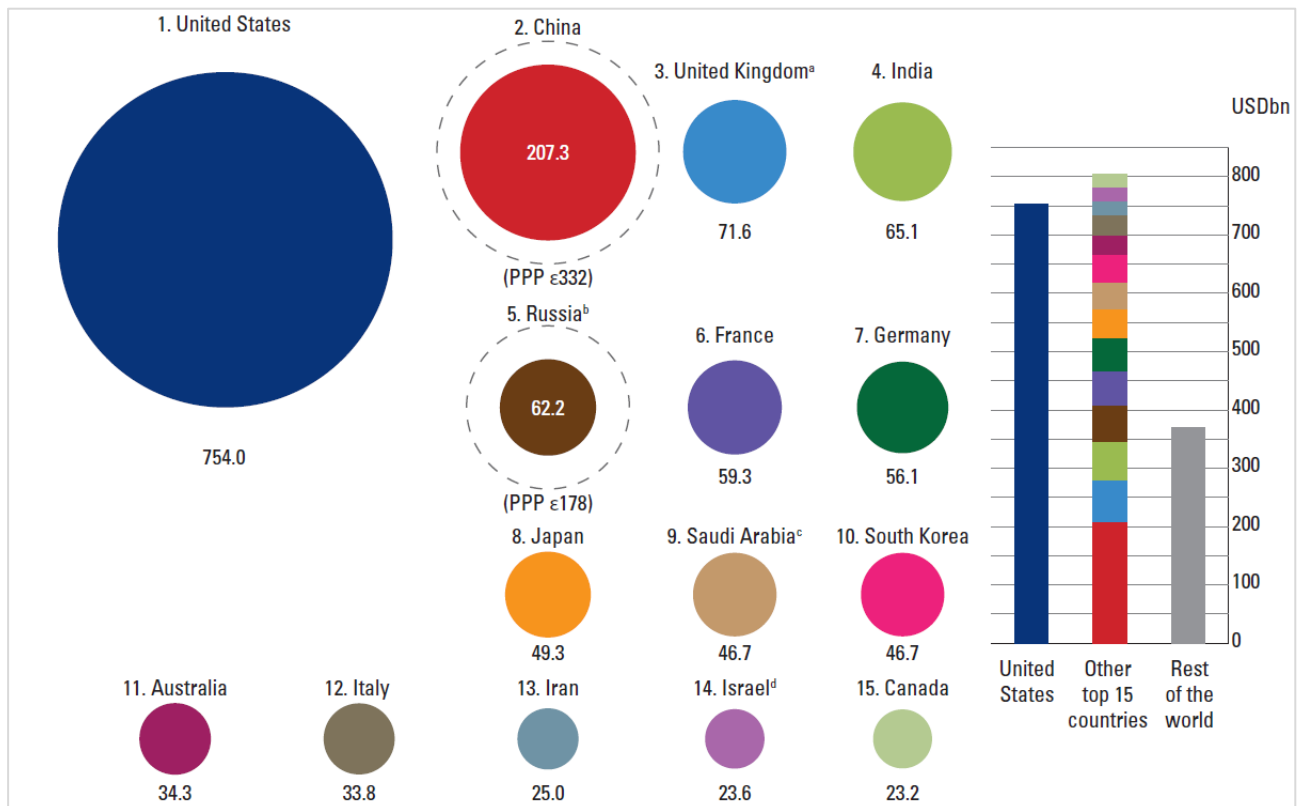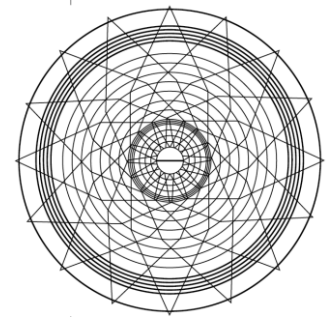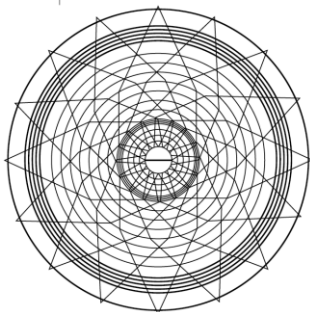
Figure 3. Defence budgets: top 15 in 2021 USDbn[2] (IISS, 2022, p. 9).

For 5G technologies, China is the leader with over 200,000 5G base stations built by Huawei on May 20, 2020, and this company spent 800 million dollars in 5G research and development. Huawei takes from 30% to 40% of the global market and 15% of the patent (Wood, 2021). Therefore, the USA is the leader in innovation followed by China which remains the strongest market for industrial robots reaching about 783,000 units – plus 21% in 2019. Japan ranks second with about 355,000 units – plus 12%. The USA reached a new operational stock record of about 293.200 units – up 7%. Europe reached an operational stock of 580,000 units in 2019 – plus 7% (IFR, 2020).

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[2] **Original notes for the figure**: [a] *United Kingdom* Includes Armed Forces Pension Scheme; [b] *Russia* Total defence expenditure including National Guard, Border service of Federal Security Service and social support and military pensions; [c] *Saudi Arabia* Excludes security expenditure; [d] *Israel* Includes US Foreign Military Assistance. **Note:** Unless otherwise indicated, US dollar totals are calculated using average market exchange rates for 2021, derived using IMF data. The relative position of countries will vary not only as a result of actual adjustments in defence spending levels, but also due to exchange-rate fluctuations between domestic currencies and the US dollar. The effects of such movements can be significant in a number of cases. Dashed line rejects an estimate for the value of the Chinese and Russian defence budget in PPP (purchasing power parity) terms to take into account the lower input costs in these countries. This is for academic consideration; PPP conversions are not suitable for all countries in the world and are therefore not ideal for international comparisons. These PPP figures are not used in any regional or global totals in this publication.

That juncture is the first proof of a new balance of power based on new criteria related to AI. The second one is the new faces of war in the Ukraine conflict characterized by the use of smart power considering military force, economic sanctions, cybersecurity, and malicious use of AI such as fake news, fake videos, etc.

The new balance of power means also new partners and allies with real collaboration between States and transnational corporations specialized in technology considering advances in AI which are reshaping all fields from military to the practice of diplomacy. Bilateral and multilateral partnerships should be extended to research development in AI.

In a sense, countries need to rethink the priorities contained in their partnerships. They should give more importance to cooperation in technologies, science, and research. Cooperation in agriculture, industry, tourism, and culture is important, but all these sectors are conditioned by AI technologies. If the economy was the most important priority of bilateral relations between countries, it's now inconceivable without digital diplomacy, which is the principal tool of foreign policy. In this context, we underline the importance of AI and digital diplomacy which facilitates the definition of common issues and common interests, and it brings a new topic to the negotiation and policy-making table. Artificial intelligence makes diplomacy more efficient and effective because it helps to create a bridge with other actors, academia, the private sector, civil society, individuals. Other challenges are the result of the growing E-Economy based on the new oil, which is big data; nevertheless, how can diplomats and policymakers make decisions based on data when it is not reliable? The recommendation on ethics of artificial intelligence adopted by UNESCO in November 2021 suggested new policy actions to enhance trustworthiness on AI systems.

Conclusion

Malicious use of AI in Ukraine conflict is a new "Westphalian system" which means a new definition of peace and security after this World War III considering all countries who contributed directly or indirectly to this conflict and its consequences on the nation's game and the challenges but also on the future of international relations in this new world order. No matter who will be the winner or the loser in this conflict, the most important is that this is a new step in the history of international relations with current and future challenges. AI is a key to understanding the international game and why not the fundamental element of new theory based on AI.
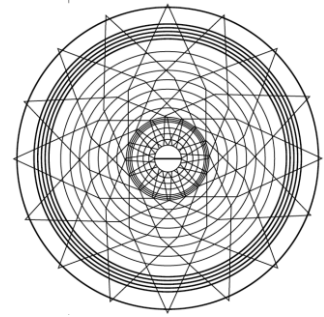
In a sense, current and future challenges imposed by AI require new International, regional, and national strategies, updating international law, and rethinking international institutions considering the consequences of the new world order based on the new balance of power.

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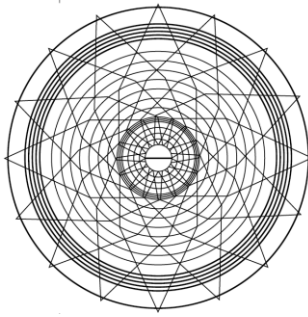https://cybersecurityventures.com/cybercrime-will-cost-the-world-16-4-billion-a-day-in-2021/

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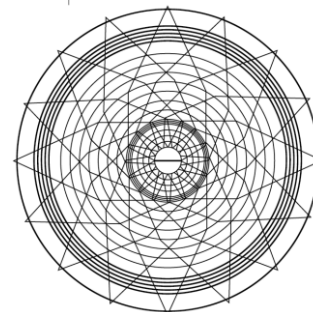https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2017/11/russiaunited-nations-dont-try-stop-us-building-killer-robots/142734/

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ИСКУССТВЕННЫЙ ИНТЕЛЛЕКТ И МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ: НОВЫЙ БАЛАНС СИЛ В НОВОМ МИРОВОМ ПОРЯДКЕ

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Аннотация:

В этой статье мы обсудим три основные темы, касающиеся искусственного интеллекта и международных отношений. Во-первых, мы опишем влияние искусственного интеллекта на международные отношения. Во-вторых, мы сделаем акцент на международное общество в постковидный период. В-третьих, мы попытаемся подчеркнуть проблемы, связанные со всеми этими изменениями. Новый баланс сил основан на умной силе и новых типах войны. Баланс сил колеблется между геостратегическими интересами и интересами, связанными с глобальным управлением виртуальным пространством, и гонкой за технологическим суверенитетом. В заключение нужно сказать, что дипломатия играет важную и незаменимую роль для управления всеми новшествами, которые характеризуют этот новый многополярный мировой порядок.

Ключевые слова: искусственный интеллект, международные отношения, новый баланс сил, новый мировой порядок