Impact of Artificial Intelligence on New Global Order: A Nepalese Security Perspective

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Abstract

The novelty of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and nascent geo-tech interests of powerful countries have largely influenced foreign policy, while 'techno-geopolitics' and the emergence of the 'AI world order' have constantly challenged the world order milieu. The changing global power dynamics, including the escalating Russia-Ukraine war, the Israel-Palestine conflict and China's rising clout in tech and diplomatic spheres have induced specific geo-political challenges to the US-led global order. In this context, this research primarily unfolds whether the remaking of new global order can fundamentally be signified by the end of bipolar or unipolar world order, while the advancement of AI technology and geo-tech interests of tech powers have contributed to a remaking of new global order. As the powerful countries have fundamentally concentrated on marshaling AI in foreign policy, both AI and foreign policy have been closely interlinked. This research aims to explore the impact of AI on new global order and corresponding security concerns, particularly Nepalese security concerns. Since both AI and the new global order are relatively vast fields, this research focuses on tech foreign policy that is directly linked with the balance of power and the corresponding international order. This study adopts an analytical-descriptive research method. It relates AI ethics and global tech concerns, considering the global need, beginning with the notion of multilateral tech diplomacy, and inquiring whether the tech foreign policy is truly functional. Despite varying challenges to the new global order, rational 'geopolitical balancing' and techno-economic cooperation in 'better-functioning relations' with immediate neighbors and other superpowers drive Nepal's security architecture.

Keywords: Artificial intelligence, new global order, balance of power, AI world order, multilateral tech diplomacy, geopolitical balancing, techno-economic cooperation, Nepalese security architecture

Introduction

In the 1989 essay, "End of History and the Last Man," Francis Fukuyama predicted the end of the 'worldwide ideological struggle' that was largely dogmatic under bipolar politics between the US and Soviet Union in the past (1992). At present, the two superpowers—China and the

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US—are key players in global politics, whereas their respective ideologies and supremacy constitute new global order (Globe, 2018; Acharya, 2014). The World witnessed a "balance of threat", particularly after World War II and before the end of Cold War I. Following the end of Cold War I in 1990, the balance of power came into existence. Yet again, the Russia-Ukraine conflict was followed by a flaring 'trust deficit' between Russia and the West, the Israel-Palestine battle along with a 'gap of trust' between the Gulf and the US, China's unprecedented rise and strong presence in global stage, and US's constant hegemonic behavior and shrewd intention of containing China followed by "cycle of distrust" with China are the major causes of global geopolitical distrust, which influence in shifting of global balance of power in international political spectrums (Etchenique, 2023, pp. 12-25). Hans Morgenthau, in "Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace," argues that the balance of power is the consequence of a power struggle and toin pursuancethe pursuit of national interest of states in the international political sphere (Morgenthau,1948, p.161), while the balance of power in the international system is said to encourage stable global order. Kenneth Waltz, in "Theory of International Politics," outlines that balance of power occurs only when states mechanize their policies by observing the existing political scenarios based on emerging patterns of power in the global sphere (Waltz, 1979, pp.178-179). Waltz predicts that a balance of power often exists when there is a lack of stability in the world order. Stephen M. Walt later suggested that "balance of threat" is equally significant as the balance of power in maintaining world order (Walt, 1985). Walt suggests that the balance of threat is a sufficient part, while balance of power is a necessary act in maintaining world order.

Henry Kissinger, in "World Order: Reflections on the Charter of Nations and the Course of History," argues that the world has never witnessed "world order" in a true sense, while no universal rule has prevailed in the balance of power (2014). The balance of power, in the international system, is just a result of reconciliation among the conflicting powers, while appeasing every actor is nearly impossible (Broeders & Berg, 2020, p.146). Yet balance of power is indispensable in realizing international order. Quantifying world order, however, is an absurd idea as the degree of international order is irrational. International order, thus, is more an imperative act for international stability than desperately attaining "peace" (Broeders & Berg, 2020, p. 146). According to Robert Jervis, the balance of power is based on four realist approaches:

First, all states must want to survive, second, they can form alliances with each other based on short-term interests, third, war is a legitimate instrument of statecraft, and fourth, several of the actors have relatively equal military capabilities, while powerful states are supposed to maximize their security under the assumption that states act rationally. (Jervis, 1978)

Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley, in "Understanding International Relations," claim that international order and its degree, though, can be conserved by two key components—"balance of power" and "war"—in the international system (Brown and Ainley, 2005, p. 97). Balance of power and war are erratically connected when there is a discourse on international order. When there is war, especially international war, countries act on balance of power, while the war is again an indispensable machinery in preserving the act of balance (Brown and Ainley, 2005, p. 97).

In light of the changing international order, three phases of World Orders are considered in this study: first, the "Old World Order"—that is the world order from 1945 to 1991; second, the "New World Order"—that is the world order from 1991 to 2020; and third, the "New Global Order"—that is an international order developed between the emergence of COVID-19 pandemic and Russia-Ukraine conflict followed by Israel-Palestine conflict from 2020 to 2023. Considering geo-tech advancement as well as a 'sense of threats' to international stability, this research investigates whether the prospect of a new global order is aligned with tech foreign policy. Thus, the research question asks: How can Tech Foreign Policy be assessed in addressing emerging challenges to the New Global Order?

Statement of the problem: This study interlinks the reciprocity of AI and Foreign Policy, which examines the impact of AI on shifting of global order. This research study is the continuation of several previous studies on AI and Foreign Policy that emphasizes the geo-tech and geopolitical predicament existed in global geo-politics, and explores some strategies to overcome the challenges through specific understanding of tech foreign policy. This study primarily addresses three problems that AI could impact in the sphere of new global order. First, how may AI influence new global order? Secondly, what role Nepal may play in leveraging from new global order? Lastly, how may Nepal advance Nepalese security concerns?

Literature Review
World Order
The term 'world order' is understood as the order of the world that depicts international peace and security, while the 'political order' is considered as political stability (Grinin, Andreev & Ilyin, 2016). From the historical perspective, the European order is replicated as an international order that transformed into the global order. The "world order", as an international system of relations, is formed based on some international mechanisms that set up specific "international rules and foundations of co-existence" (Grinin, Andreev & Ilyin, 2016). The expression "New World Order" was first used by US President Woodrow Wilson, during the formation of League of Nations following the end of World War I, with the hope that the new system could maintain international peace, security, and harmony among nations (Grinin, 2016). George H. W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, in "A World Transformed," write: The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, soon after it withdrew from Eastern Europe in 1989, is the end of an Old World Order and the beginning of the New World Order (Bush and Scowcroft, 1998).

Backing this concept of a new world order, Fukuyama, in "The National Interest," argues that the neoliberalism emerged with the beginning of the new world order, bringing in like-minded democratic states to the US–led global pole, and thus, proclaiming led the ending of history manifested in ideological conflict (Fukuyama, 1989). Opposing both of the ideas, Samuel P. Huntington, in "The Clash of Civilization and Remaking of World Order," writes that fundamental and bigger conflicts are yet to occur between civilizations than that occurred, until 1991, between nation-states (Huntington, 1996). Huntington further claims that world politics would be dominated by a "clash of civilizations" that could remake the world order (Huntington, 1996). The 'New World Order' is considered a collective ordering mechanism where the US conducted its foreign policy to expand its interests globally by influencing major international institutions and organizations such as economic institutions, security organizations and liberal political norms (Mazarr, Priebe, Radin, & Cevallos, 2016). The US-

led world order started after 1945 when the US took foremost initiatives to create different multinational and global institutions, including United Nations, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (now the World Trade Organization- WTO), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and political groupings of powerful nations first the G-7, then the G-8 among others following the end of World War- II (Jacques, 2009; Fox, 2012). The US became a global power soon after it dominated all these institutions and expanded its military power in every corner of the world, while the US dollar became an elite currency in which most trade has been conducted globally and it holds the world's most reserves (Jacques, 2009; Fox, 2012).The US, under a unipolar world, after the collapse of the socialist bloc and the Soviet Union is believed to dominate Western economies, institutions, and ideas; while the US has dominated more than 35 percent of the global economy in terms of production, and was smart enough to shape the world and corresponding order (Grinin, 2016). Euro, even having the highest exchange rate, could not dominate the dollar which is because Europe could unify countries and its money, but could not unify its economy (Fox, 2012).

Yet, questions and concerns are mounting about whether the remaking of a new world order can be fundamentally represented or defined by the end of the bipolar global order of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the emergence of the US as a global hegemon, and the spread of neoliberalism and cohesion of liberal democratic states (Opello & Rosow, 2004).

There is no exact date when the world started witnessing the 'New Global Order. Yet the various events that made the rise of China possible and subsequently pushed for ending of the Unipolar Order, that is the ending of the US-led global order, that resembles the beginning of the multipolar order. John Mearsheimer, Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, argues that the world has been witnessing a multipolar order, yet he asserts that various orders of the world depend upon the general perception of how the great power is defined (Mearsheimer, 2023). The definition of great power is again based on a country's latent power, or military power, or GDP among others (Mearsheimer, 2023)Amitav Acharya, Distinguished Professor at American University's School of International Service, writes in Foreign Affairs-

Defining world order based on military or economic strength is just an old-fashioned polarity—be it unipolar bipolar or multipolar. The ideas, soft power, and power within are crucial aspects in defining polarity in contemporary world politics. (Foreign Affairs, July/ August 2022).

With the changing dynamics of global politics and advancement in technological innovations, the world has witnessed various forms of world order that transformed from bipolar to unipolar to multipolar, and sometimes pole-less order (Hamal, 2023). Following the global havoc of the Corona crisis, the Russia-Ukraine war, the Israel-Palestine conflict, and the mounting economic and diplomatic clout of the rising powers including China and India, the world has witnessed a significant shift in the global order—that is gradually transformed into a multipolar order. Meanwhile, the powerful countries have been influencing international organizations such as the UN, the World Bank, and the IMF among others to enhance their strength in respective order and alliances (Hamal, 2023).

Most of the literature available on global order, however, does not contemplate the perspective of tech foreign policy. They accentuate the end of unipolarity or bipolarity as a key factor in the shifting of global order. There is a significant gap in the literature as ample study has not been done on new emerging traits—the impact of tech and AI—that are key to influencing new global order. This research examines the techno-geopolitical effects in (re) making of new global order, divulging by what means AI mastery shapes tech foreign policy goals and how substantial tech superpowers' roles are in shifting global order.

Conceptual Framework

AI has been massively used in Military and security following the 9/11 terror attack in the US. Since then countries have adopted AI as a momentous element of foreign policy. Subsequently, AI and foreign policy have become "two sides of a coin" in state policy—that is considered as 'Tech Foreign Policy', particularly in this study. Conceptually, tech foreign policy comprises the elements of Chinese foreign policy, US foreign policy, Nepalese foreign policy, development and deployment of technology, and the impact of AI in international relations. The tech foreign policy also includes both the power of AI and tech development cum deployment. This research is based on the conceptual framework of analyzing the complementarity of impact of AI and new global order, which is conceived to address the contemporary issues to new global order.

Theoretically, the study includes constructivist ideas followed by a realist approach. And, it incorporates ideas, assumptions, and analysis from theoretical perspectives in Global Order and Foreign Policy Studies. The research is a multidisciplinary study comprising various aspects such as political science, diplomacy, international relations, global tech affairs, and security. The indispensable part of the research is international relations and diplomacy that encompasses the new global order and the corresponding balanced global order and its depiction in security, especially Nepalese security.

Significance of the Research

This research explores the impact of AI on the new global order. In another way, what would make power balance in new world order? Whether the powerful countries are decently adopting tech diplomacy under respective tech foreign policies? Even if countries adopt tech foreign policy, could that be applicable in respecting other countries' tech sovereignty? And, do the new global order require global tech diplomacy? This research briefly discusses the contemporary issues and corresponding relevance of research in modern day politics.

Since technology and foreign policy are mutually related, there is a bi-directional relations between these two elements in a set of international relations as shown in Figure- 1.

Technology	Mutually Related	Foreign Policy

Figure1 : Bi-directional Relation Between Technology and Foreign Policy

Contemporary international relations comprises the set of technology and foreign policy, whereas technology influences foreign policy and foreign policy induces to the 'development' and 'deployment' of technology as shown in the Figure- 2. The mutual relations between technology and foreign policy is the resultant impact in new global order.
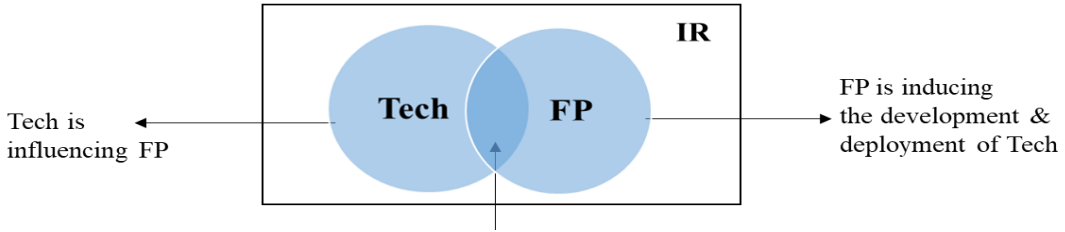
Figure 2 : Mutual Relation Between Technology and Foreign Policy

Limitations of the Research

This research does not address any technical aspects of AI other than applications of AI that are necessary for understanding tech diplomacy and tech foreign policy from a balance-of-power (new global order) perspective. It does not consider any other potential applications of AI that can be used in tech diplomacy, security policy, or state intelligence. This research does not offer any insight regarding AI development, AI tools, AI algorithms, or functional mechanisms.

Methodology

The study is based on qualitative research. To address the specified research objectives, the study focuses on systematic, subjective, and holistic methods. In this research, 'Tech Foreign Policy' is considered as an independent variable, whereas 'New Global Order' a dependent variable to the former one. And, 'New Global Order' is the function of 'Tech Foreign Policy' as:

New Global Order = f (Tech Foreign Policy)
(Where, AI + Foreign Policy = Tech Foreign Policy)

Here, the analysis and evaluation of the functional relationship between 'Tech Foreign Policy' and 'New Global Order' results in qualitative research.

The analysis of this research is predominantly based on open source data rather than intelligence. This research is limited to the handiness of information or manifestation of intelligence. The study, however, considers both the primary and secondary data for analysis. The primary data are employed through government and semi-government sources or authorized agencies, while the secondary sources include books, academic journals, magazines, theses, digital publications, websites, news reports, newspaper articles, and bulletins among others. Methodologically, this research is based on descriptive, critical, and analytical study, particularly focusing on empirical data, facts, and historical anecdotes. This research is also grounded on qualitative research tools, such as content analysis and historical research. The nature of this research is investigative and it focuses on an analytical-descriptive method to examine the correlation between 'AI' and 'New Global Order', and between 'New Global Order' and 'Tech Foreign Policy', and the corresponding impact of overall connection on security, particularly Nepalese security.

Analysis

Fukuyama's prediction has been refuted, and history has neither been over yet nor is the world dominated by democracy and liberalism. In contrast, capitalism is turning into "free-market fundamentalism", liberalism is leading to imperialism, and democracy and sovereignty are constantly being challenged, which all are driving the global order towards inherent 'disorder'

(Macey & Miller, 1992). Democracy and sovereignty are fragile in many corners of the world today. The Russia-Ukraine war, Israel-Palestine conflict, religious radicalism, refugee crisis, terrorism, and challenges of ISIS among others are adding greater extortions to humanity (Republica, 2022), while various transnational issues, including pandemic, cyber security, and nuclear and AI threats are posing a greater threat to international stability.

The history, however, has been (re)made since the end of Cold War- I. After the end of World War II, many nations gained sovereign status. Since then, the world has advanced into the sphere of economic integration, regionalization, multilateralism, and technological innovation (McBride & Park, 2022), which all have contributed to both global order as well as disorder. Following the universal prominence of globalization, the rise of supranational organizations, the caliber of the digital revolution, and the geopolitics of technology, sovereignty is once again at the forefront. Despite abundant national power capability and an array of intelligence, the state sovereignty of various nations is constantly challenged today, while the technology itself has added greater threats to the security and sovereignty of nations (Mallik, 2004, pp. 22-25). Subsequently, technology and AI are likely to tail the world following their 'democratization', while liberal democracy has yet to achieve global triumph unlike Fukuyama claims.

AI World Order: Perpetuation of New Global Order

The world is witnessing the AI World Order (Lee, 2008) along with its progression to the New Global Order. The AI World Order is most likely to create greater havoc in the world than any other orders the world witnessed in the past, while the two tech superpowers—China and the US—are adversely navigating it. In the meantime, several AI companies in both countries are controlling billions of data and accumulating millions of tech talents from around the globe (Lee, 2008) On the one hand, the evil nature of tech powers, in extracting data from the social sphere, is contributing to the construction of a new order. In a true sense, the "data colonialism" (Couldry & Mejias, 2019), in the AI World order, is challenging the regulation of data, which is contributing more to 'disorder' than balanced 'order'. It is, however, enhancing for creation of economic opportunities for them, yet in the long run, it would turn into social (dis)order (Couldry & Mejias, 2019). On the other hand, the two tech giants are being aggressively involved in geopolitics of technology including geo-tech interest, data colonialism, tech, and digital hegemony, which not only threaten global economic and social order but also impend political and democratic order. Lee (2018) claims that the two high-tech rivals not only play a key role in political world order but also the AI world order, whereas they would concentrate massive wealth following the potential political collapse, social disorder, unemployment, and gaping inequality caused by AI threat. AI is also challenging fundamental aspects of security and sovereignty of both human and states in all levels—physical, psychological, digital and economical. The powerful states are struggling for a "balance of power in cyberspace" (Broeders & Berg, 2020) and cloud, while data, especially big data, and information are their main concerns.

In the past, countries would consider different natural resources and valuable metals as a fungible source of income that aided in enhancing countries' national power capability, advancing national security, and playing a bigger role in world politics. Every international order, at various junctures of world history, was based on energy resources—be it oil, gas,

water, mineral, or nuclear energy (Malik, 2012). The competition and cooperation between nations were created by "resource politics". The struggle for resources shaped the race between great powers. History shows that when the British were resourceful in steam, the British world order existed. Soon after, the British ran out of steam, the US-led world order came into existence that was mostly based on oil and nuclear energy (Malik, 2012). At present, the powerful countries consider "data" as the main source of economy and security, while AI and technology are the key tools that sway the new global order. According to McKinsey (2014) report, "data" has become a potential source of the economy when it is effectively used—that is algorithmically refined, rationally mined, and intelligently regulated, while technology can maximize production and income. The Digital Economy Report (2021) claims that the free flow of data can enhance economic growth—both domestic and global, productivity, research, and innovation (pp. 52-54). Data, especially "Big Data", not only creates revenue sources and enriches countries' economy (Schwab, p.59), but also help protect national security. For the effective regulation of data, a "cutting-edge technology" is required and that is AI, while the computational power of AI is based on the "intrinsic functional combination" of data, algorithms, and hardware (Calderaro & Blumfelde, 2022). Thus, a country's data sovereignty is interrelated with sovereignty over the computational power of AI, which is linked with national security.

Amid massive investment in AI innovations and technological sophistication, the tech superpowers have been largely engaged in techno-geopolitics—that is changing the global geopolitical order, while the geo-tech interests and the new "great game" include AI mastery, marshaling AI powers, weaponizing technology and controlling digital technologies among others (Ringhof & Torreblanca, 2022). On the one hand, technology has helped strengthen the state's national power capability (Schwab, 2016, pp.2-3), while on the other hand, it has added crucial threats to the nation's security and sovereignty—both physical and digital. The two superpowers—China and the US—are contending over technology, which is happening in digital and cyberspace, productions (semiconductors and chips), export and trade sanctions, 5G technology, cloud, and fire-wall among others (Pannier, 2023, pp.7-9). Kai-Fu Lee, in "AI Superpowers, China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order" writes:

> Until 2016, China was far behind in AI research than American and European countries. The West pioneered in "deep learning" and "machine learning", while China leveraged the most from AI innovation. China's massive adoption, investment, research, and innovation on technology, especially AI technology, is making China as an emergent AI leader. China is now making clear distinction between discovery and implementation and driving the pace of technology (Lee, 2018).

The geo-tech interest of the high tech superpowers has leaded the world towards tech bipolarity, which is not only challenging global technological innovation and digital revolution, but also posing threat to one another's tech sovereignty. The US and China are challenging each other because of their respective tech capability, abundance of resources, and strong defense capability (Lee, 2018). Subsequently, they are capable enough to defend their 'national security posture'; and influence world politics, economy, and diplomacy. International diplomacy has been largely reshaped following the advancement in AI (Horowitz, Allen, Saravalle, …,2018, p.12)., while tech diplomacy has yet to be functional. Kenneth Waltz's notion of "structural realism"—that is based on a self-help system—is said to have maintained the balance of power

in the international system in the past (Waltz, 1979), while in contemporary global geopolitics, AI, in its extreme level, impact on potential transformation on global power balance and play a crucial role in perpetuating new global order (Payne, 2018).

Impact of AI on New Global Order

AI has been a potent tool for powerful countries not only to outline state capability and muster the power to dominate the adversaries but also to propel the dynamicity of world order and transform global power balance. The AI and tech mastery of two superpowers—China and the US—is not only contributing to tech bipolarity but also navigating the AI World order. They are exploiting technology and digital capabilities to contain or dictate each other and are involved in 'techno-geopolitics', while the development and deployment of AI technology impact not only global political order, but also impend economic, social, democratic, tech or digital, and security order globally (Lee, 2008).

Amid innovation in AI technology, it has been widely used in Drone Technology (DT) that is used in multiple sectors including logistics and military, AI, 3D Printings, robotics, Internet of Things (IoT), self-driving cars, Nanotechnology among others are changing the modalities of business and Global affairs. According to the International Data Corporation (IDC) report, the global spending on AI in 2022 was about $118 billion and it is expected to surpass $300 billion in 2026 (IDC, 2022), while the contribution of AI to the Global economy is expected to be $15.7 trillion in 2030 (PwC, n.d.). In 2020, AI has made very significant achievements in Natural Language Processing (NLP), Robotics, and Computer Vision that include advances in automatic text generation, facial and speech recognition, motion-gesture detection, drug discovery, and quantum supremacy (ThinkML, 2020). On the one hand, the Generative Pre-Trained Transformer (GPT), initiated in 2018 and developed as GPT-3 in 2020 by OpenAI—a US-based AI Company, is a large language model trained on language from the internet data sets, which is said to be one of the best AI technologies algorithmically and the biggest achievements in AI (OpenAI, 2022). Yet, it cannot make independent decisions or legitimate judgments and work in Real-Time as it is not equipped with any consciousness or ability to feel emotions (APeX, 2023). On the other hand, this generative AI technology is spurring despair and fear in society and the tech sphere as much as it is impelling hope and excitement. The crucial concerns such as shaping the future of the human mind—both rationality and critical thinking, humanity, job security, economic equality, societal biases, and conserving the future of traditional schooling systems among others are yet questionable (APeX, 2023). The risks that AI could influence the outcome of electoral democracy-2024 including that in the US—the oldest democracy, India—the largest democracy, and the UK—the champion of parliamentary democracy—are alike higher. AI is, reportedly, posing a greater threat to democracy than any other forms of institutions including military or defense.

Democracy is said to be a process, but not a "system" or a form of institution. Subsequently, the process could end anytime when it witnesses grave threats from any system—be it human or machine—within and outside. Amid massive misuse of generative AI, the risks that AI technology could be weaponized for the destruction of humanity and civilizations are getting higher. The misuse of AI has been posing an existential threat to democracy and posturing a "real threat" to humanity through "deep-fakes" or "scams". It could even end both "democracy" and "human civilization" if not regulated with utmost sense of urgency and acumen. AI technology,

however, is most likely to be a momentous tool in navigating the entire world, while it has undeniably made a significant impact on the global economy, society, world politics, national security, and international relations.

Artificial Intelligence: A Geo-tech Game Changer

People perhaps had no idea about the working mechanisms of human thinking nearly a century ago. The two psychologists—Sigmund Freud and Jean Piaget— developed a theory of human development (psychoanalytic theory and cognitive-developmental theory) (Minsky, 1988, pp.19-20). In 1930, two Mathematicians—Alan Turing and Kurt Godel—propounded a mechanical theory on the computability of machines and studied an abstract machine that had all the capabilities of today's computers, at least as far as in what they could compute (Hopcropt, Motwani & Ullman, 2003, pp.1-5). By combining these two theories, Warren McCulloch and Walter Pitts started theorizing about machine thinking and learning in the 1940s (Minsky, 1988). Meanwhile, Alan Turing proposed a mathematical machine called 'Turing Machine' to model brain function, which turned out significantly useful in studying the 'computability' and 'complexity' of the machine (Hopcropt, Motwani & Ullman, 2003). Turing Machine then could address the two important issues of today's computer—'What can a computer do at all?' and 'what can a computer do efficiently?'—known as "computability" and "complexity" of a computer respectively (Hopcropt, Motwani & Ullman, 2003). While Turing (1950) proposed the question "Can machines think?" in a paper titled "Computing Machinery and Intelligence" in *Mind*, a Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy. Turing's understanding of machine intelligence could be that "computing machines can think as like humans do". Later in 1956, John McCarthy, a Computer Scientist, coined the term "Artificial Intelligence" at a Dartmouth Computer Conference (Russell & Norvig, 2010, pp. 16-27). Since then, significant advancements have been made in AI, while AI has been considered as a mathematical machine that not only greatly underscored computation, but also decidedly emphasized perception, reasoning, decision making and action. Starting from "The Imitation Game" (Turing, 1950) to "Geo-tech Game Changer", AI has widely influenced the economy, foreign policy, diplomacy, security, and international relations along with international order.

Handling New Global Order: Tech Foreign Policy

Technology, especially information technology (IT), has been playing a dominant role in the state of affairs since the 1980s (Bae, 2003). Technology has been a cutting edge of the economy, while "cutting edge technology" has been redefining international relations and diplomatic affairs. Technological innovations and advancements in AI have made a significant impact on foreign policy making. The *techpolitik* is not only shaping countries' national power capability but also posing a threat to global security (Sajduk, 2019, p.159). The powerful countries, that marshal the power of AI, are gaining strategic advantages such as advancing economic and security interests (Scott, Heumann, and Lorenz, 2018, p.7). Considering the momentum of the new global order and geo-tech environment, countries can assess tech foreign policy and adopt tech diplomacy, as a bilateral or multilateral channel, to address the global tech and AI issues. Tech foreign policy can be an appropriate mechanism to address various international issues including AI threats and the misuse of AI such as data harvesting and surveillance; disinformation—online terror content that is undermining democracy through social media campaigns; and transnational threats—theft of intellectual property and attack on various

critical digital infrastructures such as telecom, power-grids, banks, airports, and medical research among others.

A Necessary Channel: Tech Diplomacy

Since technological development and diplomatic affairs are closely linked, tech diplomacy can be an effective network not only to entice techno-economic cooperation but also to initiate a tech cooperation framework among countries and realize economic and security success (*Republica*, 2021). Jovan Kurbalija, in "History of Diplomacy and Technology: From Smoke Signals to Artificial Intelligence," argues-

> History of Diplomacy and Technology' reminds us that every 'latest' technology has promised to transform diplomacy. Some changes occurred, but the essence of diplomacy remained constant: the peaceful resolution of disputes through negotiation and mediation (2023). Tech diplomacy can be an effective tool in minimizing or preventing tech and cyber threats, cyber surveillance, and interstate conflicts. It can be a significant multilateral tool to address democratic and humanitarian aspects—human rights, psychological security, and personal sovereign dignity—along with "navigating democratic and rational technological future" (*Republica*, 2021). Most importantly, tech diplomacy creates an opportunity and new strategies to engage with emerging powers (Muniz & Saran, 2023). For the effective execution of tech diplomacy, a collaborative mechanism can be set up, where big tech companies, and tech super powers—the US and China, EU, and United Nations (UN) can play a key role as responsible stakeholders.

Nepalese Security in AI World Order

From the end of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union in the past to the beginning of the modern Cold War between the US and China at present, South Asian security has always been a "bone of contention" (Spanger, 2019). The intensifying Israel-Palestine warfare, increasing severity of Russia-Ukraine War, potential NATO enlargement, antagonistic deeds of Russia and NATO, various transnational issues— climate crisis, pandemic, migration, cyber terrorism, AI war-fares, and potential Global power shift with the rise of China, cycle of distrust between the US and China, geopolitical tussle between India and China and corresponding crisis in regional and international order among others have added challenges to South Asian security (Globe, 2018; Spanger, 2019). On the one hand, the existing AI world order can affect Nepal's security—digital, physical, and psychological—as Nepal is directly under the tectonics of Cold War 2.0, which is largely happening in the virtual world, tech, sea, cloud and cyberspace. On the other hand, the new version of the Cold War is centered on Democracy vs. Autocracy—that is challenging democracy, while political polarization and trust deficit along with cyber warfare and disinformation are catalyzing it (Etchenique, 2023, p.7). Nepal's geo-digital situation is equally vulnerable as the geo-political situation. Whether there is a tech war between the US and China, or a digital war between India and China, Nepal's cloud or digital space is always susceptible. The world is witnessing various forms of political orders, security scenarios, economic transformations, and technological innovations, while South Asia, particularly Nepal, is at a crucial stage of all. The two superpowers—China and the US—are key players in present-day global politics, while their respective ideologies and supremacy constitute the new global order (Globe, 2018; Acharya, 2014). Yet the global concern is whether these powers contribute to a liberal world order or fuel the global disorder. Since

global politics is largely dominated by these two rival superpowers (Creutz, & Tiilikainen, 2019; Globe, 2018), the crucial challenge for Nepal is to balance them to adhere to liberal global order and advance its own interests and security architecture. The external challenges including the very chaos of the AI war-fare and mounting uncertainty about liberal order have been fuelling internal challenges—the rise of populism, economic crisis, political instability, diplomatic maneuvering, and superpower competition in Nepal—that are perplexing Nepal's internal security, development and stability.

Better Relationship Initiative: Nepal's Foreign Policy Priority

Amid rising global geo-political and diplomatic tension, shifting of global order and worsening tension between two superpowers—China and the US, Nepal's foreign policy is in a crucial state at the moment. The current Prime Minister's back-to-back visits to India, the US, and China in 2023 brought nothing concrete to enhance Nepal's relations with them, while no substantial achievements have been made regarding the advancement of national interest for long-term perspectives. Against this backdrop, Nepal's foreign policy priority should be focused on the "Better Relationship Initiative" with immediate neighbors and other powers. While Nepal has got first-ever female foreign secretary in 2023, the country has expected sensible leadership in the ministry such that it could work for 'Better Functioning Relations' with specific direction and pragmatic goals. The government should be rational enough to prioritize 'geo-economic integration' and minimize the 'gap of trust' with immediate neighbors and other powers that could elevate bilateral relations to newer heights. The country needs to do much better in diplomacy such that it could make bilateral relations consistent, balanced, and coherent, while there is only one "Nepal" in the world—that has been much important nation in terms of geo-location, geopolitics, and geo-strategic magnitude. Considering sensitive geo-location and geo-tech environment, Nepal should depute diplomats having sound diplomatic cum technical knowledge such that they can ensue with nifty diplomatic dealings with more resilience and affluence with the host government to enhance techno-economic cooperation, promote national interest and heighten Nepal's image in the international sphere. Nepal should be firmed on its long-standing non-alignment foreign policy regarding international war or conflicts, while it should adopt 'constructive neutrality' as part of the dynamicity of Nepal's foreign policy regarding differing bilateral issues of immediate neighbors, or that of other powers (Acharya, 2022). Most appropriately, Nepal should adopt a 'multi-alignment' policy regarding development, partnerships, collaborations, ideas, innovations and peace prospects (Khanal, 2023). As the world is witnessing a clear shift in global order, multi-engagement would be a constructive idea to rationalize Nepal's presence in the international political sphere.

Discussion and Results

The main aim of this study was to explore the inter-link between AI and New Global Order and to examine the subsequent impact on Nepalese security. The study identifies AI threats to Global Order and explores the most appropriate tech foreign policy to address them. The study revealed that a small power like Nepal can enhance its overall security through 'geopolitical balancing' and 'multi-engagement' strategies. The study shows that Nepal can attain sustainable security by strengthening collaboration and cooperation with immediate neighbors and other powers. The study further explores that Nepal can enhance 'trust' with them through a 'Better Relationship Initiative', which could advance bilateral relations.

The impact of AI along with the ongoing international crisis has been challenging not only political and democratic order but also the stability of the new global order. This is due to mistrust between global powers—China and the US—followed by their irrational competition on tech and AI supremacy. The enduring tech battle followed by a 'trust deficit' between the two tech superpowers is adding fuel for global tech disorder. The techno-nationalism of the US is not only impelling tech and economic relations between the two great powers but also challenging international tech order. Big tech and social media are largely dominating traditional media and epoch of journalism, while AI is catalyzing it (Etchenique, 2023, p.12). The induced "distrust and polarization of democracies" and disinformation from big tech and social media have been constantly challenging techno-democratic order, while the Russia-Ukraine war and Israel-Palestine conflict—which are largely marshaled by tech weaponries—are constantly fuelling regional and global disorder. The advancement of AI technology and varying interests within multiple civilizations, as claimed by Huntington, along with the universal extent of globalization and geo-tech interests of tech powers have contributed to the making of a new world order. AI and foreign policy have been closely linked since Bin Laden, the mastermind behind the 9/11 attack in the US, was traced by deploying the drones navigated by AI. At present, the Russia-Ukraine war and Israel-Palestine conflict have transformed into an AI or tech war from traditional warfare as both the conflicting parties have been largely "weaponizing technology". Despite having advanced AI technology and a gamut of intelligence, the powerful countries have not been successful in mechanizing "Threat Intelligence". Had they been successful enough in perceiving "Real-Time Threat Intelligence", the potential loss—both human and information or data—would have been minimized. The daring attack by Hamas on Israel on October 7, 2023, is one such example of state "intelligence failure", which is possibly caused because of not being rational in perceiving the "Real-Time Threat Intelligence".

Considering sensible geo-location, highly vulnerable digital space, and the extent of AI threats, the security architecture of Nepal has specific limitations. The author felt that the traditional concept of security may not work for Nepal. Thus, it must be acknowledged that Nepal should adhere to pragmatic security architecture through enhanced trust, strategic partnership, and tech cooperation with immediate neighbors and other global powers. Most importantly, Nepal should be conscious enough to realize the geopolitical rivalry between the US and China, or that between China and India, and sensibly adopt a rational policy to balance relations with them. In this perspective, Nepal needs to be prepared to cope with potential consequences after the Chinese takeover of Taiwan that could be caught in a massive "crossfire" between China and the US (Buchan, 2023), which could have a direct impact on Nepalese security and sovereignty. Nepal would have largely suffered politically, economically, digitally, physically, and psychologically if it could not ardently manage the geopolitical balance between the rival superpowers. The key concern for Nepalese would be—how could Nepal balance between them and defend itself during that situation, while the most vital foreign policy decision would be—whether to side with one or take a neutral stance? Both options, however, would be costlier to Nepal. Neither China nor the US would, perhaps, guarantee Nepalese security during that crucial time. China, on the one hand, would blame Nepal for not being a part of its Global Security Initiative (GSI) in time; while the US, on the other hand, would accuse Nepal of not being a part of the Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS), or State Partnership Program (SPP) in advance. Nevertheless, both the superpowers have tried to bring Nepal on their respective sides through

the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Millennium Challenge Cooperation (MCC).

Yet, to mitigate all those enduring domestic and international challenges as well as to attain foreign policy objectives including sustainable security, Nepal needs to assess tech foreign policy and foster techno-economic cooperation by instigating "better relationship initiative" with high-tech powers, including immediate neighboring powers. Most importantly, Nepal should be sensible enough to reduce the 'trust deficit' with immediate neighbors and other powers that could elevate its bilateral relations resulting in the prospects of pragmatic security architecture.

Conclusion

The extent of globalization is believed to embed neoliberalism that shaped political order in the past, which subsequently influenced global order. While, at present, the complexity of AI world order is inducing global chaos—that has influenced digital, economic, social, and democratic order. The intricacy of global geopolitics and 'politico-diplomatic strategies', following the snooping or surveillance and 'intelligence sharing' within alliances too, have largely jeopardized the future of multilateral associations that have influenced the world order milieu.

Considering the sensitivity of tech and economic warfare, intensified international crisis, threats to techno-socio-democratic order, climate crisis, cyber warfare, international terrorism, and threats to techno-digital sovereignty among others, the countries should foster multilateral tech cooperation with nimble rationality. In essence, amid the emergence of the AI world order, rising techno-geopolitical risks, unlawful development of AI along with domination on humanity and human civilization, society, economy, politics, diplomacy, and foreign policy, AI needs to be governed by adopting multilateral tech diplomacy such that "rules-based" new global order could be established that could help conceive global security architecture.

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