

THE IMPACT OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: ARE CURRENT PARADIGMS STILL RELEVANT?

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Abstract

This paper examines the increasing influence of Artificial Intelligence (AI) on International Relations (IR), with a particular emphasis on its transformative impact across the political, economic, and military-security spheres. It critically examines various scientific and theoretical discourses that define AI, situating these debates within key international relations (IR) paradigms—realism, liberalism, neoliberalism, and constructivism. The study explores how AI is reshaping the global balance of power, accelerating arms races, and enabling new forms of cooperation, while also introducing complex legal, political, and ethical challenges, especially in the context of international humanitarian law. Special attention is paid to the implications of AI for foreign policy decision-making processes and how technological advancements are reshaping established practices and norms. Furthermore, the paper contrasts anthropocentric and technocentric approaches, evaluating whether traditional IR theories and methodologies are sufficient to interpret, explain, and analyze the profound geopolitical and geo-economic transformations induced by AI. Ultimately, it assesses the capacity of IR scholarship to understand the realities of an increasingly AI-driven international system.

Keywords: *Artificial Intelligence, International Relations, decision-making process, foreign policy, theoretical paradigms.*

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Introduction

In different historical periods, perceptions and theoretical directions of international relations (IR) have been shaped under the influence of major events, forming new paradigms for understanding the processes unfolding in the international arena. For example, the World War II gave a new impetus to the formation and widespread adoption of political realism in both the academic and practical fields of IR, the establishment of international organizations gave rise to the perceptions of liberalism and neoliberalism, major economic shocks in the 1970s contributed to the rise of global political economy, etc.

The active development of artificial intelligence (AI) today can be considered one of the important milestones in human history, which will give rise to new theoretical directions, paradigms, and methods for understanding its impact on various professions. International relations are no exception. AI's impact on IR is creating new realities that require either new theoretical directions or substantial transformation of existing paradigms.

AI is increasingly penetrating nearly all spheres of human life—from trade and healthcare to education and security—creating unprecedented opportunities and challenges for the international system. While serious scientific, practical, and academic analyses are already being conducted in areas such as medicine, education, and security, the field of IR remains relatively underexplored and open to various discourses and discussions. Today, AI is actively influencing various domains within international relations—political, decision-making, security, and economic—yet its full impact cannot be assessed within a single article. However, by analyzing current trends, some general conclusions can be drawn about the influence of AI on IR. It is important to understand how the transition from the traditionally “anthropocentric” focus of IR theoretical paradigms to a “technological world order” is unfolding.

As Ian Bremmer rightly argues, “Since the Westphalian system, the world has entered a ‘technopolar moment’, an emerging order in which a handful of large technology companies rival [states] for geopolitical influence. Major tech firms have become powerful geopolitical actors, exercising a form of sovereignty over digital space and, increasingly, the physical world that potentially rivals that of states.”¹

In this transitional phase from a “human-centered” world order to the “technological” one, there is a significant need to analyze its driving forces, understand the expected outcomes, and make some predictions about the future.

¹ Ian Bremmer, “The Technopolar Paradox,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 13, 2025, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/technopolar-paradox-ian-bremmer-fusion-tech-state-power>.

The study focuses on the impact of AI on different domains of IR and its implications for different theories of IR. The following questions have been raised in the study:

1. What is the decisive difference of AI compared to previous technological developments?
2. To what extent does AI affect various areas of current IR, in particular the security and economic environment?
3. What changes are taking place in the decision-making process under the influence of AI in the context of developing foreign policy of states and perceiving international events?
4. What transformations may the assumptions and methodology of IR theories undergo in order to perceive and explain new international developments scientifically?

This study is based on the hypothesis that artificial intelligence (AI) differs fundamentally from previous technological advancements, as it directly influences the formation and evolution of the substantive content of international relations (IR). AI is already exerting a tangible impact on the security and economic dimensions of IR, simultaneously generating broad opportunities and introducing new, complex challenges. Its growing role in strategic decision-making processes is reshaping the formulation of foreign policy and transforming the dynamics of international interactions. Furthermore, the rapid and unprecedented pace of technological advancement—particularly in the domain of AI—raises critical new questions, opens novel research directions, and presents significant challenges to established IR paradigms, calling for a reassessment of conventional theoretical frameworks..

The primary objectives of this study are threefold. First, it seeks to identify the transformations occurring across various spheres of international relations (IR) as a result of artificial intelligence (AI), with particular emphasis on the domains of military and economic security. Second, it aims to evaluate the extent to which existing IR paradigms are equipped to account for the transformative impact of AI on the international order. Third, the study explores contemporary scholarly perspectives on the subject and assesses the potential influence of AI on the development of the IR discipline, with a specific focus on its role in strategic decision-making processes.

Methodology: To analyze the above-mentioned issues, systemic, descriptive, content analysis, and qualitative research methodological approaches were used, based on the comparative analysis of international law, politics, economy, and technological management. Various resolutions and reports of international organizations on the topic of concern were highlighted, too. The study presents different definitions of AI, which are necessary for understanding this phenomenon and ana-

lyzing IR through the prism of its influence. It does not delve deeper into the definitions and approaches to AI, since this issue is beyond the scope of the study.

What is AI: How Does It Affect IR?

To understand how AI may transform contemporary international relations, it is first necessary to define what AI is and to consider the various scientific approaches and definitions that exist. There is no universally accepted definition of AI, and different scientists approach the issue from different perspectives. However, it seems to be a common understanding among scholars that AI is the ability of machines to reproduce the characteristics of human intelligence: linguistic, image, and case analysis skills, and pattern recognition.²

Toshinori Munakata states, “that AI can be more broadly defined as the study of making computers do things that human needs intelligence to do.”³

According to a group of scientists (Amin A., Cardoso S., Suyambu J.),⁴ “AI is the ability of a machine to perform cognitive operations that are usually considered functions of the human brain. It is the study of algorithms that enable machines to reason and perform mental tasks, including problem solving and decision making.”⁵

Some scholars emphasize the impact of AI on the creation, production, and consumption of stories, underlining that this technology can be applied to a variety of functions, from content creation to data analysis, which offers new opportunities but also raises a number of ethical and social challenges.⁶

Other researchers underline the role of AI in diplomacy and negotiations, highlighting that AI’s ability to analyze large amounts of data allows diplomats to better understand international realities and predict possible developments. These technologies can process and analyze data from various sources, such as social networks, media, and official communications. For example, AI can be used to analyze public opinion, which is important for states when they try to understand the expectations and concerns of their citizens.⁷

² Aamir Amin et al., “Future of Artificial Intelligence in Surgery: A Narrative Review,” *Cureus* 16, no. 1 (January 2024): e51631, <https://doi.org/10.7759/cureus.51631>.

³ Toshinori Munakata, *Fundamentals of the New Artificial Intelligence: Neural, Evolutionary, Fuzzy and More*, 2nd ed. (London: Springer, 2008), 1.

⁴ Amin et al., “Future of Artificial Intelligence in Surgery.”

⁵ Munakata, *Fundamentals of the New Artificial Intelligence*, 1.

⁶ Thomas Tzimas, “Legal and Ethical Challenges of Artificial Intelligence from an International Law Perspective,” in *Artificial Intelligence and International Law*, edited by Dafna Ben-Yehuda and Gadi Long (London: Springer, 2021).

⁷ Peter Cihon, Matthijs M. Maas, and Luke Kemp, “Fragmentation and the Future: Investigating Architectures for International AI Governance,” *Global Policy* 11, no. 5 (2020).

AI is already being used by various state and private institutions (ChatGPT, DeepSeek) to prepare press releases, reports on the foreign policy of different countries, predict international events, model negotiations, and develop foreign policy concepts and strategies.

A number of analysts pay special attention to the security domain of international relations, noting that artificial intelligence has significantly expanded the military-technical and intelligence capabilities of states, thereby contributing to the intensification of global competition.⁸⁹¹⁰

Another group of scholars focuses on the need to establish an international regime for the use of artificial intelligence, in particular, emphasizing the need to develop international humanitarian law, ethical and moral norms.¹¹¹²

Trying to capture the essential aspects of AI in the above-mentioned definitions, the authors seem not to pay sufficient attention or only briefly refer to human qualities that play an important role in international processes and decision-making, such as intuition, psychological state, system of values, and cognitive biases. Whether artificial intelligence is able to reproduce the aforementioned qualities, still remains uncertain. The interaction between human cognitive biases and AI decision-making highlights how both can influence outcomes—humans through inherent psychological tendencies, and AI through biases embedded in data and design. This interplay suggests complex dynamics that can affect fairness and accuracy, indicating a need for further scholarly analysis to fully understand and address these issues.

As experts from the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) rightly note, “throughout human history, politics has been fundamentally guided by the actions taken by a conscious person and the collective interactions of people.

⁸ Radha Iyengar Plumb and Michael C. Horowitz, “What America Gets Wrong About the AI Race: Winning Means Deploying, Not Just Developing, the Best Technology,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 16, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/what-america-gets-wrong-about-ai-race>.

⁹ Chatham House, “Artificial Intelligence and International Affairs: Disruption Anticipated,” report, June 2018, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-06-14-artificial-intelligence-international-affairs-cummings-zaidi-final.pdf>.

¹⁰ Greg Allen and Taniel Chan, “Artificial Intelligence and National Security” (report, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, July 2017), <https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/AI%20NatSec%20-%20final.pdf>.

¹¹ Ioana Puscas, “AI and International Security: Understanding the Risks and Paving the Path for Confidence-Building Measures,” UNIDIR Research Brief (Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 2023), <https://unidir.org/publication/ai-international-security-understanding-risks-paving-path-confidence-building-measures>.

¹² Mehdi Salami, “Artificial Intelligence and the Future of International Relations,” Institute for Political and International Studies, June 19, 2023, <https://www.ipis.ir/en/newsview/722508/artificial-intelligence-and-the-future-of-international-relations>.

Now, the progress of AI opens a possibility to make a fundamental change in this area, significantly influencing traditional perceptions of international relations".¹³

A separate significant area of study is the international economic system, which is undergoing active transformation due to the influence of AI, leading to an unprecedented global economic competition and the redistribution of the balance of power.¹⁴¹⁵¹⁶

It should be mentioned that while in the natural sciences, AI algorithms can analyze and uncover various patterns, in the social sciences, which also include international relations, the discovery of those patterns faces a number of problems related to the characteristics of the human being. Several analyses are aimed at the above-mentioned issue, which particularly emphasize the weakness of international relations theories in facing current challenges and the need to reformulate the subject and the assumptions of their study.¹⁷¹⁸¹⁹ Based on the various approaches to AI and its influence on IR, Artificial Intelligence can be defined as the ability of machines endowed with human qualities and capable of performing actions of human intelligence.

From the perspective of IR, AI can be viewed as the ability of machines to analyze and predict global events and propose alternative decision-making scenarios based on a vast information base and pattern recognition, thereby influencing foreign policy and international processes. This is where the problem arises in distinguishing the international reality shaped by humans over millennia from the content of international relations created by machines empowered by artificial intelligence.

¹³ Chatham House, "Artificial Intelligence and International Affairs."

¹⁴ Harold Sirkin, Michael Zinser, and Justin Rose, "How Robots Will Redefine Competitiveness," Boston Consulting Group, September 23, 2015, <https://www.bcg.com/publications/2015/lean-manufacturing-innovation-robots-redefine-competitiveness>.

¹⁵ Avent, *The Wealth of Humans: Work, Power, and Status in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016).

¹⁶ Jerry Kaplan, *Humans Need Not Apply: A Guide to Wealth and Work in the Age of Artificial Intelligence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

¹⁷ Bhaso Ndzendze and Tshilidzi Marwala, *Artificial Intelligence and International Relations Theories* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023).

¹⁸ Tatiana Grishanina, "Artificial Intelligence in International Relations: Role and Research Dimensions," *RSUH/RGGU Bulletin: "Political Science. History. International Relations" Series*, no. 4 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.28995/2073-6339-2021-4-10-18>.

¹⁹ Salami, "Artificial Intelligence and the Future of International Relations."

The Impact of AI on the Paradigms of International Relations

Within the framework of the study, it is important to understand not only the practical implications of AI for IR but also how the scientific community and theoretical directions perceive, respond to, and adapt to these developments. In the context of IR analysis, experts currently identify three main areas where AI has and can have a significant impact: analytical, predictive, and operational.

From an analytical perspective, AI systems can process and analyze information flows faster and in greater volumes than the human brain, thereby accelerating decision-making processes in IR and foreign policy. The algorithms used by AI enable the analysis of events based on pattern recognition.

The second important area—prediction—has always been central to the methodology of IR. Based on prior analyses, AI can generate predictive scenarios that influence leaders' perceptions and, consequently, affect final decision-making.

As for the third pillar—the operational dimension—many specialists note that it is unlikely to be fully implemented in the near future due to regulatory, legal, moral-ethical, and technological challenges.

AI enables international actors to influence diplomatic decision-making, the process of negotiations, the advancement of economic capabilities, the development of strategies, and the identification of security challenges in a new and faster way, while at the same time influencing the effective management of resources.²⁰ AI provides policymakers with significant tools to delve deeper into global trends, thereby influencing decision-making.²¹

Traditionally, the focus of theoretical paradigms in international relations has been the individual, along with their values, beliefs, perceptions, and ideas. Realists explain the conflictual state of international relations through the egoistic nature of human beings, who are constantly driven by a desire for power, leading to various forms of conflict—what Thomas Hobbes famously described as a “war of all against all” (*bellum omnium contra omnes*). Liberalism, by contrast, emphasizes the moral capacity of individuals and the importance of cooperation, while Marxist theory highlights the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

With the rapid advancement of technology and the increasing integration of AI into various fields, critical questions arise regarding the ability of “anthropocentric” paradigms to fully capture the evolving technological nature of international processes. While humans currently remain the primary decision-makers in international relations and foreign policy, the growing “automation” of these fields and

²⁰ Craig Webster and Stanislav Ivanov, “Robotics, Artificial Intelligence, and the Evolving Nature of Work,” in *Digital Transformation in Business and Society*, edited by Babu George and Justin Paul (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-08277-2_8.

²¹ Allen and Chan, “Artificial Intelligence and National Security.”

the expanding role of AI prompt us to ask: To what extent can traditional paradigms continue to account for these transformations? Are we witnessing a fundamental transformation—or merely a transitional phase—from a “human-centered” international system to a “techno-centered” one, in which established analytical frameworks may no longer yield accurate insights, thereby requiring the development of new theoretical approaches?

Ndzendze and Marwala make an important observation that “IR theory has historically evolved alongside major developments or shocks to the international system, and that the age of AI could prompt the field to revisit its theoretical foundations.”²²

Currently, due to the large-scale flow of information, the human brain no longer has the time and capacity to analyze it, or at least process the huge information base fast enough to keep pace with developments. Artificial intelligence is endowed with the ability to analyze various international processes very quickly, thereby creating favorable conditions for a one-step transition to the decision-making process, allowing leaders to respond to international challenges in a timely manner. As Mehdi Salami rightly argues, “the feature of optimal use of time in a world that is changing at a faster pace every moment and requires instant reactions and decisions, has become significant and has led to the possibility of dramatic changes in international calculations.”²³

Grishanina describes “AI as one of the key technologies of the next decade, which has the potential to become a factor in the redistribution of power in the international system. As part of the process of digitalization of international relations, AI influences the perception of the changing system by the actors themselves.”²⁴

The academic literature highlights the changes in international relations that are taking place under the influence of artificial intelligence, posing new analytical problems to theoretical paradigms, the formation of a new methodology, and the need to expand or reformulate the subject of study. Toni Erskine, in her article, published by Cambridge University Press in 2024, concludes that “the AI’s role in world politics has been under-theorized within the discipline of International Relations” suggesting that “AI disrupts prevailing conception,” underscoring that “IR theory is not (yet) fit for 21st-century purpose”.²⁵

²² Ndzendze and Marwala, *Artificial Intelligence and International Relations Theories*,

²³ Salami, “Artificial Intelligence and the Future of International Relations.”

²⁴ Grishanina, “Artificial Intelligence in International Relations.”

²⁵ Toni Erskine, “AI and the Future of IR: Disentangling Flesh-and-Blood, Institutional, and Synthetic Moral Agency in World Politics,” *Review of International Studies* 50, no. 3 (May 2024), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210524000202>.

In this study, we will try to understand the implications of artificial intelligence for some theories of international relations: how it changes their assumptions, and what questions should become part of the subject of current paradigms.

Realism and AI

From the perspective of realist theory, artificial intelligence is currently influencing the global power dynamics, triggering unprecedented competition among great powers, especially in the military and intelligence spheres. Thanks to artificial intelligence, strategies are being designed, situational modeling is being carried out, and scenario development options are being prepared. Major actors are giving new impetus to the security landscape, harnessing the capabilities of artificial intelligence. These developments are significantly transforming the pace and quality of existing competition, further expanding the anarchic environment that exists in international relations. National interests, balance of power, security dilemma, and conflictual state of IR – the main assumptions of Realism – are undergoing profound changes influenced by AI.

In the security domain, AI has already brought tremendous transformations, leading to an unprecedented increase in the use of AI in military operations. This development not only impacts modern conflicts but also contributes to a new arms race in international relations. Realists particularly highlight the growing use of lethal autonomous weapon systems, which are capable of independently identifying, selecting, and engaging targets and are endowed with operational self-sufficiency.

As Chatham House experts underline, “the rise in the use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) in both military and commercial contexts has sparked intense debate over whether there should be an outright ban on so-called “killer robots”—autonomous systems that can theoretically operate in the air, on land, at sea, or underwater, carrying out assigned tasks independently”.²⁶

Radha Iyengar Plumb and Michael C. Horowitz state in their article in *Foreign Affairs* that “AI will enable better threat detection, giving humans more time to react; let militaries conduct more detailed and realistic planning exercises; shorten crisis response times; and streamline essential backend processes like finance and logistics.”²⁷

From the Realists’ perspective, AI is transforming the global economy too, reshaping the distribution of geo-economic power, and intensifying competition among major actors. Currently, we see a fierce competition between two leading

²⁶ Chatham House, “Artificial Intelligence and International Affairs.”

²⁷ Plumb and Horowitz, “What America Gets Wrong.”

world economies – the US and China – in the AI domain, which is going to have an unprecedented impact on the global economy. “The AI competition is increasingly being framed within narrow national security terms, as a zero-sum game. The US has employed “chokepoint” tactics to limit China’s access to key technologies like advanced semiconductors, and China has responded by accelerating its efforts toward self-sufficiency and indigenous innovation, which is causing US efforts to backfire”, - MIT Technology Review highlights.²⁸

Artificial intelligence is already having a significant impact on both the military and economic landscape, and it will only continue to expand and evolve. From manufacturing to supply chains, from technology to job changes, artificial intelligence is fundamentally transforming the global economy, fueling fierce competition among leading powers. It is becoming clear that the leading positions in the global economy and security will be occupied by those states that are able not only to create artificial intelligence and technological developments, but also to effectively apply them.

From a realist perspective, artificial intelligence only exacerbates the conflictual nature of the international system and accelerates the arms race. Proponents of this paradigm do not properly address the issue of opportunities and cooperation created by artificial intelligence, analyzing it only from the perspective of global competition. Artificial intelligence also significantly shapes the perception of national interests of states in the security, economic, and technological spheres, directing those interests not only into the realm of competition between major powers, but also into an environment of ensuring Global Strategic Advantage. This transition has already made different global powers redefine their national interests aimed at surpassing their adversaries and competitors in effectively utilizing the advantages of AI.

In January 2025, the White House published the “Removing Barriers to American Leadership in Artificial Intelligence” paper, in which President Trump outlines “the policy of the United States to sustain and enhance America’s global AI dominance to promote human flourishing, economic competitiveness, and national security.”²⁹

Thus, from the perspective of the realist paradigm, the use of artificial intelligence has led to the expansion of global competition and strategic advantage in international relations, thereby redefining national interests, increasing the risks

²⁸ Alvin Wang Graylin and Paul Triolo, “There Can Be No Winners in a US-China AI Arms Race,” *MIT Technology Review*, January 21, 2025, <https://www.technologyreview.com/2025/01/21/1110269/there-can-be-no-winners-in-a-us-china-ai-arms-race/>.

²⁹ The White House, “Removing Barriers to American Leadership in Artificial Intelligence,” January 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/removing-barriers-to-american-leadership-in-artificial-intelligence/>.

associated with the security dilemma, and seriously affecting the conflictual nature of the international system. Considering the anarchic nature of international relations as a starting point, realism pays almost no attention to the opportunities provided by artificial intelligence, which can open up new avenues of cooperation for international actors.

The Impact of AI on the Liberal-Idealist Paradigm

Liberals, who traditionally emphasize human rights, the improvement of international law, moral norms, and international cooperation in their analysis of international relations, continue to view the impact of artificial intelligence on global processes from that very perspective. Proponents of the liberal paradigm view the impact of AI on international relations as creating new opportunities for deepening cooperation, especially in multilateral initiatives.

When analyzing the use of artificial intelligence in the security sector, liberals view the issue from the perspective of human rights, international humanitarian law, and ethical and moral norms. The main challenges associated with the implementation of UAVs in the military sphere include issues of attribution and state responsibility, target selection and compliance with international humanitarian law, AI bias, the human factor, and the involvement of human operators in decision-making, as well as the potential misuse of UAV systems by malicious actors.

From a Liberal perspective, the question of establishing an international legal framework for the application of AI in the military domain remains highly problematic. This is due to several factors, including the absence of a universal definition of AI, the difficulty of establishing control over AI given its decentralized and interchangeable nature, the complexity of managing the semiconductor supply chain, and challenges in determining the extent and geographic scope of AI deployment and use. Additionally, obstacles to the effective regulation of AI in the military sector include the diversity of actors involved in the production, distribution, deployment and use of UAV-based weapons—ranging from private companies to state actors; the problematic placement of such weapons in military contexts, which complicates compliance with legal norms; the competitive race among major military powers to maintain superiority in UAV weapon systems, and the unchecked growth of AI capabilities in the military sector—resulting in a pace of development that outstrips the creation of legal norms needed to regulate the field.

There is no unified approach among states and international organizations for addressing these issues. Some actors argue that new regulations are unnecessary, claiming that existing provisions in international humanitarian and human rights law are sufficient. Others contend that, while these provisions are indeed applica-

ble, the use of AI in the military sector requires further clarification in the interpretation and application of international law. They argue that ensuring the responsible use of AI demands regulations that go beyond the existing legal frameworks governing armed conflict and extend to the entire chain of production, proliferation, deployment, and use.

There are currently a number of international initiatives aimed at addressing the application of AI in the military sector. These initiatives include the Group of Governmental Experts on Emerging Technologies in the Field of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems under the UN Convention on Certain Weapons, the Political Declaration on the Responsible Military Use of Artificial Intelligence and Autonomy, the REAIM Summit, and the two UN General Assembly resolutions - the Resolution on Artificial Intelligence in the Military Domain and its Implications for International Peace and Security, and the Resolution on Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems.

In general, while a growing number of countries support a ban or at least restrictions on lethal autonomous weapon systems (LAWS), the military superpowers have reservations about the idea, based on the need to maintain their national security or military superiority. The general position of the latter is that existing provisions of international humanitarian law are sufficient to adequately regulate the development and use of LAWS, and they do not want new legal regulations that could limit their military potential. Most of the proposals submitted by states are based on a “two-tiered approach”. At the first level, weapons based on the latest technologies in the field of LAWS, which cannot be used under international humanitarian law, should be prohibited. At the second level, states must ensure compliance with their obligations under international law—particularly international humanitarian law—throughout the entire lifecycle of such weapons.

The Political Declaration on the “Responsible Military Use of Artificial Intelligence and Autonomy” is a US initiative, which has been joined by 58 states. The Declaration effectively launched a format of multilateral intergovernmental activities, the purpose of which is to form an international consensus on the responsible behavior of states in the military domain, as well as to guide the development, deployment, and use of AI in the military domain. “The Declaration provides a basis for exchanging best practices and building states’ capacities, which will allow endorsing States to share experience and ideas.”³⁰

³⁰ U.S. Department of State, “Political Declaration on Responsible Military Use of Artificial Intelligence and Autonomy,” Bureau of Arms Control, Deterrence, and Stability, last modified May 15, 2024, <https://www.state.gov/political-declaration-on-responsible-military-use-of-artificial-intelligence-and-autonomy/>.

The first summit entitled “Responsible AI in the Military Domain–REAIM” was held in February 2023 at the initiative of the Netherlands and South Korea, in which 57 states participated. The goal of the summit was to raise the role of responsible AI in the military domain on the international agenda, providing a platform for all interested actors, in particular governments, industry, civil society, academia, and think tanks. As a result of the first summit, the document “REAIM Call to Action” was adopted. As a follow-up to the first REAIM summit and the aforementioned document, the second REAIM summit was held in South Korea in September 2024, with the participation of more than 90 countries. The second summit resulted in the adoption of a document entitled “Blueprint for Action,” which was joined by 61 countries.³¹

Thus, the following conclusion can be drawn from what has been analyzed: artificial intelligence is already having a tangible impact on international security, provoking serious competition and an arms race, especially between major powers. Artificial intelligence significantly expands the capabilities of military technologies, their influence on the decision-making process, raising several issues related to legal, political, and ethical aspects of its regulation. Therefore, those issues should be the focus of analyses of international relations paradigms in order to understand the current trends in the changing international security environment.

Another aspect of concern for liberals is the extent to which artificial intelligence can undermine democracies and strengthen authoritarian regimes. Scholars disagree on how artificial intelligence will affect democracies or authoritarian regimes. Francis Fukuyama argues that, on one hand, artificial intelligence could provide the necessary tools to strengthen democracies; on the other hand, authoritarian countries can use AI to tighten the grip on their citizens by manipulating their behavior.³²

Artificial intelligence also provides broad opportunities for international cooperation, especially in the areas of ensuring economic growth, expanding productivity, and addressing global challenges (climate change, cybersecurity). Several regional organizations have already framed the main pillars of cooperation in these areas (EU, BRICS).

³¹ REAIM 2024, “REAIM 2024: The Second Global Summit on Responsible AI in the Military Domain,” accessed June 7, 2025, <https://www.reaim2024.kr/reaimeng/index.do>.

³² Francis Fukuyama, “AI and Its Potential Impact on Liberal Democracy,” interview by Athanasios Katsikidis, *eKathimerini.com*, July 16, 2023, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/interviews/1215467/ai-and-its-potential-impact-on-liberal-democracy/>.

Neoliberals and the Issue of Redistribution of AI Capabilities

According to neoliberal theorists, unregulated technological developments are exploited by major actors to exclude less developed countries from the process. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out a fair redistribution of artificial intelligence capabilities so that all countries can benefit from these opportunities.

In a UN 2024 report, “the uneven adoption of Artificial Intelligence (AI) is considered a critical issue that goes beyond economic growth. It impacts global equity, fairness, and the social contract that is at the heart of social justice.”³³

One of the central assumptions of neoliberalism is the primacy of free trade and capitalist market relations, wherein state intervention is expected to be minimized. However, artificial intelligence exerts a tangible influence in this sphere by contributing both to the global redistribution of economic power and to the expansion of state intervention amid intensifying technological competition. Consequently, for neoliberal theory, it is of critical importance to assess and comprehend the scope and nature of artificial intelligence’s impact on the international economic system.

A number of financial institutions and international organizations have already attempted to make predictions about the impact of artificial intelligence on the global economy. A study by Bank of America estimates that the “impact value” of robotics and artificial intelligence on manufacturing could range from \$14 trillion to \$33 trillion over the next 10 years, resulting in \$8-9 trillion in cost savings. According to a study by the McKinsey Global Institute, automation could increase productivity growth worldwide by 0.8-1.4 percent per year.³⁴

The next major concern raised by various specialists is that the widespread use of AI in the economy could lead to mass unemployment. Experts warn that machines will replace human labor in developing countries just as they are in developed economies. This suggests that developing countries will face the same pressures on employment and wages. According to the International Monetary Fund’s recent analyses, “AI will affect almost 40 percent of jobs around the world, replacing some and complementing others. Therefore, there is a need for a careful balance of policies to tap its potential. AI applications may execute key tasks currently performed by humans, which could lower labor demand, leading to lower wages

³³ United Nations, “Mind the AI Divide: Shaping a Global Perspective on the Future of Work,” Report of the Office of the Secretary-General’s Envoy on Technology, 2024, <https://www.un.org/digital-emerging-technologies/sites/www.un.org.techenvoy/files/MindtheAIDivide.pdf>.

³⁴ James Manyika et al., “A Future That Works: Automation, Employment, and Productivity” (report, McKinsey Global Institute, January 2017), <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/digital-disruption/harnessing-automation-for-a-future-that-works>.

and reduced hiring. In the most extreme cases, some of these jobs may disappear.”³⁵

The traditional development model, which relied on exports from advanced economies and cheap labor from developing countries, is being reshaped by AI. As automation lowers production costs, the incentive to rely on low-cost labor diminishes, thereby reducing economic opportunities for many developing nations.

Thus, neoliberal studies are faced with new problems: the preservation of free market relations and the expanding state intervention due to artificial intelligence, protectionism, issues related to human rights, and the impact of artificial intelligence on collective security.

The Impact of AI on Constructivism

Constructivism emphasizes the significant role of identities, norms, and discourses in shaping state behavior. “According to this paradigm, artificial intelligence manifests itself in discussions around ethics, transparency, and security.”³⁶ Constructivists’ main assumptions are “systems of shared ideas, beliefs, and values, which also have structural characteristics, and that they exert a powerful influence on social and political action. Constructivists also stress the importance of normative and ideational structures because these are thought to shape the social identities of political actors.”³⁷

Within the framework of the theory of constructivism, the following questions arise: whether artificial intelligence is capable of reaching a level of human consciousness that would accurately define identity, moral and ethical norms, narratives, system of values, and human subjective perceptions, which for proponents of constructivism are key provisions for defining, predicting state behavior, and generally constructing international reality. If the answer is positive, then from the perspective of this paradigm, artificial intelligence will also begin to shape the intangible content of international relations, thereby influencing the behavior of states in international relations. If the answer is negative, then the question arises as to what extent the analyses and content formulations performed by machines will fully reflect the human psyche and the above-mentioned values.

³⁵ International Monetary Fund, “AI Will Transform the Global Economy: Let’s Make Sure It Benefits Humanity,” *IMF Blog*, January 14, 2024, <https://www.imf.org/en/Blogs/Articles/2024-01/14/ai-will-transform-the-global-economy-lets-make-sure-it-benefits-humanity>.

³⁶ Vicente Garrido Rebolledo, “Impact of the Artificial Intelligence on International Relations: Towards a Global Algorithms Governance,” *Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal*, no. 67 (January 2025), <https://www.unisci.es/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/UNISCIIDP67-1GARRIDO.pdf>.

³⁷ Scott Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

According to constructivists, it is important to understand how non-material structures form the identity of the actors, which in turn frames interests, and then actions.

As Johan Eriksson and Lindy M. Newlove-Eriksson rightly mention in their article *Theorizing technology and international relations: prevailing perspectives and new horizons*, “Constructivists claim that perceptions of technology are shaped more by identities, ideas, and processes of socialization than by technological development in and of itself”³⁸ This means that AI is considered a socially constructed phenomenon, and the outcomes depend not so much on technology, but rather on societal factors. In this case, we face an important issue: on the one hand, we have a reality that is constructed through human qualities, identities, and values, and on the other hand, through technology. There is very little discussion in scientific literature about the interaction and relationship between the two aforementioned realities.

From the perspective of international relations analysis, constructivism emphasizes the political image, ideas, values, and perceptions of decision-making leaders and those advising them. If artificial intelligence is to analyze international events through algorithms, based on which leaders will make decisions, then by what criteria do constructivists understand or highlight the intangible aspects of the analysis made by the machine: identity, norms, morality, and value systems? Is it possible to find a place for intangible values in the analyses made by technology based on dry formulas? These questions become an essential subject of study for the followers of constructivism, since they affect the core issue of their assumptions.

Conclusion

Thus, based on the research questions and objectives outlined above, several key conclusions can be drawn. The challenges posed by the impact of artificial intelligence on international relations may be classified into distinct categories, each reflecting a different dimension of this complex phenomenon.

First, the issues of moral, legal, and ethical regulations related to the use of artificial intelligence, the protection of human rights, commitment to the norms of international humanitarian law, and the need to develop a new legal framework.

Second, the practical impact of artificial intelligence on the security, economic, diplomatic, and decision-making environments. The impact is already being ob-

³⁸ Johan Eriksson and Lindy M. Newlove-Eriksson, “Theorizing Technology and International Relations: Prevailing Perspectives and New Horizons,” in *Technology and International Relations: The New Frontier in Global Power*, ed. Johan Eriksson and Giampiero Giacomello (London: Routledge, 2022).

served in these areas, which creates opportunities for cooperation on one hand, and leads to unprecedented global competition on the other.

Third, in the academic sphere, IR paradigms consider developments in this area from an anthropocentric perspective, while artificial intelligence analyzes the situation in various areas of international relations through algorithms, shapes, and constructs it, influencing the decision-making process. Technological development and the widespread use of artificial intelligence in various fields of international relations, politics, diplomacy, security, economics, and International Humanitarian Law have a significant impact on the transformation of the current international system, posing new challenges for international scholars to understand, analyze, and make predictions about these comprehensive changes.

Although it is still too early to talk about handing over the decision-making process in the field of foreign policy or international relations to AI, it is necessary to clearly state how these decisions are made. This is where the need for scientific and practical research to analyze AI capabilities arises. In this context, artificial intelligence has a direct impact on the decision-making process, as the information it generates and processes ultimately shapes the perceptions and interpretations of international actors. This, in turn, influences developments and outcomes within international relations. A critical question arises: can traditional methods of international relations effectively analyze decisions that are based on AI-generated information, especially given that such processes are largely devoid of human characteristics and intuition?

This question needs to be explored thoroughly as it can reshape and restructure IR theories, to adapt them to new international realities. Does the scientific community engaged in the analysis of international relations master the nuances of artificial intelligence to analyze the international environment being constructed by the latter? Can identities, norms, human intuition, feelings, worldviews, and values, which play a significant role in understanding the processes that take place in the international arena, be accurately analyzed and fully captured by artificial intelligence through algorithms?

One of the main issues in the concept of AI is the absence of a clear understanding of what intelligence is, different approaches to the definition of AI, the emergence of ethical dilemmas, and the ability of AI to fully model human behavior.

The above-mentioned questions should become the focus of scholars specializing in international relations, the subject of discourse among diplomats and specialists involved in foreign policy, with particular emphasis on AI's impact on both theoretical and practical dimensions of IR, its influence on global power dynamics, state behavior, and institutional frameworks.

AI's comprehensive impact on essential aspects of diplomacy, decision-making procedures, geopolitics, security, world economy, global governance, and International Humanitarian Law makes it a newly emerging and inseparable part of the object of international relations, which also challenges the main concepts of various paradigms.

It is imperative to develop a comprehensive understanding of machines. Given the rapid advancement of artificial intelligence across all spheres of human activity, the traditional "man versus machine" discourse should give way to a more nuanced discussion focused on "human-machine interaction." This shift in perspective will enable us to better harness the benefits of AI while proactively addressing and managing its potential risks and negative implications.

Various experts, scholars, and practitioners emphasize the impact of artificial intelligence on international relations, just as they previously considered the impact of other technologies. However, artificial intelligence differs from previous technological developments, as it begins to generate the content of international relations, elevating it to the decision-making level. If previously, various theories of international relations placed man with all his qualities at the center of their analysis, today it is about generating and perceiving global processes through technology. Various methods of international relations (content analysis, event analysis, decision-making process, etc.), through which an attempt is made to scientifically analyze and understand international processes, today significantly fail to fully capture the international reality created by artificial intelligence.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no ethical issues or conflicts of interest in this research.

Ethical Standards

The author affirms this research did not involve human subjects.

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