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**Global Structural Changes
And Emerging Power Structures**

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Abstract

The growing importance of technological development and mobility of capital and labor are not unprecedented in world economy and political phenomenon. However, the redirection of the use of military power with a dramatic growth of transport and information technology, and a rapid growth of social networks are diminishing the importance of state borders, state hegemony and autocracy. The globalization imperatives of high levels of technological inter-relationships and innovations, high resonance of capital and labor mobility, and lately counterterrorism has led to a pronounced increase of interdependence in the international community, reducing the possibilities of inter-state conflict resolution by military means, especially between the developed countries. The change of courses in the Eastern European countries-countries that emerged from the former Soviet Union and the Third World countries and the recent political trends in the Middle Eastern countries towards the model of a market economy and democratic government brought about new changes with political designations within which economic bonding is pushing back the military factor as a means of resolving inter-state problems in many parts of the world..

Keywords: Power structure, Globalization, Innovation, Military power, Global Cooperation, Autocracy, Economic Cooperation, Counterterrorism

Global Structural Changes

Immense improvement in command science had a powerful effect on the development of a new concept of international relations in the early 1990's. Technological development has significantly raised the importance of global cooperation, particularly in the fields of microelectronics, computers, telecommunications, new materials, and biotechnology, that have been leading to a growing dispersion of production across the world and has accelerated the

economic growth of the less developed countries (Sachs, 1998, 2005). Applied science and new technological innovations have reduced the costs of communications and dramatically elevated development in the transportation industry, intensifying global economic integration and reinforcing global political interdependence among states. Foreign policy of the developed countries has been emerging as the main promoter of globalization (Wolf, 2001). Technological developments and advanced commercial exploitation of scientific ideas have created a force that favors an increasing interdependence among states' policies (Grossman & Helpman, 1994). Scientific and technological development, supported by industrial innovation has matured to become the foremost engine of the new global society (Romer 1990). The traditional economic resources i.e., land, labor and capital are being replaced with new knowledge, mobilization of capital and innovation as the new promising resources.

By further shifting of the global economy, the main factors of global production have been evolving from moving goods and labor to moving capital, and from trade in goods to trade in services (financial services, management consulting, accounting, and insurance etc.). By these changes in global production, a marked imbalance between productivity and wages has been finally created on the global level and added ingredients of modern day globalization. The centers of mass production have been quickly moved to the developing countries, where the labor force to attain world-class productivity still pays the emerging country's wages for at least eight or ten years (Drucker, 1997, Morris and Barnes 2009, The Economists, 2010).

Development of transportation and communication technology has made it possible to organize and coordinate different production processes and to provide decision-making across large geographical distances that supported rapid growth of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows, and subcontracting, licensing and franchising as different forms of capital flows. Dramatic capital mobilization allows Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) capable of controlling world markets with a cheaper labor force and to reduce a state's control over tax policy, thus to fabricate/fabricating a world production network without any political control over a foreign piece of land.

Through globalization of production and influencing how public policies are formulated, MNCs have increased their opportunities for technological innovation and has simultaneously reduced the risk and difficulty with the Research and Development sector (R&D) through a greatly expanded web of international inter-firm alliances. Significant number of MNCs and their affiliations, with large geographic dispersion, has become the main driver of

global commerce and global production and global dispersion of technology development. FDI flows tend to rise more rapidly than global trade flows, while inter-firms transfers participate almost 50 percent in world trade which is significantly changing the behavior of states towards MNCs. (Brooks, 2007).

The combination of standardized technologies and shared business models, and interlinked work operations all over the world, both within and among companies, has changed the nature of globalization by shifting focus from products to production and value delivery worldwide. As a consequence of this change companies are investing more to change the way they supply to the entire global market. Modern globalization is not only about creation and launching of new technologies and products, but also about how business processes are integrated, how companies and institutions are managed, how services are delivered, how knowledge is transferred, how public policies are formulated and how enterprises, communities, and societies participate in and benefit from it all. This linkage between global innovation and integration makes sustainable competitive advantage come from the fusion of invention and insight into how things are done. (Palmisano, 2006)

The revolution in science and technology and fusion of innovations and has made spectacular improvements in collecting and disseminating information. The introduction of computers, fax machines, satellites, and the internet as widely accessible machines in every sphere of production and in every day communication between people, have altered people's social perception, political and social separation. Command over society has been significantly reshaped, requiring a new approach to government and decision-making, and a decentralized global network is being advanced in contrast to the highly centralized model of state/nation (Mathews, 1997).

The development of new technologies and innovations has led to new forms of production and production factors as traditional factors of production (capital-land-labor) are replaced by new factors (new knowledge, capital and labor mobilization, innovations, information). Within that form, production is increasingly becoming a global process which creates opportunities for less expensive and faster movement of people between regions - from one continent to another, for faster and less expensive transportation, faster communication of information between individuals and groups, including social, political, cultural, racial and religious groups and communities, and for a rapid expansion of market liberalization. All of these lead to a fascinating bonding and mixing of different races, religions, cultures and traditions. The process of globalization is leading to the establishment of new forms of

relations among people, states, nations and civilizations, thus creating a new world which calls for a new form of regulations, new aspects of political integration and new moral and social standards.

The creation of a broad spectrum of global interdependence will lead to a more expressed creation of a global economy and a new legal-political structure (Slaughter, 2004) on the one hand and to a greater cultural split in a dependent and contradictory world, on the other hand (Huntington, 2002).

In order to better understand the dynamics of the linkage between global innovation and integration and social and political consequences of the globalization, it is necessary to split the process of technological revolution into two different stages: installation and deployment stage. In the installation or “creative destruction” stage, new technologies appear in the marketplace, focused on short-term gain (not on long-term production and development), fostering social and economic discrepancies between the rich and the poor, thus creating a global structural tension that produces a pronounced financial, social, political and moral global crisis. The solution of this global crisis, as we are all quite familiar with from our experience in recent times, calls for new business models, new competition between states, new authority over society, new global regulations and new money-making schemes. Moving from the “creative destruction” stage to the “deployment stage” or “institutional recomposition” calls for a shift from international state’s system to world system, from coercive to discrete policies, from hard power to soft power (integrity, competence, creativity, ideas) that could produce long-term development, democracy and prestige on the world market (Perez, 2006).

The struggle for prestige on the world market is changing the political authority of states by shifting it towards industrial, commercial and market sectors, where many new non-state stakeholders exist (MNCs, IGOs, NGOs, international organizations, international commercial banks, and global public media etc ..). Thus the prestige of the state is gradually shifting from military-political to technocratic-technological and economic-scientific fields. The pronounced shifting of the center of power from the military-political towards industrial, market and commercial sectors makes the state as a hierarchical institutionalized bureaucratic-political structure unfit to meet the needs of the new form of participation on the global market. This requires a higher degree of flexibility than what is offered by an authoritative and strictly hierarchical system of a nation-state (Evans, 1997). Newer institutionalized network-forms of governance capable of providing faster and less expensive access to new technologies and more efficient breakthrough on major markets are needed, with reliable access to sources of capital which will be able to overcome the

limitations imposed by territorially organized system of a nation state. In this way the government would acquire the power to carry out economic policy which calls for a modification of market liberalization, financial and a global system of managing the free movement of capital and labor (Strange, 1992).

The factors of production are increasingly shifting towards capital mobility, new knowledge and fast flow of information, leading to the internalization of production with a higher level of liberalization of the economy, finance and trade. Technological changes, market liberalization, capital and labor mobility inevitably lead to liberalization of monetary and financial policies, which in turn moves the process of decision-making from the state level to the influence on decision-making on global level. Growth of MNCs, IGOs, INGOs, and supranational regional and global institutions with increasing mutual interactions leads simply to the diffusion of state authority both upward and downward, creating a new “plurilateral” global structural context, changing basic rules of the game in international relations, altering payoff matrices in rational decision-making, and modifying nature of state’s sovereignty (Cerny, 1995). With the creation of a global structural context with the common regimes and common international regulatory frameworks, states reduce the cost to them of acting alone; reduce uncertainty and risk; spread and share information; produce public goods which they can't develop in isolation; and increase their collective effectiveness (Held, 2001).

By creating big “trade blocs”, such as the EU, NAFTA, WTO, G7, that mutually coordinate their actions, a type of a fluid “global government” is being formed gradually which should be capable of forecasting crisis and of providing new financial instruments for overcoming possible difficulties (Etzioni, 2004).

Structural Changes and Contradictions of the New Structure of Power

Structural changes are affecting the traditional role of the state in ensuring national security which is gradually shifting from the political- military to the economic-technological factors leading to more intensive interdependence between the military and the economic systems of security. Military and economic system of security thus has a high degree of mutual sublimation, but also contradictions.

The growing sublimation of military and economic security requires new relations between states and new non-state stakeholders in international relations, making the defining of a new concept of global and national security necessary. As a result of the structural changes that are a consequence of the

introduction of new technologies and the application of these processes, the question of security is acquiring a completely new internal structure which is no longer exclusively connected to the control of territory and population of a state.

Capital and labor mobility, innovations, and global production reduce the need for direct political control over territories of other states, and thus, the need for waging conquering war is reduced. Since it would be difficult to put labor, knowledge, information and innovations as mobile factors of production under state control, the state is unable to control these factors in a traditional way. Thus the mobility of the new production factors has substituted the function of the state. Until now the state served for opening broader geographic frameworks for the mobility of labor, goods and capital through pursuing appropriate economic policies and establishing control over broader market spaces. Now the state has fewer opportunities to control the mobility of capital and goods by introducing tariff barriers on exports/imports or by creating customs unions. The possibility for foreign capital to produce on local markets for the needs of local population has decreased the importance of a number of political measures of the states to protect the local market. Due to the development of new technology and the introduction of new technological processes, a new form of relations between states and social groups has been established, because of which states have lost their traditional importance for future economic and political development of the global community. However, what is most important to mention is the quality of the changes which took place as part of the structural changes i.e. the transformation of knowledge into a determining production factor which is evolving into a complex development philosophy (Aghion & Howin, 1992).

With the growing knowledge about the determining factor of the new development philosophy, it is clear that a new global economic and political structure of the global community is created where processes that are taking place call for a new approach in determining global, regional, national and individual security, making the question of security in the 21st century of central importance for the overall global structural changes.

In the early 1960s, sovereign technical solutions led to the application of transistors in integral circuits /chips/ which created unimagined possibilities for connecting a large number of microscopic transistors that led to the development of the computer industry, which has changed the picture of the modern world making fiction a reality for the mankind in only a few decades, (Gleick, 2011). With the development of computers and computer programs, we were given an opportunity to carry out previously unthinkable,

mathematical operations, to simulate nuclear explosions in physical laboratories, to collect, manage, rapidly transfer and use an incredible number of information. Many technical problems which were unsolvable until then, became routine operations. Problems of guiding flights of space ships and rockets and moving robots were solved and they were no longer standing in the space research and to the development of a new defense and offensive nuclear and modern systems.

With the discovery of laser and its broad application in both civilian and military uses, the transfer of huge quantities of information to great distances through optical fibers has spectacularly changed not only the structure of entire economic branches, but also of strategies and ways of conducting military operations.

The geopolitical model of security are being replaced with a new model of security where D-ram memory chips, microprocessors, CAD/CAM have a determining role in creating high level of interdependence between the production and the security issues. Computers and computer components more expressly determine our way of living, the nature of our work and the manner of waging wars between states. Cellular communication and powerful laptop computers are taking over a decisive role in communication among individuals, they encourage our mobilization, but at the same time they have become an irreplaceable part of a highly mobile robust military command-control system. Pharmaceutical know-how has become more powerful both in the production of various medicines, and in the production of chemical weapons. A company that can produce aspirin and antibiotics can also produce the most deadly poisons. With a dual use of the state of the art technology for military and civilian purposes, consolidation of the economic and military factors has become pronounced, which makes this an integral part of further survival and development of mankind (Khalilzad and Lesser, 1998).

The use of smart materials in textiles, automobile and construction industries, with engraved information systems and sensors which enable automatic personal identification, adaptation of clothes, automobiles and other objects to weather and environmental conditions, with integrating chemical, fluid, optical and biological components in commercial chip design, the application of molecular production, will lead to a new wave of IT revolution and new revolutionary changes in biology and chemistry, which, all together, will lead to the creation of new global trends, integrations, creative disintegrations, cooperation and dynamic conflicts. All these changes leading to new revolutions and proliferation in the processes of production control, both in

civil and military industries, call for a new approach and new answers to numerous questions about security in this Millennium (Brooks, 2005; 84)

The relation between multidisciplinary technological changes, on the one side, and economic needs, social demands and possibilities of global cultural adjustment, on the other, undoubtedly will be the central question of the 21st century and thus make the security issue the determining segment of the globalization process. The globalization process in the 21st century will, most certainly, be condensed over the question of new class discrepancy, protection of privacy and cultural confrontation (Galtung & Jacobsen, 2000).

Discovery and implementation of technological procedures and by introduction of new technological solutions are **amazing** changing the global structure of power which will eventually lead to a significant reduction of the geo-strategic importance of some countries and entire regions.

Technological Changes and Diffusion of the Power of Nation-State

New technologies, information and abilities for manipulation and faster processing and transfer of information is determining the position of individual countries both on the global market and on the military level .

Fundamental research in molecular biology is bringing about revolutionary changes in our lives. The development of new technologies that enables designing of molecules with desired functional characteristics that match specific receptors or markers to ensure simulation of medical interactions with targeted biological systems, could lead to a higher level of harmonization of the efficiency and safety in the use of certain medicines. By applying the results of new scientific research in biology, pharmacy, and medicine, many diseases are becoming treatable, liberating people from many fears. Life expectancy has been drastically extended even in the poorest parts of the world. The latest researches have announced the end of the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) epidemics which has been killing thousands of people throughout the world (Rutherford et al, 2000).

Genetic engineering with the possibility of cloning living beings (Fukuyama, 2002) and the ongoing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons shall definitely create possibilities for self-destruction of mankind. At the same time, development of new technology generates spectacular opportunities for further development of humanity. This duality of the modern world is one of the most significant paradoxical consequences of the global structural changes and the redistribution of global power. New revolutionary changes in

biotechnology and information technology will have **an important** impact on the development of the mankind and changes of the production structure, and, certainly, on the changes in the form of political organizing and security system of the international community. According to some forecasts, development of biotechnology, biomedical engineering and biological therapeutics which will make genetic coding and control of living organisms possible will have a particularly **remarkable** impact on the development of mankind in the 21st century (Carey et al, 1999). With the introduction of Nano-technology and Nano-engineering, the so called machine molecular system enabling a higher form of control over all forms of biological activities of living beings may become possible (Drexler, 1999).

One of the most significant trends which will change the world in this Millennium belongs to biotechnology where, with the manipulation of the genetic base of plants and animals, **important** changes will take place in experimental research in the field of creating new living organisms (Coates, et al, 1997). DNA analysis with chip-based systems will create unprecedented possibilities in the field of genetic analysis, which will bring about revolutionary knowledge in medicine and biology with **huge** consequences in pharmaceutical industry, agriculture and livestock breeding. The possibility of producing genetically modified food (fruit, vegetables, rice, maize etc), and creating genetically modified living organisms (bacteria, insects etc.), will enable future research of genes and their influence on many human disorders which will, no doubt, lead to more effective and better diagnostics and therapy of many diseases that are incurable for the time being. In addition this will lead to the prevention of widespread epidemics that can affect groups of population with particular genetic characteristics. The use of DNA will enable the creation of very sensitive methods for the research of new substances and structures (Mirkin, 2000).

New, promising processes in genetics and genetic engineering could lead to a revolution in biology, and at the same time present moral and legal dilemmas of the modern world, which can certainly have **immense** impact on global political relations. Under the influence of new innovations in the field of genetics many norms and standards of political, security and legal systems will need to be reexamined and changed.

Genetic identification will largely change the methods and legal rules in identifying perpetrators of criminal offenses. It will help in establishing more efficient control of organized crime, better detection of biological weapons, biological quality control of water and food, control of health predisposition of a large number of migrants etc. All this may lead to a less complicated and

more efficient legal and police system of control and bring about easier control of individuals that might threaten human rights and freedoms.

In countries where new technologies are applied, life expectancy is drastically extended and age structures have changed. All these changes are producing new social and legal consequences for the people of these countries. The legal structure of retirement, children and elderly protection systems, welfare system and protection of individuals is changing. All this calls for a new system of raising awareness among the population, that could have strong reflection on both the national and international security policy (Hammonds, 1998).

The **spectacular** development of science in the field of materials and genetic engineering, the introduction of combinations of metal, ceramics and polymer with ceramic fibers provide for a critical input for interactions between biological and structural functions, which will bring about new revolutionary changes in production of the so called smart, multifunctional and environmentally adjustable materials. This will introduce new impulses and changes in the global process of production, and surely, in the global political relations between powerful conglomerates whose establishment can be foreseen in the horizons of the new Millennium (Ackerman, 2000).

Technological development is not only profoundly changing the production system, the market, and the monetary sovereignty of a state, but it is eliminating the state monopoly in accessing, stocking and using of information. This change is altering the ability of the state to control the public opinion, political and social processes, which have a significant impact on the change of attitude of individuals and social groups vis-à-vis the state, thus changing political stratification of the global society. Hierarchical structure of the global community is drifting from the system of nation-state towards the creation of new global stratifications whose identification codes are increasingly found in national, cultural and religious backgrounds of large social groups, rather than in the territorial state system.

(Mathews, 1997: 51-52)

The structural changes which primarily call for the redistribution of power among states and new actors, are leading to fundamental changes of the states' nature and relations among states, where territorial states are losing their traditional capacity of importance in global inter-state relations and changing the form of control over the society. By taking control over global economy through industrial-mercantilist policies, globalized firms are gradually

replacing the state as a dominant force in international relations, imposing a new model of international relations in which transnational firms appear as powerful negotiating parties and allies with states. (Strange, 1995).

The structure of the division of the world to East and West is acquiring a new structure of division which is diversifying the world to new divisions determined, not on the basis of ideological and national models, but primarily on the basis of the manner of production and the achieved level of technological development (Toffler and Toffler, 1993).

Interactive relations and a high level of dependence between the components of biotechnology, Nano-technology and IT, that makes the same core of global structural changes, will generate a new global system with powerful global effect on economic, social and political systems, with **profound** changes which shall have a direct effect on the standard of living and quality of life of an individual, religious, political and ideological beliefs, and will, thus, open new problems and new dilemmas, both political and economic.

New Technological Challenges and New Moral, Political and Legal Dilemmas

Cloning of living organisms is one of the issues which will stir-up not only great economic and political controversies, but moral and legal controversies as well. The possibility of producing plants, insects and animals through cloning, as well as the possibility of improving the nutritive quality of cloned food, while reducing the effect of climate changes on food production, could very much affect relations within the international community. Many labor-intensive countries with favorable climate conditions for the production of plant and animal food, that are big producers of fruits, vegetables, meat, fish etc, could find themselves pushed out from the world market by highly developed countries that have access to cloning processes of plants and animals and may face a very difficult economic situation..

Cloning of human beings could cause immense moral and political controversies that could lead to great tensions and potential conflicts within and between religious and ethnic communities, political groups and individuals (Weiss, 2000).The development of xenotransplantation (transplantation of parts of animals to humans) is opening new medical and legal dilemmas. One of the main fears in this branch of medicine is the possibility of transforming animal viruses that could easily mutate into viruses that are life threatening for humans and cause large-scale epidemics and eliminate a great percentage of mankind,

From the legal point of view, one should also consider animal rights, which has, in the modern world, become not only a legal, but also moral and political issue which is directly linked to relations between cultures and civilizations. Theological debates about what makes a human being, and whether a human being can constitute a human being after receiving parts of animals through transplantation with all his/her protected rights and abilities, could cause new tensions between religious communities and groups over permissibility, legal and moral consequences of xenotransplantation.

The possibilities of genetic modification of plant and animal world could cause many changes in industry. By genetically modifying trees it is possible to produce special type of wood for specific purposes. For example, by genetic modification it is possible to produce pulping wood (for the production of paper), wood for the production of bio-polymers (for the production of plastics), or production of wood whose consumption could significantly reduce the effects of global warming, as well as wood for the production of biological fuel. All this has the promise of reducing air pollution, but it may also have large consequences on the market position of countries with developed timber industry and countries producing oil and natural gas owing to their natural non-renewable resources (Kevan et al, 2003). Genetic engineering of micro-organisms should provide for the production of a new type of insulin and successful control of parasites development which will, contribute to the change in the position of countries in the global market that are significant consumers of medicines and pesticides.

Access to genetics and genetic engineering pose a significant new security issue. One can question how can we regulate and prevent irresponsible use of genetic engineering and cloning of living organisms by some countries and companies, at the same time avoid access to genetic engineering to criminal and terrorist organizations, which could have disastrous consequences for mankind. The ability of genetically modifying living organisms is equal to proliferating biological weapons, which requires new protective and preventive measures by states and new regulations at the global level. As genetic modification of living organisms means better standard of living on the one hand, and a new global dilemma between progress and security of mankind is opened, on the other, since it could grow into very dangerous threat for human civilization.

New Structure of Relations between the Rich and the Poor

New structural changes both in production and in politics call for a new relations between the rich and the poor. The new global relations between the rich is more coherent, however the new relationship between the poor, who are losing their internal cultural coherence, **urgent** calls for a new articulation of global relations. Changes in production and culture are leading towards a **hard** and painful isolation of the underdeveloped, marginalized and poor that is becoming weaker, louder and more aggressive, from the developed and the rich that are becoming more powerful and more arrogant. This division is **inherent** leading to a new global conflict whose contours are visible, between the “culture of aggressive fear” and “culture of arrogant domination” and is creating an explosive substance of a new global “ideology of hatred”.

With the pronounced increase of the power of the rich and with the **dramatic** growing discrepancy between the rich and the poor, a global “culture of domination and arrogance” is strongly constituted which is shifting the world from the concept of cultural individualism to the concept of “cultural cosmopolitanism” of the rich, thus creating a concept of global policy of liberalism and monopoly of the rich and the powerful. The ideology of “cultural domination and arrogance” is focused on the global protectionism of the rich, technological, financial and military monopolies of the big and the power, and cultural imperialism of the “civilized”.

In the new environment of global structural changes the poor and the powerless are demanding new global redistribution of the world wealth, new standards that would focus on new moral and political principles and that would guarantee more dignity and better life for them and their children. The powerlessness of the poor and the marginalized to create an environment that would guarantee survival, is pushing them towards the ideology of cultural nationalism and religious extremism, political anarchism and economic isolationism, which leading them more expressly to the creation of a global “culture of fear and rebellion” and **likely** towards global ideology of violence and destruction. This global process of distribution of the world wealth calls for a new role of the nation state which boils down to the role of a guard and protector of interests of the globally-integrated capital, thus transforming inter-state conflicts into intra-state one, i.e., conflict between government and societies (Inglehart, 2000).

Changes that are taking place at the global level of technological development lead to a new global structure which requires new imitations, new mechanism and resonance of action for the removal of the existing barriers that prevent unhindered flow of the new form of knowledge, new information and new technologies, and for the establishment of new rules and mechanisms which

should enable access to potential global benefits of the technological development for all individuals, groups and nations. The development of new factors of production which is, without any doubt, introducing the mankind to the sphere of new imaginations and achievements, new possibilities and challenges, calls for new global economic, political and legal and moral codes, which would be the most powerful barrier preventing the poor, the powerless and the hungry of turning into a network of terror and violence, which nowadays presents the greatest threat to mankind coming from the global structural changes that are in progress.

Conclusion

Rapid technological development, abandoned trade barriers, high level of capital mobility, reduction of transportation and communications costs, growth of social networks, and green revolution on the one side, and global financial instability, environmental disaster, growing social frustration, cultural and religious anxiety of disadvantaged, large social and religious groups, **significant** increase of poverty, hunger and inequalities, dictatorships and autocratic rulers in many regions on the other one, call for a new global functional structure capable of providing support to the growing economic interdependence, worldwide market competitions, democratic government, empowerment of the poor and women, redistribution wealth and material capabilities among people and jointly implementing strategies to control terrorism against states or people as in the case of Afghanistan or Libya.

Fundamental research in molecular biology, genetic engineering, biotechnology, nanotechnology, information technology (IT), cloning of living organisms and many new areas has **dramatic** changed the context for dealing with the future of humankind, gradually modifying the nature of state's sovereignty and creating a delicate framework of new global structure of power. This structure is more complex than innovation of new technologies and creation of new products. Dealing also with the matter of how business processes are integrated, how companies and institutions are managed, how knowledge is transferred, how public policies are formulated, this model of global power claims new links between innovation and integration, shifting coerciveness to enticement/appeal and hard power to soft power

These new links between innovation and integration urgently need new payoff matrices in rational decision-making that transform international system into global system, moving interstate conflict into intrastate conflict, conflict

between government and society, as a new type of global welfare conflict, asserting a global power shift from state as a territorially limited system, to a decentralized transnational network, as territorially unlimited system of global governance.

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