

Foreign policy, democracy and new technologies¹

Política exterior, democracia y nuevas tecnologías

Política externa, democracia e novas tecnologias

Julio Ramón Lascano y Vedia*

Abstract:

On this year 2023, Argentina has passed a continuous way of 40 years of democracy since we recovered it; though we feel part of the reflexions generated by our own society, the forums for thinking, the academic references and investigations centres. We feel called to express our feelings and thoughts about the institutionality of our country, as a constitutional and political order, that give to all of us moral richness and common Benefit as well as the democracy is consolidated with a democracy destined as a form of government and a way of living. With imperfections and defects, a democracy system for all of us who live and study during not democracy times, give us oxygen of freedom and ideas that involve our duties, our functions and Works in public or private areas, and the wonderful challenge of living in a battle for a better quality of institutional, political, and social life, even into our private family lives. As a diplomat and academic professor I propose the following ideas for all of us invited to be proud of thinking and reflect about the importance of Argentina foreign policy, its links with the internal political and social policy, imbued of democracy system and improved by the new technologies of the global order.

Keywords: foreign policy Republica Argentina; new technologies; democracy; globalization

Resumen:

Al cumplirse en este año 2023, un recorrido ininterrumpido de 40 años de democracia recuperada, en la República Argentina nos sentimos partícipes de las reflexiones que se generan en la sociedad argentina, los foros de pensamientos, las universidades, los sitios académicos y centros de investigación. Nos sentimos convocados a manifestar tales sentimientos y los pensamientos que surgen al pensar que la institucionalidad del país como República constitucional con un orden institucional y político, se enriquece y genera el verdadero bien común cuando más es consolidada la democracia como forma de gobierno y sistema de vida. Con imperfecciones y defectos, un sistema democrático, para quienes vivimos y estudiamos en épocas no democráticas, generan un oxígeno de libertad y de ideas que envuelven nuestra tarea, nuestras funciones públicas o privadas, y el desafío maravilloso de vivir dando batalla por una mejor calidad de vida institucional política y social; también familiar y propia. Desde la diplomacia y la vida académica vuelco esta propuesta de ideas para quienes estamos orgullosamente obligados a reflexionar sobre la relevancia de la política exterior argentina y su vínculo único con el orden político y social interno, imbuido del sistema democrático, y mejorado por las nuevas tecnologías del nuevo orden global.

Palabras clave: política exterior República Argentina; nuevas tecnologías; democracia; globalización

Resumo:

Ao cumprir nesse ano de 2023 um percurso ininterrupto de 40 anos de democracia recuperada, na República Argentina nos sentimos participantes das reflexões geradas na sociedade argentina, nos foros de pensamentos, nas universidades, nos locais acadêmicos e nos centros de pesquisa. Nos sentimos convocados a manifestar tais sentimentos e os pensamentos que surgem ao pensar que a institucionalidade do país como República

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* Embajador del Servicio Exterior de la Nación, egresado del ISEN 1985. Doctor en Relaciones internacionales, Universidad del Salvador 2022. Licenciado en Ciencias Políticas y Relaciones Internacionales (UCA 1983). Director de la Escuela de Relaciones Internacionales de USAL. Profesor de Teoría y Práctica Diplomática (USAL/UB) Profesor de Política exterior argentina (USAL)

constitucional com uma ordem institucional e política, se enriquece e gera o verdadeiro bem comum quando mais for consolidada a democracia como forma de governo e sistema de vida. Com imperfeições e defeitos, um sistema democrático, para os que vivemos e estudamos em épocas não democráticas, geram um oxigênio de liberdade e de ideias que envolvem nossa tarefa, nossas funções públicas ou privadas e o desafio maravilhoso de viver batalhando por melhor qualidade de vida institucional, política e social; também familiar e própria. Da diplomacia e da vida acadêmica, dirijo esta proposta de ideias àqueles que nos sentimos orgulhosos de refletir sobre a relevância da política externa argentina e seu vínculo único com a ordem política e social interna, imbuída do sistema democrático e aprimorada pelas novas tecnologias da nova ordem global.

Palavras-chave: política externa República Argentina; novas tecnologias; democracia; globalização

1 Introduction

The new global order finds the international system and states absolutely absolutely connected and connected, as was foreseen in the last century when we began to perceive the positive benefits of globalization.

This globalization and rapprochement of world citizenship or shrinking of the world, was never considered as a panacea of benefits for humanity, neither for countries nor for the international system itself. Although it meant an important transformation in the evolution of humanity and its permanent search for peace and world cooperation after going through such terrible wars in the twentieth century.

A positive view of globalization referred to the extension of the technological revolution followed by the industrial revolution led by the United States, after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The technological revolution and the emergence and accelerated development of new technologies have had a strong impact as a phenomenon on the political regimes of the countries of the planet, also of important impact on republican and democratic regimes and decisive in the design and dynamics of the international policy of States and the international system.

The positive spillover of globalization reached innumerable corners of the earth previously excluded from the minimum possibilities of development hand in hand with a broad system of international cooperation. At the same time, globalization generated the appearance in international trade of the Republic of China, a political obstacle of the communist system that was considered abandoned.

Positive globalization also reached its own limits when, after the 1990s, the international financial support system began revisions in its recipes that did not reach sufficient efficiency for the growth and development of developing countries and poor countries. Although without a doubt, these countries on the Asian, Latin American and African continents were able in many cases to reap the benefits of the expansion of the international trade and financial system.

The same commercial economic expansion generated by globalization showed insufficiencies and dissatisfactions that were manifested in the growth of public debt problems, difficulties in modifying economic models towards more developmentalist and liberal systems, and stagnation in countries that stagnated in new levels of poverty.

All this happened and at the end of the nineties globalization was judged more by its faults and defects than by its benefits. Because with its limits and alleged indefinite progress, it found natural and human limits, which generated the emergence of new world problems that complicated the dawn of the twenty-first century: new threats to international peace and security, new conventional and border wars, the violent appearance of fundamentalist terrorism threatening the West, the phenomenon of organized crime and drug trafficking, climate change and a strong impact on the system of international organizations and the multilateral system in general.

We believe that in the face of the fragility of globalization and a new dynamic scenario of dilemmas, this has also affected politics and institutions in the world. That is why we now clearly see the fragility of political systems, which is visible in many regimes in the West, East, Africa and Latin America. This political, institutional and democratic fragility is a sign or alert to be taken into consideration.

We are now witnessing a climate of distrust in political regimes, towards democratic systems and with it, the search for neo-dictatorial or neo-fascist alternatives that reappear on the political scene in an abrupt and violent way, clouding the transparencies sought by democracy and the struggles in favor of human rights.

This shows that in this twenty-first century, democracy in order to be retonated, reborn and consolidated, requires more than ever to think and study methods and theories in defense of the institutionality and the democratic regimes themselves, which have guaranteed the best years of freedom and equality to modern and contemporary humanity.

Almost as something naturalized, the scenario that prioritizes efficiency and the results of growth, and not the development of societies, the rule of law appears damaged and the republican political institutions of democracies are questioned, and facile proposals and solutions that offer to sacrifice all rule of law and the freedoms of man promising quick economic and social benefits are opposed. These new fascisms, although they seem isolated from the international system, in general entail high costs for countries and their peoples in the defense of democratic systems and the defense of human rights. Something that cost humanity and world citizens so much to conquer and consolidate in many cases

Stories not far removed in time, such as the case of the Argentine Republic that suffered the scourge of dictatorial regimes that suppressed the rule of law and destroyed all human rights, escalating ideological battles that left thousands of deaths and forced disappearances by the militarized State, and a history of cracks for a Republic with a peaceful and hard-working civil society, these are the referential histories that must be taken into account when we think about the fragility of republican and democratic political regimes in the West and other continents.

The 21st century is the century of the explosion of new technologies. These ICTs new technologies have the significance of a unique and unprecedented revolution that also offers important benefits for the improvement of the quality of human life, and the improvement of the democratic electoral and political system in operation in the world.

The new technologies and the information society planned by the most important companies in the world leading in communication and information, and supported by Western States, and also the United Nations, constitute a new axis of planning and thinking for the defense of systems institutional and the projection of the improvement of the quality of life from its derivatives of cybernetics, cybersecurity, computerized global health and the dreaded artificial intelligence.

The study and socialization of knowledge of the control and surveillance systems that drive new technologies are a central point in academic study that we think can contribute to a more stable world political order and a new system of world cooperation.

For this reason, the foreign policy of the States and the diplomacy of each Ministry of Foreign Affairs of each country would need to focus on the professional updating of these issues so that the professional negotiation of the present and near future focuses on the need for programs for the maintenance and consolidation of healthy liberal political regimes and efficient democracies.

And with this, accompany politics with programs for the application of new technologies in bureaucracies and in politics, so that they absorb the best of the system together with the private sector, to which this century owes the high level of development in the subject. Public Diplomacy, Digital Diplomacy and artificial intelligence added to the activity of designing the country's policy in the external and internal order.

Ambassadors 4.0 must not only be updated and responsive to the application of new technologies, but must become negotiation tools in favor of the mixed public-private international system that supports democratic regimes hand in hand with the founding Western countries and defenders of democracy and human rights.

1.1 World Order, foreign policy, and democracies

Thinking about a more democratic world and a continent and country that consolidate their development, growth and peace under republican and democratic systems, in the institutional political order, forces us to understand that this is directly linked and linked to an international policy that defends national interests and the consensus policies generated by civil society.

The State, its rulers and civil society must be direct beneficiaries of an international policy formulated and designed by professionals and academics to put at the service of the country's executive power, as the primary and most developed republican institutions function.

There is an increasing need to study academically the capacities of insertion and integration in order to design a contemporary, modern and dynamic foreign policy formulation that can execute its objectives with constancy and durability.

The solution to the disorders of post-modernity lies largely in the generation of policies for a State with legal security, institutionality, and technological support.

This can improve the task of collaborating in the better international insertion of the state and integration into the world order that is dynamically in mutation, and that requires its follow-up by rulers, intellectuals and thinkers who can analyze content and prepare strategies and tactics to navigate the world order in an intelligent and pragmatic way. with the deserved democratic prestige that implies in itself a political value that collaborates with Argentina's international insertion in the global order.

1.2 The state of contemporary democracy in the world

According to the latest studies on the problems of democratization and institutionalization of states, democratic regimes may unfortunately be suffering from a process of real global regression. The warnings about the fragility of the democratic system in these analyses warn us that the population living in a democracy has gone from accounting for more than 50% of the global population to less than 20% in recent years.

This democratic fragility, calculated by consulting firms specialized in measuring democratic indices of states, also indicate in a staggered manner that, from 1920 to 2021, it went from the affectation to democratic systems of the order of 3%, to drastic fascist moments

in the 40s that led democratic fragility to blows of 40% and 60% of negative affectations. and they raised the fragility of democracy between 2020 and 2021 by percentages that almost reach 60%. ²

In the in-depth analysis of the Italian political scientist Gianfranco Pasquino in his work "New Course in Political Science" he describes contemporary governments and democracies, and indicates that the only possible democracy in the face of the political fragility of political and partycratic representation, is what he calls modern democracy: "(...) which implies that the system is perfected within a governmental political regime with capacities for broad political participation, transparency in governance and a sense of social benefits that achieve the health and social security of the citizens of each country" (2011:226) ³.

We make our own this interpretation that gives meaning to contemporary democracy and that is sustained by its current virtues and scheme of action.

This democratic system of government that, in the face of the harshest world of realism and balance of powers, always appears as a response for the order and peace of States, the generation of greater international cooperation and the inclusion of global citizenship in new technologies: It is also the greatest guarantor of the sanitation of the political and institutional regime of government, through the constitutional control bodies. The consolidation of democratic principles that clean up political and government regimes and collaborate with transparency and political participation.

With this, it undoubtedly reaches international politics, which is responsible for globalizing the benefits of democratic systems in the international order. Even in times of wars, overflows and chaos. Democracy appears and represents as a political and philosophical response of humanity to perfect its coexistence in societies and in the world system. To generate more transparency and less corruption in the legal system

The twentieth century constituted, in modern and contemporary history, an international system ordered by agreements and pacts. This arose with the social nature of man himself in ancient times and in antiquity. Societies generated their own system of coexistence between tribes, societies and States. Systems developed not without a little conflict, and sustained by a balance of powers, wars and peace agreements. From there, humanity has moved towards the gradual construction of a system of solidarity and peaceful alliances, which would move as far

² A third wave of autocratization is here: what is new about it? Anna Lürmann and Staffan Lindberg, 2019 VOL. 26, NO 7 1095-1113. Available in <https://doi.org/10.1080/135110347.2019.1582029>

³ "New Political Science Course". Gianfranco Pasquino. Page 226. Fondo de Cultura Económica, first edition. Year 2011

away as possible from the fateful history of wars and confrontations between princes, kingdoms and states, to give way to pacts of international cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The world order of the twentieth century was built through great and bloody wars and genocides. States and their governments confronted each other in two great world wars, peoples confronted each other over xenophobia, borders and fascism; and they endured the global scourge of Soviet communist domination, ideological and ethnic conflicts that left millions of humans dead in trenches, battlefields and places of torture and extermination that placed human beings on the verge of madness and incomprehension of the very concept of human-Christian coexistence.

Wilsonian idealism and the success of the West in World War II allowed for the drafting of a charter for the protection of international peace and security, which was signed in San Francisco in 1945, the Charter of the United Nations. The dogmatic value of the Charter is the very conception of a single world state, without ideological, political or economic barriers, which allowed the world to agree on peace and security, even understanding at that time the non-Western, socialist and dictatorial systems that joined the concept of building a single world. On the contrary, the order of the UN bodies did not respect this egalitarian system by creating a Security Council with a composition of five powers with veto in each vote. But dogma and values, it was sought in the Charter to keep all parties, dictatorships and communisms included as well.

When we think of democracy, it is no less important that we become politically and morally aware that the United Nations Charter does not have in its dogmatic text the words democracy, republic or communism, as well as any ideological or government term that excludes the citizens of the world and their states, with a clear inclusive vocation.

The Charter of the United Nations is inclusive, without ideologies at the end of the Second World War, both in relation to the regimes of the nation states and to various political internationals that supported various internationalized ideological partyocracies. To sustain these general and broad principles of the system born in San Francisco, the leaders who generated the international system relied on a scheme of balance and cooperation that they were demarcated in the meetings that ordered the post-war Tehran in 1943, Dumberton Oaks in 1944, Yalta in 1945 and the Potsdam Conference of 1945 and the agreements derived from it.

This order, embodied in the Chapultepec Conference in the 1945 Charter, went through delicate moments of balance and various threats and conflicts. During the so-called Cold War, the system of balance of power embodied in the functioning of the United Nations and in the

world political reality based on a bipolar scheme. An order that could always remain on alert and containment due to the balances agreed by the Western and Socialist blocs that took the containment of the global order to the extreme during the post-war period and the Cold War.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, this balance and system of cooperation based on threats and stops, managed to be maintained many years after the Great War, and ended up only fading into the international system when communism finally came to an absolute end with the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

With growing capitalism, the globalization of industry, and the weight of technologies in liberal Western regimes, communism was relegated to a non-central or non-central position of power, with the systemic dictatorships of China, Cuba, and North Korea remaining intact. And Vietnam for many years.

The fall of the socialist communist regime was also precipitated at the end of the eighties, due to the same political and economic contradictions, added to the ideological falsehoods maintained by dictatorial pacts.

This also allowed the immediate generation of unipolar power and the strategic military and economic growth of the United States and the Western countries embraced in the post-war period by the Marshall Plan, and the future regional and multilateral organizations that contained the continent in its economies, its integration and development

This is how the system of economic, financial and commercial organizations generated by the Bretton Woods Conference grew and strengthened. At the same time, the policies led by the United States, the allies of the North Atlantic Organization, the European Economic Community and Japan, a fundamental ally of the West since the end of the Second World War, grew in the strategic order.

By the 1990s, a liberal order of industrial and technological origin called globalization was defined impulsively, rapidly and increasingly, which was driven by North American industrial growth, global inclusion on the map of Southeast Asia, and policies that allowed the expansion of the international banking and financial system and international trade. from the United Nations agencies and from the support of the new unipolar and expanded West in an apparently progressive and infinite way.

The birth of powers in the East and the generation of the European integration system would give greater world balance to the same gigantic growth of the North American power in the second half of the twentieth century.

This change in the configuration of power of the post-war order gave way to the great industrialization and global technologization by the United States, the European Community, Japan and Southeast Asia, with positive results for the economies and development of millions of citizens of developing countries. A dreamed system of international cooperation promoted by the United Nations worked for many decades.

However, with the passage of time, the failure of the strict recipes designed by some multilateral economic organizations and the breadth of the system of financial loans for global growth reached a limit, which caused serious exclusions, affecting various developing and poor states, and which were gradually left out of the world game also socially excluded from any global panorama of development. Partly due to the positive world globalization that took place at the end of the twentieth century in the world political and economic order, but above all in the advances derived from it in the revolution of technologies, the information society and the communication society.

In parallel to the Cold War, the years of great economic development in the Americas, Europe and the economic and political emergence of China and Southeast Asia, the minds dedicated to philosophical and political thought were developing the discipline of international relations and the academic study of international politics, which would generate a theoretical framework and ideas around the new role of the Western world. of freedoms and democracy, of human rights, and of the formulation and design of foreign public policies and tools of professional diplomacy that adjust to this new world order.

This discipline was born with the aim of defending national, regional, integration and global interests, through the very generation and development of the United Nations. In this century, the UN Agenda also includes in its Sustainable Development Goals SDGs the sustainability of democracies and the development of new technologies.

1.3 Latin America in the twentieth century

It is pertinent to give a special place to the region in which Argentina is inserted. In the case of Latin America, the problems of the conflict and fragility of the democratic system did not escape our own analyses in the 1980s and 1990s, of outstanding political science works, such as those of Guillermo O'Donnell, Marcelo Cavarozzi and Tulio Halperín Donghi.

These authors describe the political regimes in Latin America in the two hundred years of the continent's life, and point out in detail the ups and downs of democracies and the causes that have allowed so many advances in democratic systems, mainly highlighting the direct

effects on the dignity of the person and human rights by trying to impose fascist political regimes. dictatorial, liberal conservatives, "everything that contributed to the constitutional, institutional and democratic inconstancy in the continent and the need to overcome such inconstancies trapped in various political crises combined with continuous global and regional systemic economic and financial crises that affect the states of the Latin continent." ⁴

Despite these conditions, Alfonso Santiago points out that "despite the crises, difficulties and great challenges that democratic systems face today (populism, crisis of political representation and political parties, corruption, social inequality, etc.), they – democratic systems – continue to be the model or paradigm of social and political organization with the most validity in today's world"⁵. And the author adds: "According to The Economist today there are 21 countries in the world with full democracies (12.6%), 53 nations with imperfect democracies (31.7%), 34 with hybrid regimes (20.4%) and 59 with authoritarian systems (35.3%). Although much remains to be achieved, the current situation is notably better than that which existed at the end of the Second World War"⁴.

These figures and Santiago's proposal raise alarms about the fragility of the political and democratic representative system, which raises special concern for the need for its consolidation in Argentina and all of Latin America.

Latin America benefited in the twentieth century from its autonomous, neutralist capacities and strategic associativism with the United States and in the region itself. Various governments also fought the growth of the growing empire of the north, despite all of which allowed its relative regional development, improved in Latin America, the subregion, and at the same time generated its global indebtedness as a result of bad administrations and incapacities in the leadership linked to statist, directional programs, which from developmentalism and extreme liberalism generated chaotic administrations in key countries in the development of the continent. Brazil, Colombia, Chile and Argentina itself went through these periods.

These countries suffered heavy blows to their democracies and republican and institutional systems due to equivocal influences external to the Americanist spirit, and linked to socialist or statist projects that suffocated economies and unbalanced institutionalality.

After that, a strong liberal current emerged as a Latin American political countercurrent, supported by the so-called textbook democracies, in reference to schools dedicated to these

⁴ "Authoritarianism and Democracy (1955-2006)". Marcelo Cavarozzi, Chapter II, Ariel Publishing, second edition.

⁵ "The dignity of the human person: foundations of the national and international legal order" (2022) by Alfonso Santiago. Page 25. Ed Abaco, first edition.

proposals, which would have relative successes in Argentina, Colombia and Chile in the nineties mainly.

Thus, in the eighties and nineties, these aforementioned socialist statist directions were redirected and the world financial, economic and political globalization, and the abysmal over-indebtedness of the Latin American economies affected these countries, which finally chose to return to the course of policies that until then they did not consider. They projected policies aimed at open or perispheric regionalism, and policies and strategies were designed marked by perispheric realism and political and economic liberalism.

In the institutional order, most countries and their governments turned in favor of institutional systems based again on democratic principles and precepts that, with more or less populism, established political regimes that navigated the balance of their stability and projected wealth.

The new political leaders in Latin America seem to be more aware of the need to consolidate the region and subregion, to carry out strategies and alliances with stable and developing capitalisms, to stay away from ideological and socializing drawings, and to rely on the electoral order and the format of government in strengthened democracies and Republics consolidated in their powers and the growing human and civil rights of their societies. Argentina had a decade of political glory supported by perispheric realism and liberal neorealism, ending years of socializing, statist and even fascist projects that failed to disintegrate the country from world currents.

Argentina is going through the twenty-first century in 2023 with the first forty-40 years of the democratic system. The country does not have extreme nationalist or liberal proposals at this point, although surely in the government that is born at the end of 2023 one of the two currents with more or less State intervention in politics, institutions and in the economy and trade may prevail.

In principle, there seem to be coincidences of thought in the political parties, on issues that are not minor for the success of their future governability, which are: consolidation of the democratic system, rule of law, fight against corruption, support for government transparency and sustainability of a developmental and open economic policy that allows combating inflation and growing poverty (currently located at 53%), and the urgent development of an international policy that maintains the interests of the State and the interests of social consensus, allowing exports and direct investments from abroad to grow, which are key to the generation of work

and employment. It also provides for the incorporation of new technologies in the state and private economy and commerce.

Argentina has yet to institutionally consolidate the Republic that is correctly written and designed in the national Constitution, which embodies the historical republican values and principles and, since the 1994 reform, also the norms and principles that establish the political coexistence of democracies and their values directly derived from this constitutional agreement.

When we talk about foreign policy and democracy, it is currently imperative for us to reflect on the need to link the internal and the external in a more real and institutional way in order to formulate a foreign policy under the institutional matrices of its internal constitutional and political order of the real federal country.

The correct formulation of a foreign policy must undoubtedly duly consider the weight of real and potential resources and axes of wealth: the enormous maritime coastline, oil and gas reserves and lithium, just to name a few. These resources and other technological industries position the country as a key player with which to establish strategic relationships that allow the country a better global insertion.

2 The contemporary challenges to design foreign policy

2.1 Isolation and post-globalization in democracy

Thinking about a country like the Argentine Republic, the first study that seems to be necessary from the academic and intellectual order, from interest and pressure groups and from *think tanks*, together with the executors of foreign policy, refers to the study of the world order and the conditions generated in our history by isolationist ideological positions.

When the design of the foreign formulation falls into the hands of studious scientists and mostly professionals in the knowledge of the world order, it is discovered that this seesaw is false, and the powers and other states point out, as Henry Kissinger points out in his writings, based on interests: "the interests of the powers undoubtedly have a greater margin of liberal, political and commercial openness and the countries known as peripheral often need to protect themselves from these interests. expansionist trade giants."⁶

⁶ "Diplomacy" (1995) by Henry Kissinger. Fondo de Cultura Económica. First Edition. Pensar, Fortaleza, v. 28, n. 3, p. 1-36, jul./set. 2023

However, what scholars and analysts advise is to think about strategic alliances, which discard the isolating nationalist positions that no longer fit in Argentine history, nor in military times that caused so much damage, nor in times of democracy, where the opportunity for a healthier republican model provides great opportunities to show itself as a reliable and legally viable ally. Today, the commerce of states and technology and service companies needs partners with high human resources such as Argentine professionals, to develop their full capabilities. To have this, institutional stability, legal guarantees, transparency, rules of the game, more and more democracy are required.

International relations, in this era of post-globalization, have been strongly affected by the revolution of new technologies. They were also affected by the inconsistencies of the international financial system and the emergence of a neo-revolutionary and cultural progressive discourse, with supposedly postmodern and neo-democratic thoughts, which do not conform to classical or predictable parameters or values.

This new format of post-modern thinking about which we are warning must be taken into consideration, especially among young people. These new open and dynamic rules of the game have appeared for the positioning of new actors in international politics and global governance. New spaces were opened up imposed by states, NGOs, foundations, transnational corporations, *unicorns*⁷, and citizens in active roles.

Countries like ours should always favor policies in favor of a renewed system of cooperation that considers the parameters of this new global governance, that does not formulate or design policies with anachronistic or erroneous, nationalist or isolationist diagnoses, but on the contrary that understands the roles of the new entities of weight in regionalist international politics. open and participatory. The roles of public diplomacy, parliamentary diplomacy and digital diplomacy.

But in addition to incorporating new technologies into policymaking, it should always deepen the institutionality of its republican system, the rule of law, the guarantees of coexistence in democracy and development and international insertion

2.2 Permanent war, international terrorism and the democratic system

Only the democratic system has gone through thousands of years of humanitarian coexistence in times of war and peacetime, showing more often than not that its principles and

⁷ Emerging companies, or startups, valued at more than 1,000 million dollars.

values have been adjusted to more easily negotiate peace in times of war, functioning as a natural instrument of international relations.

The phenomena referred to permanent war and international terrorism are installed in international relations and therefore in the policies dependent on it, such as public policies such as foreign policy and the diplomatic tool.

A clear example is the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine in 2022 and 2023. This conflict affects not only the European region, but also ours. Our country's interpretation of the conflict is part of our foreign policy, our diplomacy and Argentina's acute vision of the international order. This does not imply, of course, that the country has or can have any kind of participation – direct or indirect – in this war, but it does imply that it will receive the benefits or conditions of it, like all the countries in the system

The premise of accepting the term "permanent war" in the new order appears as an academic explanatory synthesis that facilitates the understanding of the set of wars and conflicts that exist on the global stage in a silent, technological way, without borders or flags, and in a constant and practically permanent way.

In this century, countries still maintain conflicts of all kinds and styles: classical, nationalist, religious, fundamentalist, ethnic, border, terrorism, drug trafficking, power and governments, and even civil wars. In Latin America, the percentage of presence of Organized Crime conflicts reaches 40%.

With organized crime and all its implications in human trafficking, drug trafficking, smuggling, illegal mining and arms sales, nowadays it is very difficult for international relations and international politics to seek to improve the transparency and strength of systems of political representation and democratic forms of government.

To this we must add the fact that there are also anachronistic political positions in Latin America, still dominated by inorganic and nationalist interests, which are present; more in the subcontinent than in the world order.

That is why the duty to be appears even stronger, when we become historically and politically aware that democracy is the form of government that most efficiently sanitizes and favors the international system and the world order, and the one that would best allow us a path towards transparency and institutionality with governmental political capacities to initiate changes from political-institutional anachronisms and fight organized crime. a combat so necessary in such a scenario.

Let us consider that from a philosophical and political point of view, the consolidation of republics, democracies and systems of freedom and defense of human rights are a strategic topic that favors peace, international cooperation and facilitates the search for solutions to world conflicts. This has worked in the history of humanity and must now navigate in the contemporary world bathed in the benefits of new technologies that incorporate well-being into the information and communication societies on a daily basis.

We cannot ignore the analytical and serious thinking that the existence and present and permanent threat of fundamentalism and fundamentalist terrorism, dictatorial formats associated with holy wars that do conceive the concept of permanent or constant war, in an extreme way, also affect the world order and the path of democracies. where the end justifies the means and humanity is the last thing in the consideration of one's own ideas.

Extremism is always the cause and consequence of permanent war. Because we know that this is intimately linked to ideologies, religions, ethnicities, nationalisms and borders, the business of organized crime and drug trafficking and the trade in global strategic materials and weapons.

o the global, classic, satellite and drone arms race; and the gigantic military budgets of the powers applied to these wars, on a global scale we must today add fundamentalist extremism and narco-terrorism, which contribute to the development of wars in silence and generate thousands of deaths of human lives due to anonymous extremist attacks.

It is worth remembering that Argentina was a direct target of this race, when, due to policies of international positioning, it was the victim of the explosion of the Israeli Embassy in 1992 and the attack on the Israeli Mutual Association in Argentina, in 1994. This generated ups and downs in foreign policy decision-making, and years later forced former President Menem to recognize responsibilities in decisions that could have provoked such reactions after sending frigates to the Gulf War in 1991.

In addition, it was necessary to go through years of international judicial investigations that are still fruitless, to understand that, in the agenda of strategic and international affairs, issues related to the external order in regions or areas of extremist action, have very high costs for countries that are not prepared to participate in it. And that philosophically and politically it seems not to be justified, in terms of losses and gains

2.3 Democracy and integration in foreign policy

Argentina incorporated the democratic system into the constitutional charter in 1994. Prior to that, the Sáenz Peña Law and subsequent regulations consolidated and expanded the democratic electoral system of representation. Since 1983, with the end of the militaristic systems of government, Argentina has incorporated into its political practice and civic culture the form of democratic government and a way of life of democratic quality that seeks the harmony of civil society, even in party dissent or internal orders that make up national political life.

Likewise, Argentina has the advantage of not belonging, fortunately and in a privileged way, to the club of countries involved and involved in what we call permanent war or the permanent circle of international terrorism in its most violent expressions.

We must not forget that Argentina in the seventies was the victim of confrontations in society, of wars and ideological cracks and guerrillas, which confronted nationalist, socialist and extreme right-wing political ideas and thoughts, supported by internal and external systems; all of which put our democratic system in check.

The repression of the State was immeasurable. The thousands of missing people were a national cause with global repercussions. The country resisted for many years, between 1976 and 1983, enduring fictitious institutional systems until reaching the democratic electoral solution, which made it possible to advance in reinstating republican and democratic institutions.

With these events linked to violence in its internal political history and in its international evolution and image, Argentina was strengthened and became a leading and exemplary country in the field of human rights, both in the continent and in the world, as well as before international organizations, NGOs and world forums. which is still in force today. This allowed the cause of human rights to be taken up on the foreign policy agenda, and to show the world that our democracy can be inserted based on ethical values.

Democracy began to be a more real value and a permanent demand of society, until its inclusion in writing in the National Constitution in the Constituent Congress of Santa Fe in 1994. This democratic spirit present since 1983, but especially since 1994, facilitated a common thought of self-recognition and belonging to the South American region, and other continental neighbors.

As the country mobilized together with the democratic Western world and other different political cultures, bonds were strengthened that became flesh in the political leadership. At the end of the 1980s, and especially in the 1990s, the need for regional integration began to be

understood for growth, development and institutional consolidation of the internal and external order, political relations and the construction of trade policies and regional and international integration.

Brazil and Argentina were the object of study for years by local analysts who sought greater political alliances, trying to scrutinize causes of political history, wars or border problems and absurd commercial competitions. But in these years the foreign minister and the professional diplomatic corps have advanced more deeply. They designed the alliance of the integration program with Brazil and gave rise to the birth of a functional scheme of regional and international economic relations. Mercosur, born in those years, owes its mother idea and driving force to such a program. The integration of the four founding countries and their associates came to become the number one pillar of Argentine foreign policy when we talk about international insertion. It was not done with a protectionist scheme, as is commonly criticized, but with the openness designed for a customs community and with the natural limits of the scales of the economies of each member. In the years following its birth, Mercosur was able to grow organically and institutionally, feeding on its structure composed of the Secretariat, Council and Commission, Court of Controversies and Mercosur Parlasur Parliament.

The best institutional result in the region has been Mercosur. A Mercosur allied with the Pacific Alliance, the European Union, the countries of the European Free Trade Agreement with Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland, with Mexico and the United States.

Just as Mercosur was born, with that regional, institutional and commercial spirit and value, a continuous professional diplomacy is plausible, always with a conjunctural and proactive analysis so that Mercosur not only remains standing, but is strengthened through its greater insertion in the world and a concrete external projection.

2.4 Economic integration and trade promotion: consolidating democracy

Essential elements for consolidating a democratic republican system are that the development of its internal political order is transparent in the institutional and functional order and provides a higher quality of life and, in the external political order, international policy is directed towards export and investment objectives that allow for faster growth and development, production, consumption and employment.

In a framework of transparency, work and harmonious social security, international politics is the direct injector of capital and jobs that strengthen democracy.

The formulation of foreign policy means the assumption of the main incorporation of international economic relations: trade promotion; this is the understanding of the pragmatic objective for which foreign policy must be designed in thought and execution

In this sense, it seems fair to emphasize that the decade of the nineties, beyond the ideological formulation of peripheral realism, was the one that allowed the most efficient development of these international economic and commercial policies from the executive branch and from professional diplomacy. The reforms promoted in Argentina in the 1990s by Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella⁸ and his political and professional diplomacy team gave the deserved place to the formulation of a foreign policy focused on commercial and business diplomacy

Democracy is always strengthened when its economic policy and in particular its export policy of direct investment of foreign capital, allows the quality of life of its people to be raised. Democracy can be better supported by these policies the more professional and prepared the agents of the State are, and the diplomatic corps is an example of professionals and technicians, few highly trained men. Most of them are trained in international economic negotiations, market and investment capture, market research and promotion and business intelligence

Likewise, all commercial diplomacy must transmit the spirit of economic federalism, which is another of the tools that collaborates with our federal democratic and constitutional system. A historical system, which meets the increasingly urgent needs of the regional economies, of each province, of each municipality.

As noted, diplomacy benefits from digital diplomacy and public diplomacy. And you can always benefit from new technologies. Companies and the State appear as the best critical mass to improve the country's international insertion missions. Companies in the communication and information sector need a permanent and privileged place in the commercial diplomacy designed in the foreign policy of the State.

If we want to talk about efficient democracies, it is good to incorporate into these principles that foreign policy is a generator of employment. When the foreign service can deploy adequate diplomacy for trade promotion and investment, through negotiations and missions, its insertion and exchange effects become a tool that in the immediate term results in income and generates employment in the country.

⁸ In the 90s, the then Foreign Minister of the Nation, Guido Di Tella, promoted the creation of the Export Foundation, which created trade promotion centers in the main Argentine consulates abroad. Officials from the Ministry of Economy were incorporated and assimilated to diplomacy. The primary mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the diagnosis, prospection and proposals and policies in the commercial order and in favor of investments.

2.5 New Technologies: Knowledge and Communication for Democracy

In our current times, new technologies are the fundamental tool in the international system, which also directly affects States, their policies and their diplomacy. New ICT technologies necessarily accompany the communication system in foreign policy, particularly applied to the mission of promoting trade and investment.

New ICT Technologies are the set of technologies that allow the "access, production, processing and communication of information presented in different text, image and sound codes. The most representative element of ICT is a computer or PC, and even more representative is the Internet.

ICTs have their own immanent characteristics that allow them to have a very relevant influence on international society, states, electoral systems, political regimes and diplomatic formats.

The characteristics are: immateriality, interactivity, interconnection, instantaneity, high quality of image and sound, digitalization, influence on processes

But in addition, the effects of ICT on societies and global citizens can be clearly seen on educational systems and specifically on the communication technology of foreign policy and diplomacy.

Because new technologies have, in addition to specific applications, distinctive scopes such as the following: capacity to reach multiple sectors, automation in professional and social tasks, global and public communication networks such as the Internet and access through the World Wide Web that have generated innumerable protocols in favor of communication and information for each user. In addition, the capacity of ICTs to reach a wide diversity of applications for private or public communication must be added, which can affect electoral systems or encryption of a national and international diplomatic system.

We have seen that unfortunately in this century we are far from some of the new technologies of central or developed countries in this area, which provide technologies of global scope; He is still part of a club of the few, "a club closed in the global system".⁹

We consider that the benefits of new technologies to the world's population still have little to do with the "improved quality of life of the peoples", both in European countries and in

⁹ "The Diplomacy of Conspiracy" (2013) Bertrand Badie. Ed EDUNTREF. First Edition.

African countries lethally affected by poverty, lack of health and education, added to religious conflicts and other disputes that appear to be multiplied at a faster rate.

The foreign policy of states and world organizations and international diplomacy face new challenges, more so from the global technological advance. Precise studies in this area should be proposed in each department that designs international policy, because the decisions to be made tied to new technologies and with control over them will surely be of greater certainty and efficiency.

2.6 The Information Society and the New Order

In the twentieth century, UNESCO, through the Mac Bride Report¹⁰, gave rise to the birth of the Knowledge Society promoted and promoted by UNESCO, and the process of United Nations intervention in States and companies began with the aim of democratically and fairly extending information and communications.

The name of the document "One World, Multiple Voices" presented to the XXI General Conference of UNESCO in Belgrade in 1980, was elaborated by Sean Mac Bride and a group of communication experts. The report described the communication system in the 1980s, denounced the imbalances in the issue, advocated the global democratization of information, and referred to the links between communication problems and socio-economic and cultural structures, giving a political character to the problem of communication. The defense of the right to information and the denunciation of the global media concentration, as well as the critical spirit of the report, earned it to be highly criticized by the world of transnational information, private and the United States.

The report focused on the needs for expansion and democratization of the technological scope of the large global communication and computer companies (at the time particularly of North American origin), it would not clearly have a happy destiny to stand as a voice of the UN confronted with the communications and information community.

Globalization and economic transnationalization, hand in hand with the large corporations of new technologies, transformed this process, turning the report and the position of UNESCO into defenders of a critical and socializing position. It was not a report with a future forecast either; because it never foresaw the open and liberalized nature of the new future,

¹⁰ The Mc Bride Report, also known as "Multiple Voices, One World", is a UNESCO document published in 1980 and drafted by the commission chaired by the Irish Nobel Peace Prize winner Sean Mc Bride. The aim of the report was to analyze the problems of communication in the world and modern societies, particularly of mass communication and the international press, and then to suggest a new communicational order to solve these problems and resolve peace.

of the power of the dominant world powers and companies in the field of communication, information and big data.

In 2017, according to the International Telecommunication Union's (ITU) Information Society Measurement Report, "the world estimated that there were over 3,500 million Internet users, 48 percent of the world's population."¹¹ The same report also indicates that growth has been accelerated and large-scale in the last decade; “ (...) in 2005 connected users were 15.8% percent of the world's population; in 2010 they were 28.9% percent; and in 2015 they were 43.2% percent. Other recent studies indicate that in 2019 the number of Internet users was 4,000 million, and in 2021 they would reach 4,500 million people in the world."The global expansion of the Internet from the 1990s to the present day was a commitment to a greater democratization of communication: more connected users would mean more presence, votes and voices and greater diversity, alternatives to media concentration and unified discourse.

There is no doubt that in the eighties the democratizing discourse of new technologies supported by UNESCO fell before the realism of the new twenty-first century with the repositioning of the utilitarian and efficient values of information and other new technologies. Even today there are different social movements and counter-hegemonic media in the world that use the network not controlled by these democratizing rebels, to spread their ideas, organize, exchange information. But beyond the free existence of thinkers and people who disagree with the current centralized system of information control, it should be noted that an exponential growth of large companies in the area of information and communication technologies (ICT) in recent years has led to a strong concentration of power on the Internet. This conglomerate is also known as The Network made up of the companies Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple and Microsoft, known as GAFAM.¹²

On this problem of concentration of information and its control, and communications, Ignacio Ramonet wrote in (2016). The empire of surveillance Ed. Capital intelectual, Buenos Aires that: "No one is safe from the global spy network" The Net is about to suffer violent centralization around colossal private enterprises: the so-called GAFAM, American companies on a planetary scale and that monopolize the different facets of the Network"¹³

¹¹ Report on the Measurement of the Information Society 2017. International Telecommunication Union. Year 2017, available in: https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Documents/publications/misr2017/MISR2017_ES_S.pdf

¹² GAFAM, an acronym given to the five largest U.S. technology companies: Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, and Microsoft.

¹³ "The Empire of Surveillance" (2016) Ignacio Ramonet. Ed Intellectual Capital. First edition. Page 17.

The United Nations has proposed within its SDGs of the 2030 Agenda, to ensure access to the internet for a greater number of people. Companies such as Google and Facebook have taken on this challenge and have already launched projects such as hot air balloons or drones that provide connectivity in remote points, reaching 4,000 million people around the world, according to Mark Zuckerberg's own estimates.¹⁴

The criticism of companies lies in what they will do with the data of these millions of users. Following the line set out by Ramonet, "without doubting at all the intention of these giants of the Internet to improve the destiny of humanity, we can ask ourselves if commercial considerations do not also motivate it, since the main wealth of these companies is the number of connected people".¹⁵

What the United Nations, the ITU and the companies in control of the Information Society are asking for, coincide in the objective of reducing the digital divide by increasing the number of Internet browsers throughout the planet. Generate greater access to online information, more connections, and the use of the benefits offered by the Internet for all the inhabitants of the world. But the reality of today's world indicates that only a small group of companies, based in the world's leading power, control information and data and carry out important commercial businesses of advertising, marketing and games, and obtain more and more individual personal data from each of its millions of users every day. With ease in its control and without globally agreed rules in this regard. Task for diplomacy and digital diplomacy.

2.7 The new information technology, power and democracy

In studying the issue of new technologies, it is important to fully understand the problem of the concentration of power and control of ICTs by multinational corporations, and the sensitive political, governmental, economic, cultural, educational and moral issues that arise from them. Domestic Policy Issues and International Policy Issues. To this end, we will also meet with the world's leading expert in Big Data, Martin Hilbert. A researcher at the University of California-Davis, and an expert in digital networks and Big Data, he said: "The real source of power of networks has been to lead us to our narcissism, anger, anxiety, envy, disbelief, and by the way, to our lust" and adds: "The growth of digitalization was always exponential, but

¹⁴ Information obtained from the journalistic media El Cronista. May 28, 2014. Available in: <https://www.cronista.com/infotechnology/internet/Mark-Zuckerberg-quiere-brindar-conexion-a-Internet-a-traves-de-drones-20140328-0001.html>

¹⁵ "The Empire of Surveillance" (2016) by Ignacio Ramonet. Ed Intellectual Capital. Page 17.

the pandemic accelerated it on steroids. (..)People don't know how to deal with the power of algorithms, governments don't know how to use them in favor of the population, and companies are reluctant to adopt effective ethical guidelines. That should be of particular concern to Latin America, because they are leaders in the use of social networks."¹⁶

Following Hilbert's statements, we can become aware that the possession by companies of the information of the citizens of the world is the only growing and growing power with total power. Of the ten companies in the world priced at the highest price, five are information providers. In this regard, Hilbert reflects that "We have so much data and so much capacity to process it, to identify correlations, that we can make society very predictable. And when you can predict, you can program."¹⁷ Hilbert, in addition to being a computer expert, is known for having created the first study dedicated to calculating how much information there is in the world on the networks.

Notwithstanding what has been said, we understand that technology, used responsibly and benevolently, can be considered a revolutionary tool in the world economic and commercial system, it can carry out a program of democratization of the world communication and information system that contemplates social inequalities and economic needs. New technologies are a direct benefactor of labor, productive and labor benefits in the world of communications, transport, and commerce and food, which are in turn a chain that is nourished daily by the favors of ICTs. The financial world parallel to international business and trade also owes its moment of glory to the technology applied to them. Cryptocurrencies and virtual models of collection and payment are organized under a technological and big data world, and these are also necessary for the functioning of the new world economic-commercial system.

After overcoming the positions of the UN and UNESCO of the 1980s, the United States and the same companies linked to the Western communications and information network could not afford the limits that the Knowledge Society system requested and suggested for its administration. The United States left UNESCO for several years in protest against this situation, until years later when the system was transformed into a liberal and open system

The global problem of FAKE NEWS is related to what is currently called the filter bubble that alludes to the increasing self-reference of news and publications on the internet according to the topics of interest to users. Through algorithms that map the preferences of each navigator

¹⁶ Daniel Hopenhayn's interview with Martin Hilbert for BBC. 20 October 2020. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-54484758>

¹⁷ Daniel HopenHayn's interview with Martin Hilbert for The Clinic. January 19, 2017. Available in: <https://www.theclinic.cl/2017/01/19/martin-hilbert-experto-redes-digitales-obama-trump-usaron-big-data-lavar-cerebros/>

or user based on their digital footprint, sources of information with different points of view are filtered, creating cultural bubbles. This happens both in Google's personalized search, as well as in Facebook publications and in many websites that organize information based on the data obtained from users' choices and preferences. The information that each individual finds on the internet is related to their supposed preferences and their links on social networks, making each group an island due to filters, increasingly reduced against the diversity that is naturally generated by the world wide web.

For certainty and consideration of democratic parameters, we can affirm that today nothing prevents the handling of information regarding the user, the manipulation of the individual, social or commercial information that he receives and the manipulation of this set of elements that from a central network can manipulate the individual, his thought and ability to choose.

Therein lies the danger of not controlling the Internet from the international system and the States, without affecting at the same time, the Human Rights of the individual or his society or State. For this reason, the current legislation in each country, almost annually, generates new legislation for the protection of individual human rights linked to the information society, and intimately linked to the development of the democratic way of life.

This principle does not apply to foreign policy, because foreign policy, imbued with elementary principles that must defend national interests, still preserves confidential, secret and encrypted sources that are used in negotiations between states and in international organizations. But nothing can prevent these regulations from legally reaching diplomatic regulations and norms and affecting national conventions and laws, many of which are in the process of being modified. Abandoning reasons of State to give priority to human rights and individual freedoms does not favor either world order or democracy in the world. One more challenge brought by new technologies to contemporary world society.

2.8 Information and dependence on the Internet

The communications of today's world are handled in an unprecedented percentage through the Internet network; as we said, positively or negatively affecting politics, the State, diplomacy and citizens.

It is the internet that connects people and distributes graphic, photographic, sound and visual content, it is the internet where one finds all kinds of information. Internet technology, a

technology considered essential for the functioning of the contemporary world and civil society and governance, and the development of communications originated in the power that emerged after the Cold War and with the impetus of globalization, the United States. The U.S. state got involved.

Although we can attend documentaries or films or series that rescue the particular and private origin of computers and digital networks, the Internet network, beyond its management by advanced private companies, is a digital network financed by the U.S. state. The Department of Defense itself and the Advanced Research Projects Agency supported the development of the digital Internet network from the 1970s to the present day.

The Internet network advanced at great distances and speeds in its national and global technological development. First in 1969 through the arpanet network, then in 1972 it was possible to produce and present mail or electronic mail and by the eighties and during the years the first Internet transmission control protocol -TCP/IP- was published and the nominative of the Internet was adopted in communications. By the 1990s, the system made a giant leap forward with the creation of the World Wide Web. Likewise, in the nineties In the decade the computer world began to include applications and collaboration of academic communities and private companies from different countries, spreading becoming massive and planetary, leaving behind its origin and only national standard. In international politics, this course from the national to the international only awakens awareness of a clear strategy of expansion and control, beyond the good will of the United Nations and UNESCO.

The U.S. state and the Department of Defense collaborated with public and private laboratories in the development of the Internet up to the www guidelines. Even the development of the internet was born from the ideas of the United States military complex in the context of the Cold War, however globalization allowed it to assume it as a technological, strategic, mental and psychological tool of world power. The initial internet project thus acquired a universal character and the expansion of the capitalist economic model in the world facilitated this process.

The link between the U.S. government and researchers from universities and companies never disappeared. To date, there is a strong link between the state, the areas of defense, science and technology, the university academic community and the multiple sciences that are currently supported by the global digital network system. A system of power that also favorably feeds medicine, laboratories, public health, biology science, veterinary medicine, agronomy, engineering, mathematics, data science, statistics, and the social sciences as a whole.

At this point, it is worth noting that the international policy and foreign policy of states and international organizations depend absolutely on the support of the global digital network, which constitutes a challenge and a growth in the performance of various functions linked to political science and national and global diplomacy.

As Ramonet points out in "The Empire of Surveillance..." (p. 15) WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange asserts that "startups like Google, Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, and more recently Facebook have established close ties with the state apparatus in Washington, especially with foreign policymakers."

Assange also points out in Assange, J. (2014). *When Google found WikiLeaks*. Buenos Aires: Intellectual Capital that "Google, one of the ever-evolving communication companies, doubled its stock market value between 2011 and 2015, and its penetration into global society, in terms of interaction with individuals, has increased more than that of any other company of equal size" (p 106)

Today, a company of the size and impact of Google always has the support and support of Washington, the US intelligence agency CIA and the State Department in charge of international relations. The entire state and its main structures depend on the good day-to-day functioning of Google and the other large companies. Google owns a project called "Google Ideas" directly linked to Iranian communities that would demonstrate the company's collaboration with U.S. international cooperation policies. But in this case, and as Julian Assange points out in the book "When Google Found WikiLeaks", there is ample evidence of the link between the internet giant and the United States government, becoming a policy of favors that sustains the global strategic system.

There is thus a network of alliances and joint policies and cooperation between the various actors of the information, power and communications system. A common point in terms of dependence on the internet system and the controlled global digital network. Alliances run from developed nation states, international organizations, power groups, the military apparatus of states, international security systems and the giant companies and industries of the Internet, of the Web. A unique network of alliances between political power, the information system, the dominant mainstream media, the giants of new technologies. Technological. When debates take place about the power capacities of emerging or enriched powers and powers, it must be understood that in this sense of new technologies, the United States, in a unipolar manner and allied with Western, European, and Eastern countries, undeniably constitute the only system that can be qualified as a military power in the world. Global private companies that dominate

new Internet technologies accompany this powerhouse. The other powers, such as China, Russia, Germany or Japan, may be strong in the commercial and scientific and technological order, but they do not manage to surpass these capacities of the unipolar power in this century, basically derived from the strong system of alliances. The Roman Empire functioned for a century under this system of strategic alliances with dominance and international cooperation. The Western leader continues to develop it quite similarly, and supports the capacities of power and control in a new world order surrendered to new technologies, a network of world power.

Because the internet is undoubtedly one of the most powerful technological tools in the world and like all technology it can be used for various purposes, for the common good or for dissuasive or even perverse purposes. Figures from the United Nations ITU indicate that almost 4,000 million people in the world are users of the Internet and digital computer connections. The power of this network is strongly projected into the politics, economic and social life of the world. To the extent that the United States and large companies work around new ICT technologies, the world order can and must collaborate so that the balance of power and the conflicted world full of threats and dark and silent terrorist wars, the current century returns to the formation of pacts of cooperation and solidarity.

The issue of new technologies, powers and the generation of a new multilateral world order that recovers values and principles of solidarity, is something that currently involves at least half of the world's population that uses new technologies, and ultimately the entire world population that requires economic and commercial improvements in order to move towards sustainable development that sustains global cooperation. A sustainable development sustained in democracy.

2.9 The question of information control and the new order

The speed of development of the application of new technologies by world governance, States and civil societies and peoples, and the digital revolution generated by it in this century, has facilitated the control of individuals through the Internet. After the appearance of fundamentalist terrorism, and the attacks in the twenty-first century of the magnitude of September 11 on the Twin Towers in 2001 and the attack in Spain on the Atocha station, among others, the world has begun the permanent study and generation of a system of constant and universal surveillance with the aim of strengthening the security of Western countries.

The United States, NATO and Western governments mainly raise a permanent alert that does not exclude any place on the planet. In Latin America there are also attacks of fundamentalist formats, Argentina suffered in 1992 the blowing up of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires and in 1994 an explosion that destroyed the headquarters of the building of the Israeli Association of the country, leaving 87 dead and hundreds injured.

From then on, priority has been given in any national, regional or continental strategy to fight terrorism and other similar scourges. Governments, even the most democratic, became states in alarm, and used systems of espionage, torture, kidnappings, counterattacks, and silent wars based on the use of new technologies. Drones go from being a tool for territorial and food development, to becoming a silent lethal weapon and cunning solver specialized in the elimination of dangerous subject leaders located in their darkest caves, also through revolutionary technology. There are no borders in it, neither air, sea nor land, although it is claimed that no other country is being intervened. The destruction and elimination of terrorism will have no limits for the West in the quest to destroy terrorist fundamentalism, basically Islamic.

Some authors perceive that these democracies in defense of the West have left their democratic stages in the system and the ways of life and government. They compare this technological war to George Orwell's book "1984", in which citizens are controlled by a supreme power that exercises surveillance over everything and everyone, with instruments that make control possible, even with a police such as thought. In 1984 George Orwell described the solution to the problems of the social problems in conflict through the imposition of a big brother, a big brother that is the government by totalitarian regime without democratic rules that can be superior to the rules of coexistence and peaceful thought imposed by big brother. In the work it is already said that technological advances are aimed at developing and applying a system of global surveillance, of every citizen of the planet.

Ramonet in his book warns that the unimaginable digital revolution we are experiencing has completely changed the field of information and surveillance. In the age of the internet, surveillance has become omnipresent and totally immaterial, imperceptible, undetectable, invisible," warns Ramonet (2016, p. 13).

In this context, according to Foucault's language, the so-called disciplinary societies appear, not controlled by technology, which are those in which the individual develops his or her life through different institutions, such as the family, the school, the factory, the hospital, the prison.

These societies reached their peak at the beginning of the last century and operated by organizing large enclosure centers. The challenge will be the understanding by humans that we are leaving disciplinary societies and their main technique, confinement, and that we are gradually entering societies of control, which no longer function through confinement but through continuous control and instantaneous communication, which leads to new societies of domination and dictatorship. Following Foucault's theoretical proposals, contemporary political science has begun to nominate the analysis of society and its behaviors based on other data, it is biopolitics that deals with the control of the population masses but is not enough to explain the current mechanisms of control of individuals.

Biopolitics is the form of government of disciplinary society. But it is totally unsuitable for the neoliberal regime that mainly exploits the individual psyche. It has also been proposed, instead of talking about biopolitics, to name this phenomenon of controlled societies within the concept of psychopolitics that makes use mainly of digital technique, related to the form of production of current capitalism, since the latter is determined by immaterial and incorporeal forms of production.

Psychopolitics makes it possible to link the neoliberal capitalist system with the new forms of control of individuals, mainly of their minds and therefore of their decisions, revealing the power of communicational technological tools that can be used to monitor and manipulate. Therefore, from Big Data it is possible to build not only the individual psychoprogram, but also a controlled collective psychoprogram.

The contemporary panorama of new technologies and the problem of social surveillance and control have generated dangers of the creation of a Global State of surveillance formed by a single digital surveillance system whose important characteristics are the temptation of integral social control. In this case, the press is followed by former CIA adviser Edward Snowden, who left the system dangerously, in principle to ventilate these wills that try to generate a single system of intelligent control. Snowden spoke in recorded lectures and digital videos of the existence of hidden programs, authorized by the U.S. government, that allow clandestine surveillance of the communications of millions of people around the world. Worrisome

New technologies, information and communication companies are strengthening their power. This forces governments and societies to take on the challenge of actively participating in the conscious use of new technologies and to demand that their governments protect the fundamental rights of individuals. The dangers are in sight and the world order must continue

the development of the global society with the internet, digital network, communications and centralized and controlled information system. States and companies are ethically and for survival to seek and find ways to regulate the use of technology so that it is at the service of man. With respect for human rights and democracy, and without subjugating individual rights

With the Information Society, although power and control seem to reside in the Big Five and the United States, there is no doubt that the technological monopolies of this century are a permanent challenge to prolong these monopolies and not dedicate agencies and States to studying new ways of democratizing and controlling controls.

The expansion, distribution and more democratic extension of communication and training could wait for the political and institutional processes, and the advances of the democratic institutional systems of the West and its democratizing republics in other continents of Southeast Asia, Latin America and even in parts of Africa, to constitute a critical mass demanding these needs and to participate little by little and in time to come in the benefits of the system of new technologies. Technologies.

We are aware that, in this process of democratization of new technologies, foreign policy and diplomacy cannot and should not be absent from this healing force of republics and equalizer of societies. Negotiations on technology will always benefit from professional and technical negotiations on the subject. And the greater number of summits and conferences on these matters mean that diplomacy can insist on the improvement and democratization of power, which is transversal to states and political regimes, and transversal to economic transnationals. It is a clear situation of complex interdependence.

Classical diplomacy, international trade diplomacy and the new technological and digital diplomacy, put the foreign policy of States to work and deepen these issues, and bring them to the negotiating tables.

Diplomatic professionals and negotiation experts cannot lead delegations or negotiations unless they are aware of what technology offers them as benefits and, to a large extent, as advantages. The communication and information system used by the diplomatic mission and professionals has revolutionized international relations. And it seeks common actions in any scheme of action that allows new technologies to be absorbed by the most up-to-date and technified diplomacy, even by the most secret or confidential negotiations of multilateral, summit or bilateral bodies.

The more qualified human resources are, and the more qualified they can be provided as trainers and policy shapers at the service of new technologies. They are a fundamental tool of the State, and they are distinctive on the international scene. Argentine diplomacy is also inserted in this process.

Therefore, formulating foreign policy begins by understanding that an orderly foreign policy, relaunched in its mission of economic and commercial relations, is the pillar for national projection and development, assimilating new technologies as a challenge and benefit to democratize and deepen tools of international cooperation and collaborate in global democratization so that the information system can better achieve its goals inserted in programs that harmonize the worldwide distribution in matters of communication, information and big data.

3 Technical design of foreign policy formulation

The formulation of a State's foreign policy is primary and necessary for its international positioning, and entails a worldview of reordering priorities on the international stage and the establishment of guidelines that arise from internal consensus, are instructed vertically and have along the way decisive factors referring to the country's priorities and urgencies.

Short, medium and long-term goals, a logical strategic vision.

For the technical design of foreign policy formulation, we think that a governance think tank or international design group should be considered, with the following designers: academics, thinkers, intellectuals, technicians, politicians, and diplomats. That they must dedicate themselves to the mission of reinforcing the objectives and guidelines that seek a foreign policy with constant, prudence, professionalism, defense of national interests and with intentions of broad international insertion and generator of international prestige.

In the technical design of this international design group or study center, the consideration and inclusion of certain axioms by historical logic, cultural belonging, practicality of the scheme of action *and* opportunity and benefits for the broadest international insertion, we understand that the following "*guidelines*" - concrete policies of international policy - or axioms pertinent to the case should be included: namely:

The guidelines of foreign policy must seek to be designed with the awareness of the permanent support of the institutional order and the democratic system.

This includes the principles that uphold the rule of law and human rights, underpinned by the foundations of the national and international legal order.

When designing foreign policy, it should always be considered that it is institutionally instituted as a univocal and hierarchical leadership of the President, assisted by a Foreign Minister, and supported by a technical academic political work that generates guidelines for each general and specific objective.

The objective of foreign policy is to design the most pragmatic and successful way of international insertion and regional integration, always avoiding isolationist temptations

-In the design of foreign policy guidelines, there are levels of prioritization of stone alliances, strategic alliances, special alliances and through circles of priority, urgency and short and long term. With political, commercial, economic, strategic, technological and cultural considerations in the relationship with each country and in the multilateral order.

-The design of guidelines for the formulation of foreign policy cannot contemplate ideological or supposedly friendly empathy.

When the technical design of foreign policy formulation is carried out, the decision must be made regarding the negative influence of ideological paradigms and absurd communicational expressions that proclaim the ideological identity of regional leaders, most of the time based on disinformation and frivolities related to the characteristics of their leaders or peoples. That which makes them "similar" does a lot of damage to the external institutional relationship. Not only is this not an equation that we propose for greater excellence in foreign policy and professional diplomacy, but acting in an ideological and informal way has brought our country

-The design of foreign policy guidelines must prioritize the field of economic-commercial diplomacy and business diplomacy, primary in the consideration of exports, commercial intelligence and attracting investment

-The technical design of the foreign formulation must take into account the influence of new technologies on politics and diplomacy, both in the communications system and in the design of the information system of the new technologies that affect diplomacy.

-The formulation of a foreign policy allows for institutional planning in the short and long term. In the technical design, there can be room for the creation of a planning and crisis cabinet, which "orders and allows priorities to be planned, and for those who execute the foreign policy of the Foreign Ministry, it also facilitates the assembly of an

institutional cabinet for planning, and that this institutional cabinet is also formed for emergencies, crises and cases of affection to national interests in all orders."¹⁸

This issue of crises and emergencies is demanding and overwhelming, but it can never be above the planning and institutionality required to follow up on the formulation of foreign policy, which provides it with a global and strategic vision.

4 Conclusions

In conclusion of this proposal, we would like to reaffirm that diplomacy acts as an instrument of dialogue and peace that consolidates the democratic system. It arises from the constitutional order of the national State. And for this reason it pursues the very objectives of the State, which seek the common good of the national community. That is how it was born and is its own nature.

New technologies are the flame that appears in the last century and in this twenty-first century, warning that these are times for States, their international policies and diplomacy to dedicate themselves to attending and negotiating in the global spheres in favor of a true and democratizing globalization.

With elements that improve societies from the democratic system and the defense of human rights, such as communications and the information society.

The international community, at this critical time of uncertainty, cultural postmodernity, negative post-globalization and debate on the benefits and problems related to the fragility of democratic political regimes, requires not only to study reforms of the international system of the United Nations, which is urgent.

It also requires an awareness of the formulations, works, proposals and designs, which seek from the formulation and design of international policy and new diplomatic tools, an increase in spaces in favor of dialogue and peace with objectives of cooperation and solidarity, and the generation of guidelines that collaborate in healing the system of international cooperation and strengthen the political and economic fragilities that threaten democracies in the world.

It is time for Argentina to pragmatically take advantage of its professionalism and its values as a country with spirit and actions in favor of democracy, integration and the

¹⁸ "Politics and Diplomacy. Towards an institutional policy" (2009) Julio Lascano and Vedia. Editorial Mi Llave.

environment, so that it converts and updates its foreign policy to new instances and forms, which allow it to quickly generate a new diplomacy. A diplomacy that prioritizes international insertion.

A diplomacy that is the product of an internal consensus and the design of a foreign policy, which includes objectives and guidelines for national growth and development in the international order.

The generation of export policies and increased investments, which will surely lead to the greatest generation of jobs. In employment and at work we will dignify ourselves. Seeking to be part of an integral ecology, a house of our own with a more just world order. With new technologies contributing to a new order and with the environment we want to live and build.

Argentina deserves it.

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