

*Nortautas Statkus***The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania*

The Role of Nationalism in the 21st Century System of International Relations

Nationalism is one of the great ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries, whose demise was widely expected with certainty at the end of the 20th century. But Brexit, the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States and constant gaining force by the Radical Right political parties in Europe sparked discussion on the role of nationalism in the international system of the 21st century. The article answers the question whether this reanimation of nationalism is a long-term trend or merely an episode that supports predictions of its fading away.

Introduction

Until recently, most social and political science researchers and politicians had no doubt that nationalism was doomed to disappear and was no longer a force determining the path of history. They were saying that nations were losing their old functions. The growth in the number of international and non-governmental organizations, the international economic and financial markets, new transport and communication technologies determine that ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ are no longer terms adequate to describe and analyse political formations or even sentiments that these words used to name. Nations and nationalism, they believe, are only cultural artefacts socially created in a certain period in history, when modernization forced absolute monarchies to democratize. Social engineers used old and invented new political traditions in order to link the ruling powers and the masses by legitimacy relationship and excite their active involvement in civic affairs. Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, there is no more need to use relics of nationalism—nations were invented, they are a fiction, a fabrication, an illusion that will dissipate when the historical forces behind it disappear.

* *Doc. dr. Nortautas Statkus* is the Director of the Research Centre of the General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania. Address for correspondence: Šilo 5A, LT-10322 Vilnius, Lithuania, tel.: +370 5 2103593, e-mail: nortautas.statkus@lka.lt

For example, in 2013, Y. Harari, the herald of now particularly popular trans-humanism, presented a simply remarkable quintessence of global liberalism approach to nationalism:

As the 21st century progresses, nationalism is quickly losing ground. More and more people think that the legitimate source of political power is the humankind as a whole, not members of some specific nation, and the main goal in politics should be protection of human rights and defence of interests of the entire humankind. /.../ The global empire that is emerging right before our eyes is not governed by any particular state or ethnic group. As in the late Roman Empire, it is governed by a multi-ethnic elite and is bound by common culture and common interests. More and more businessmen, engineers, experts, scientists, lawyers and executives around the world feel the need to join this empire. They have to choose—whether to respond to this call of empire or to remain faithful to their country and its people. More and more of them are choosing the empire.¹

But the war of Putin's Russia against Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea, Brexit, the election of D. Trump as the US President in 2016 and the policy of economic protectionism followed by his administration, withdrawal from the Paris climate treaty and continued gaining strength by the Radical Right political parties in Europe, which seek to take back the delegated competences of the EU member states, the Scottish and Catalan political movements and independence referendums have raised questions about whether nationalism is really weakening. Isn't the 'funeral' of nationalism too early and is such an approach adequate to real processes? It also stimulated debate about the return of geopolitical competition and the revival of nationalism. The return of the United Kingdom and Russia to nationalism and traditional geopolitics are two notable examples where two of the Europe's oldest sovereign nations, that have not been conquered for more than 500 years, choose their path beyond the European regional integration, whereas the rest of the EU met its sixtieth anniversary polarised and without a clear vision of the future that could unite all its members. These processes make one evaluate the role of nationalism as a political ideology in the 21st century international system and answer the question whether this revival of nationalism is a long-term trend or merely a temporary episode that supports predictions of its weakening.

The article aims to reassess:

- the economic, social, technological, and political causes of spreading of nationalism in modern times—the fundamental claims of nationalism theories;

¹ Harari, Y., *Sapiens. Glausta žmonijos istorija*. Vilnius, 2016, p. 195–196.

- the adequacy of nationalism theories to explain the processes of globalization in the first decade of the 21st century;
- implications of the international political economic system and of the technological changes (the 4th industrial revolution) at the beginning of the 21st century for the ideology of nationalism.

1. Origins and Historical Development of Nationalism

Nationalism is defined as the ideal or ideology that states that ethnic and political boundaries must coincide and that an ethnically homogeneous state is the best form of political organization². This definition of nationalism can only be endorsed. It is rational to define a *nation* as a politically organized ethnic group seeking to gain or maintain political autonomy or independent statehood. A *nation state* is a state where almost the absolute majority of its citizens belong to the same ethnic group.

Most nations today (politicized *ethnos*) are new. Nationalism (political ideology) is a modern phenomenon, as modernist theories of nationalism claim. However, it is important to note that the roots of nationalism go back to the prehistoric Neolithic period. And not all ethnoses, all the more ethnic differentiation, as phenomena, are specific to modernity only. The latter two phenomena can be described as primordial, but not as “perennial”. It is because they developed as, through natural selection evolved human kinship recognition mechanisms had adapted to social and ecological environmental factors specific of the Neolithic period.³

While nations are modern, there are exceptions—the ancient Egypt and post-Maccabees Israel and possibly the early Assyria. These states almost coincided with ethnicity. But these exceptions were the result of relatively random geopolitical circumstances. Only modernization turns the nation into the norm of an international system. However, until modern times, the link between ethnicity and politics was rather sporadic and irregular, though one cannot deny that ethnic sentiments often played an important role in domestic and cross-border conflicts. The opinion of A. D. Smith that radical pause in the history of ethnicity is the French revolution, which linked the abstract idea of sovereignty of the nation to a specific ethnically defined political community, can be fully endorsed. One by one, nationalist movements emerged in Europe and the New

² Motyl, A., *Sovietology, Rationality, Nationality: Coming to Grips with Nationalism in the USSR*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, p. 48–50.

³ Stakus N., *Tapatybės politika etniniamis konfliktams reguliuoti*, Vilnius, 2018, p. 167–170.

World, demanding political independence for their 'nations'. According to W. Connor, since "1789, the dogma that the rule of 'strangers' is unlawful" became more and more widespread until it became the norm in international law⁴. In earlier epochs, nationalism and nations were impossible because the agrarian societies saw no need to unite the various social strata and isolated geographical regions into larger culturally and politically homogeneous units. Nations are invented or formed to meet the functional requirements of modernization processes⁵. The processes of modernization — industrialization and its unevenness, mass education and literacy (Gellner, Nairn)⁶, capitalism, new communication and transport technologies, the press (Anderson, Deutsch)⁷, the mass army and social engineering of governments (Posen, Hobsbawm)⁸ — certainly caused the increased importance of ethnic identity and ethnocentrism, in other words, the changing social environment and making changes to the cost-benefit ratio of ethnocentrism. Industrialization destroys the order of agrarian communities — peasants move to cities, other regions, are conscripted to the army, etc. When faced with ethnic discrimination, they either assimilate into a dominant ethnic group or, with the help of the intelligentsia, form nationalistic movements to improve their social status and that of their children. The exact course of events depends on the balance between ethnic groups and state power.

The evolution of warfare also had an impact on formation of nations — politicised ethnic groups, and on the emergence of the contemporary international political systems. The mass army changed the balance of power in favour of nationalism at the end of the 18th century. The circle of history turned 360 degrees round and the development of military technology again gave an opportunity for each member of the society to become a warrior. As a result, the balance of power within the state has been transformed. One can only guess that this is the key to the problem of spread of nationalism and nationalist movements. The mass army led to the greater political importance of ethnicity (perceived as distant kinship) in the late 18th century and in the 19th century than in earlier epochs. The ethnic homogeneity of the state strengthened the military power of a state

⁴ Connor, W., *Ethnonationalism: the Quest for Understanding*, p. 169.

⁵ Gellner, E., *Tautos ir nacionalizmas*, Vilnius: Pradai, 1996, p. 40–69; Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso Editions, 1983, p. 37–46; Hobsbawm, E., *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 80–100.

⁶ Gellner, E., *Tautos ir nacionalizmas*, Vilnius: Pradai, 1996; Nairn, T., *The Break-up of Britain*, London: New Left Books, 1977.

⁷ Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso Editions, 1983; Deutsch, K., *Nationalism and Social Communication*, MIT Press, 1966.

⁸ Hobsbawm, E., *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, p. 80–100; Posen, B. R., *Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power*, *International Security*, 18, 2, 1993, p. 80–124.

and became an important factor for governments. As a result, the nationalist doctrines were developed and promoted, and the state-wide indoctrination and assimilation programs were conducted through schools, the military, and the church. Imitation, indicative and classical conditioned reflexes were used to promote symbols of common homeland and ethnic unity, which sought to associate ethnicity with the interests of the state.

On the other hand, the mass army opened a possibility for members of subordinated ethnoses to strive collectively for political autonomy or an independent state, i.e. change of their group status inside a state or in the international system. Nationalist aspirations could no longer be ignored. Empires were too expensive to maintain and national uprisings were no longer so desperate. The rise of masses' influence in the military gave nationalists a real possibility to seek change of the political status of an ethnic group by force. At the same time, democratization processes were going on in the states (which were determined by the same factor—change of the balance of power between the rulers and the ruled). It also enabled the peaceful pursuit of nationalist goals. And new communication and transportation technologies (the press, steam locomotives, steamboats, telegraph) helped to promote the doctrines of both ethnic and civic nationalism and to organize both types of nationalist movements. As a result of modernization, nations are the standard in the international system and ethnic identity has become and remains relevant for most of the society.

2. The Post-Nationalist 21st Century

At first, an overview is to be made whether the social factors and forces that brought nationalism really have lost force in the early 21st century. If formation of nations and spread of nationalism were brought by 'three-fold revolution': economic, military-administrative and cultural-educational⁹, then analogous quality changes in these spheres of social relations should create preconditions for disintegration of nations. In other words, it is necessary to investigate the development of economic, political and social conditions for the separation of political boundaries of communities from ethnic boundaries, i.e. for creation of viable political communities larger or smaller than nation states, which would not coincide with ethnic groups.

The most important feature describing the international political, social and economic relations at the end of the 20th century and at the start of the 21st century has become the vaguely defined 'globalization'—contraction of time and

⁹ Smith, A. D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986.

space and universal global interconnection of everything¹⁰. The development of capitalist relations, industrial and transport revolutions influenced the economic integration of feudal states when regional disparities and isolation were eliminated. Advancement in development of the Internet, social networks, genetic engineering and artificial intelligence is the 4th industrial revolution that opens up unprecedented creative opportunities for the humanity, and at the end of the 20th century the economic centres of the world became linked by close economic and financial ties just as it happened in the 19th century within nation states¹¹. Don't the globalization and the 4th industrial revolution similarly eliminate national disparities and the isolation of national markets?

Improvements in military technology (invention of guns), more efficient use of state resources encouraged the development of the professional mass army and the state bureaucratic apparatus the 18–19th centuries. Technological advancement in warfare now leads to increasing professionalization and automation of the armies of the most advanced states. The military advantage today is not the most massive, but professional and technologically advanced military forces¹². Shouldn't this tendency in warfare eventually lead to the end of democracy and nation states, i.e. the separation of boundaries of ethnic and political units?

Successful state administration in the 19th and 20th centuries required unification of laws, the legal system, taxes, and legal oversight. Professional officers and bureaucrats had to be trained, which encouraged the development of secular military academies, colleges and universities, and academic societies. In this way, a new secularized class of clerics (intelligentsia) emerged, dependent on government grants and thus easily identifying themselves with the state. The state gradually pushed the church out of the educational sphere, taking the place of the most important educator. The need for more efficient state administration forced the state to standardize education and culture. The question is whether the effects of globalization are causing irreversible global convergence of legal, cultural and educational systems and the gradual emergence of the global culture. To answer these questions, we need to find out the causes of globalization and its implications for modern states, their economies and identities.

¹⁰ Lim, T. C., *International Political Economy: An Introduction to Approaches, Regimes, and Issues*. Saylor.org, 2014, p. 10.

¹¹ Friedman, Th., *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005, p. 9–11.

¹² Friedman, G., *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century*, Doubleday, 2009, p. 177–183.

2.1. Globalization is a Transitional Phase before a Systemic Change of the Hegemon

The international political economic system (hereinafter referred to as the 'IS') may change and the situation of its constituent states (other actors) may change, too, the change in the very system may occur¹³. Researchers of globalization namely do not agree whether globalization is a systemic change or change in the system of international relations. A *systemic change* occurs when some technological, economic, organizational or cultural processes (military and strategic innovation, economic, educational development) allows the actors of the international system (usually, these are states) to change it for their own benefit, as it increases their power and prestige or reduces their costs of system transformation. The system is being changed until the marginal benefit and the marginal cost of the change outweigh each other and a balance is reached.¹⁴ A systemic change can happen slowly or suddenly, peacefully or through wars. A *system change* occurs when the nature of the elements of the international system changes. For example, powerful empires, city-states, and knights' orders, which had played an important role in the Medieval Europe, almost disappeared as geopolitical actors from modern-day IS, where they were replaced by modern centralized states.

Supporters of hyper-globalization theories: K. Ohmae, V. Cable, W. Wriston, W. Greider, S. Gill, J.M. Guehenno state that in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries the preconditions for the IS *system change* were created due to the increasing influence of transnational corporations. The hyper-globalist concept of globalization states that this is a whole new era in the history of humankind—the emergence of 'global civilization'. This civilization is characterized by universal standards of economic, political and cultural life, the emergence of transnational elites and the development of global governance mechanisms (corporate networks), global 'civic society' (networks of non-governmental organizations, pressure groups), consumerist ideology. Globalization is driving the development of the global economy. The rapid and almost free flow of information, ideas, cultural values, capital, goods and services and people determines the achievements of the global economy, even though the benefits are not distributed equally to all people—the globalization evolution is uneven, leads to increasing economic disparities.¹⁵

¹³ Gilpin, R., *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, p. 39–49.

¹⁴ Kennedy, P., *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, New York: Random House, 1987; Gilpin, R., *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982; Modelski G., Thompson, W. R., *Seapower in Global Politics, 1494–1993*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1998; Taylor, P. J., *Political Geography. World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, 3rd ed., London: Longman, 1993.

¹⁵ Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., Perraton, J., *Globaliniai pokyčiai: politika, ekonomika ir kultūra*. Vilnius: Margi raštai, 2002, p. 72–109.

Hyper-globalists point out that while nation states continue to dominate the global political scene, governments are increasingly losing control over information flows, technology exchanges, disease spreading, migration, trade in arms and financial transactions that cross their borders, either legally or illegally. Non-governmental actors, from businesses to non-profit organizations, are playing an increasingly important role in domestic and international politics. Globalization promotes migration, which shapes the numerous and influential diasporas that influence the domestic and foreign policies of the host countries, and will ultimately change national identities. On the other hand, the 'political community' does not fall within the framework of the nation state. Globalization encourages international cooperation between states and non-state actors. States are forced to act together with non-governmental organizations—sharing power and responsibility.

States partially transfer the function of ensuring security and public order to private armies of mercenaries and security agencies; ensuring economic and social welfare—to transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations¹⁶. Proponents of hyper-globalization theories see the cultural homogenization of the world as spreading the values and symbols of the American popular culture and the consumer culture of the Western civilization. According to them, the emerging global culture is the final stage of the westernization process.¹⁷

Sceptics like P. Hirst and G. Thomson, R. Gilpin, I. Wallerstein are convinced of the internationalization of international economic relations, and intensification is just another step in the IS hegemonic cycle before the *systemic change*. They provide examples of historical precedents of 'globalization' and essentially argue that the proponents of globalization exaggerate the significance of globalization and misinterpret the nature and causes of this phenomenon. Despite deep ontological differences, R. Gilpin and I. Wallerstein similarly interpret globalization, which they say is good for the hegemonic state during its prosperity. The hegemon maintains such an international order until the decline of power begins.¹⁸

¹⁶ Cable, V., *Globalization and global governance*. Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999, p. 32–45; Ohmae, K., *The Evolving Global Economy: Making Sense of the New World Order*. Harvard Business Press, 1995, p. XIII–XIV.

¹⁷ Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., Perraton, J., *Globaliniai pokyčiai: politika, ekonomika ir kultūra*. Vilnius: Margi raštai, 2002, p. 327; Rengger, N. J., *Culture, Society, and Order in World Politics*, Dilemmas of World Politics: International Issues in a Changing World. Ed. by J. Baylis, N. J. Rengger, Oxford, 1992, p. 85–103.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; Wallerstein, I., *Globalization or the Age of Transition? A Long-Term View of the Trajectory of the World-System*, *International Sociology*, 2000, 15(2): 251–267; Gilpin, R., *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001, p. 3–24, 362–376.

Sceptics argue that globalists are relying on the false premise that global economic interdependence has now increased to unprecedented levels and changed the nature of the international system. International trade and cross-border investments in the early 1990s were no higher than in 1913 in terms of gross domestic product. After World War II, international trade and investments only gradually reached the level of 1913 in 1990. Globalization is an optical illusion. Secondly, according to opponents of the uniqueness of globalization, it is wrong to think that interdependence only results in cooperation. Dependence can also lead to cross-border conflicts if the benefit of the dependence is not equal for both the parties. Thirdly, according to them, we must bear in mind that the nation state is not only an arena of economic activity, but is also a political, military and cultural community. Each nation is a separate economic, political, military and moral entity of international relations.¹⁹

According to Wallerstein and Gilpin, globalization is dependent on the growth of states' power, hegemony in the IS is linked to the cycles of states' economic development. Gilpin refers to the theory of hegemonic stability and Wallerstein refers to the Kondratieff wave theory. The Kondratieff wave is an economic cycle of about 45 to 60 years. In the first phase A of this cycle (~ 25 years), one or more industrial sectors in a country acquire a certain relative monopoly. They are making huge profits and the industry of that country and its whole economy are expanding. More efficient production leads to a positive trade balance for the country. Capital raised from trade strengthens the financial dominance of the country. However, this productivity monopoly is difficult to maintain (technology transfers through investment, information leakage, etc.) and new competitors emerge. Increased competition lowers prices and reduces the profits of all manufacturers. Economic development stops and stagnation begins. The second phase B of the cycle (again ~ 25 m) is recession. Since 1780, four such Kondratieff waves have been detected.²⁰ New rivals of the old hegemon emerge in phase A, in phase B one of the rivals wins, and then in the next phase A it establishes its own hegemony, which begins to weaken in the next phase B as new rivals appear. It starts the next cycle of hegemony with a new A ascent. Historical evidence suggests that the cycle of hegemony lasts about a century, i.e. it involves two Kondratieff waves. The emergence of hegemony

¹⁹ Gilpin, R., *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001, p. 10–20; 77–102; 377–402.

²⁰ Wallerstein, I., *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; Taylor, P. J., *Political Geography. World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, 3rd ed., London: Longman, 1993.

extends from the first Kondratieff wave to the end of the second.²¹ The last fifth phase A of Kondratieff wave began in 1995 with the mass adoption of information technology in production, and we are now at its end. The hegemons that lose power in phase B of Kondratieff wave resort to protectionism and the international system is fragmented and regionalized, but nation states remain central to regional blocs.²²

The last decades of the 20th century saw a significant shift of a major part of the global industry from the USA, Western Europe and Japan to the Pacific Asia, Latin America and other developing countries. This process has led to the emergence of economic regionalism as a response to increasing global interdependence and the accompanying political, economic and technological challenges. As the international economy became more integrated, regional groups of states stepped up their cooperation to protect their autonomy and improve negotiating positions with other regions. However, for example, Gilpin, while recognizing that regionalism has become the key strategy used by groups of states to increase their economic and political power in the IS, argues that regionalization of the international economy is not an alternative to a nation state; it signifies efforts of separate states to collectively defend their national interests.²³

It can be argued that if globalization is only a transitional stage for hegemony change, then the international system and its foundation, the nation state and nationalism, are experiencing only the usual turbulence of the 'Westphalian order'. However, even if globalization is not a radical totally new stage in the historical evolution of humankind, there are signs that premises for the IS *system change* are underway.

2.2. Desynchronization of the Global Economy and Politics

Based on the arguments of the sceptics of globalization, it is easy to disagree with the claims of the hyper-globalists about globalization as a radical pause of global history. It is more difficult to accept a conservative assessment offered by the sceptics of the importance of the nation state in the modern IS. Surprisingly, as they themselves see increasing regionalization, sceptics do not

²¹ Taylor, P. J., *Political Geography. World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, 3rd ed., London: Longman, 1993, p. 64–76.

²² Gilpin, R., *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001, p. 93–102.

²³ Gilpin, R., *Ibid.*, p. 292–304; 341–361; 362–376.

attribute proper significance to this process. In the second decade of the 21st century, regional competition in Europe, Asia and in the Americas has intensified. Technology innovation and development is uneven. It is fuelled by the growing geopolitical opposition of Russia, Iran, Brazil, India and China to the US hegemony and economic globalization. Gilpin observes that a hegemonic state, by creating and maintaining a world order that is conducive to itself, 'digs a pit for itself' either by wasting resources for maintaining that order (over-extension) or collapsing through internal antagonism and hedonism created by the excess (corruption) and thus enabling revisionist states to emerge. The US liberal hegemony, securing a global open world economy, was the one that created conditions for China to emerge.

Regional trade and customs agreements (NAFTA, EU, MERCOSUR, ASEAN) are in force, meanwhile the WTO Doha negotiations on trade issues stopped as far back as in 2008. Data from the last 25 years show that the global economy is desynchronising and that business cycles are converging within regions due to different development of the regions, leading to regional business cycles.²⁴ The US protectionist policy is evident from: withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement on free trade, renegotiation of NAFTA 2.0 Agreement (the new one is called the U.S.-Mexico-Canada (USMCA) Agreement) on terms better for the USA and customs war with China. Immediately after the inauguration, the Trump administration put an end to the TPP and began reviewing free trade agreements. On 30 November 2018, it signed the USMCA replacing NAFTA, which will better protect the intellectual property interests of the US auto industry, farmers, and authors. The US import duties on steel and aluminium imposed by D. Trump in March 2018 on its major trading partners—Canada and Mexico—remain in effect (on the European Union, too, though temporarily suspended), and at the end of September, USD 200 billion custom duties on Chinese goods imposed by D. Trump came into effect.

It is interesting to note that great powers of the world—the USA, Russia, China—are evolving towards neo-classical imperial structures. Each region has a dominant state or several states that create imperial-type hierarchical structures in an effort to secure their exclusive spheres of influence and focus on their economic and political priorities.²⁵ However, it is important to note that in the international system, the USA retains its full leadership in almost every area because the gap between the USA and other poles of power—revisionist major

²⁴ Hirata, H., Kose, M. A., Otrok, Ch., *Regionalization vs. Globalization*. IMF Working Paper No. 13/19, January 2013, [Retrieved on 22-02-2018], <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2222483>.

²⁵ Lopata, R., Statkus, N., *Empires, the world order and small states*, Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review, 2005, 15/16, p. 16–50.

powers, particularly China and Russia, is very marked, but the gap between the USA and China (emerging potential superpower) is gradually narrowing, precisely because of the economic opportunities China is given by the global order.²⁶

On the other hand, it is also difficult not to see the changing role of the nation state. We have to agree with A. Giddens, S. Sassen, J. Rosenau, who acknowledge that there is a fundamental change in the structure and function of the nation state as a result of globalization. There is a significant change in the structure and functions of the modern territorial (nation) state—globalization is gradually decoupling *de facto* sovereignty of the power of nation states over their territory and their population, and in this way, globalization ‘reconstructs’ the power of nation states. True, they see globalization rather as a dialectically contradictory process—*glocalisation*, where aspects of integration and centralization are compatible with fragmentation and decentralisation.²⁷

And while a modern centralized state retains the prerogative of real authority over what is happening on its territory, it is constrained by other nation states, transnational actors, multilateral and bilateral obligations of states. Therefore, sovereignty can be better understood and treated in international relations as an advantage in negotiations rather than as a defined barrier. Globalization changes the functions of states, but it does not mean the end of the state as an institution. States are increasingly playing the role of catalyst and coordinator of collective actions. Globalization activates the state—its functions are changing, not its power.

Many modern states are *failed states* or *collapsed states*. Examples of the former are Sudan, Iraq, Chad, Rwanda, examples of the latter include Somalia, Syria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Afghanistan. Political deterritorialization is underway—the loyalty of the state population to the nation state is decreasing as the flows of international migration change the composition of the population and citizens of the nation states. On the other hand, the ‘political community’ does not fall within the framework of the nation state. The ‘political community’ (the collectives that determine their own destiny) transcends national borders. Globalization involves transnational actors and they become able to steer the course of public policy to their own advantage. Advancement in

²⁶ Brooks, Stephen G., Wohlforth, William C., *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-First Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position*, *International Security*, 40, 2016, p. 7–53, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/ISEC_a_00225?mobileUi=0& [Retrieved 2018-10-22].

²⁷ Giddens, A., *Runaway World: How Globalization Is Reshaping our Lives*. Routledge, 2000; Rosenau, J. N., *Globalization and Governance: Bleak Prospects for Sustainability*, in ed. Lerch M., *Challenges of Globalization: New Trends in International Politics and Society*. Routledge, 2005, p. 201–217; Sassen S., *Globalization or denationalization?*, *Review of International Political Economy*, 10(1), 2003, p. 1–22.

telecommunications makes it possible to harness power globally, organize and coordinate political activities. Political forms of organization are changing—from the hierarchy towards network organisation.²⁸

2.3. Advancement in social networks and communications are deconstructing ‘imagined’ national communities

Let’s consider the role of growth in communication technology for the survival of nations. The formation of nations is associated with an unprecedented growth in communication possibilities (K. Deutsch) and a change in the form of communication, such as standardized culture in a territorially restricted political formation (E. Gellner). For example, K. Deutsch holds that a nation is a group of people who are united by cultural information transmitted through a network of complementary communications (communication barriers also mark ethnic boundaries).²⁹

The increasing power of computers and the increasing speed of the Internet have made it possible to create technological platforms for social communication (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, etc.) that have enabled the creation of numerous virtual social networks (there are about 2.6 billion users worldwide, projected to be 3 billion in 2021).³⁰ The number of smartphones is similar—2.7 billion and the number of smartphone owners should reach 2.87 billion in 2020. The percentage of smart technology users has increased globally from 10 percent in 2011 to 36 percent in 2018.³¹ Social networks mean that it is much cheaper and faster to produce intellectual content and to communicate it more widely than the printed word. The emergence of social networks equates to the invention of Gutenberg’s text printing. The Gutenberg revolution created and expanded the national public space, and social networks individualize and fragment that space.³² Online media and social networks empower citizens to engage and participate in public affairs and politics in post-modern societies *selectively*. The ability to choose and select brings citizens into virtual closed

²⁸ Fergusson, N., *The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power*. Allen Lane, 2017.

²⁹ Deutsch, K., *Nationalism and Social Communication*. MIT Press, 1966.

³⁰ Statista, *Number of social network users worldwide from 2010 to 2021 (in billions)*, The Statistics Portal, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/> [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

³¹ Statista, *Number of smartphone users worldwide from 2014 to 2020 (in billions)*, The Statistics Portal, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/330695/number-of-smartphone-users-worldwide/> [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

³² Ferguson, N., *Square and tour*, talk at the Center for Strategic & International Studies, 19-01-2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6XyLaYUVzJo> [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

networks based on hobbies and beliefs, where information exchange and discussion only take place in those closed virtual information ‘bubbles.’³³ And if nations were ‘imagined’ and constructed through secular literature, newspaper publishing, theatre and, later, cinema, then virtual information bubbles are destroying national public space and destroying national unity. Just as in pre-modern times, the Internet and social networks enable horizontal, non-territorial cultures that are anational (similar to Persian, Sanskrit or Latin language and culture-based imperial elite groups).

The 21st century reverses the process of the Enlightenment epoch, which contributed significantly to the formation of a nation state—education slips out of the hands of the state and universities, the boundaries of expert guilds become blurred and it demands for globalization of communication and democratization of access to knowledge.³⁴ Literacy globally reached 86 percent of the world’s population, when at the start of nationalism era in 1820 only 12 percent of the population were able to read and write.³⁵

The emergence of social networks and the globalization of communications enable citizens of different countries to pursue changes in political regime more effectively, as the Arab Spring has clearly shown. Communication advancement and globalization have made it cheaper to disseminate communication content globally³⁶, but the data show that most communications take place at national or local level.³⁷ Likewise, the ability given by social networks to mobilize masses for change in Egypt has not shown that social networks enable consolidation of changes. China and Russia have restricted and censor the Internet. Russia has also begun experimenting with disconnecting from the World Wide Web. Internet service providers must submit proposals to Russian Duma for reliable isolation and protection against cyber-attacks.³⁸ China is likely to follow the suit and this could lead to the emergence of ‘separate’ internets controlled by these countries - cyber-Balkanization. In September 2018, E. Schmidt, the Executive Chairman of Google, said the Internet is likely to break

³³ Kissinger, H., *How the Enlightenment Ends*, The Atlantic, June 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/06/henry-kissinger-ai-could-mean-the-end-of-human-history/559124/> [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

³⁴ Nichols, Th., *Death of Expertise*, <https://www.aanzp.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Death-of-Expertise.pdf> [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

³⁵ Roser, M., Ortiz-Ospina, E., *Literacy*, Our World In Data. org., 2018, <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018].

³⁶ Friedman, Th., *Thank you for being late*, Talk at Google 22-02-2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nuF2JKeM2CY> [Retrieved on 12-03-2018].

³⁷ Ghemawat, P., *Why the World isn't Flat*, Foreign Policy, 14 October 2009, p. 54–60.

³⁸ *Russia moves to split from global internet*, SBS news, 13 February 2019, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/russia-moves-to-split-from-global-internet> [Retrieved on 04-03-2019].

down into three (those of the US, China and the EU) in 10–15 years.³⁹ China and Russia already now are blocking content politically unacceptable to them, creating alternative social networks and IT platforms. China is particularly successful in doing so. China has created its own Facebook (*Wechat*), Twitter (*Weibo*), Amazon (*Alibaba*) and Google (*Baidu*) alternative platforms that can be viewed as examples of regionalization of cultural, ideological and economic protectionism.

Therefore, the ability to receive and disseminate information faster and more cheaply does not mean that the information will be understood and have a global or positive impact. Communication technologies like TV, radio, press, internet, social networks, mobile phones are culturally and ethnically neutral. They can become instruments for the propagation of any cultural, ethnic identity. Advancement in the media, social networks and transport can both strengthen and reduce perceptions of ethnic identity. Everything is determined by the cost-benefit ratio of ethnocentric and nationalist behaviour.

The relationship between globalization, regionalization, religion, culture and ethnicity is not unambiguous. There is a complex interplay between globalism and local cultural religious ethnic identities. Although the value of ethnic identity remains one of the most important in the globalized world, the importance of national identity is changing as the perception of citizenship changes. The institution for multiple citizenship is spreading. This is related to international migration due to globalization and the creation of ethno-national diasporas.

In the globalized world, where time and space are easily conquered and a wide communication network allows for free communication from anywhere in the world, there are all conditions to maintain national identity even when living in emigration. And the abundance of supranational organizations guarantees that migrants will have the conditions to foster and even promote their native language, culture, religion. As a result, ethnoses are becoming more and more deterritorialized, and nation states are becoming less and less ethnically homogeneous. This is true of both large and small states.

The perception of citizenship is also changing: the process is opposite of what happened in the 19th century. The transformation of a nation into a nation state is followed by the transformation of nation states into multicultural, multi-ethnic political formations and the transformation of nations into

³⁹ Kolodny, L., *Former Google CEO predicts the internet will split in two—and one part will be led by China*, CNBC, 21 September 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/09/20/eric-schmidt-ex-google-ceo-predicts-internet-split-china.html> [Retrieved on 12-11-2018].

deterritorialized ethnoses (diasporas). In the increasingly globalized world, the ethnicities living in the diaspora have greater opportunities to maintain their identity and to maintain a more intense relationship with their homeland. As a result, the concepts of citizenship and homeland remain non-identical even over several generations. The former concept of homeland, which meant a common language, territory, culture, is becoming less important. Globalization has gradually differentiated perceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity, disintegrating nations as territorial ethno-cultural political communities, leaving room for new actors of international politics: international organizations, superpowers, military, economic blocs and unions of states. However, ethnicity does not lose its relevance as a result—only the forms of ethnicity change.

In the increasingly globalized world, the ethnoses living in the diaspora have more opportunities to nurture their identities. Globalization creates qualitatively new connections, traditions and new lifestyles—in J. Attali's words, 'a nomadic lifestyle'. Globalization of the economy, new communication and information technologies today enable capital to move quickly and easily, so it doesn't stay in one place for long⁴⁰. However, the fundamental question remains, is this indicative of the IS system change or merely indicative of one more systemic change in the IS? And what does this mean for identity processes?

2.4. From globalization to hierarchically structured regional blocks

The works by historian F. Braudel, political economists I. Wallerstein, R. Gilpin, A.G. Frank and B. Gill, anthropologist J. Friedman depict the general pattern linking the shift of capital accumulation centres and the decentralization of output in the global economy with cultural identification processes.⁴¹ According to that model, there are two systematically related processes.

The first process is the aforementioned long cyclical movement of capital accumulation centres. After a period of growth, capital moves from old centres to more favourable locations on the global market. It is emphasized that this is true not only of ancient civilizations but also of modern times: from Italy to

⁴⁰ Frank, A. G., Gill, B. K., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* London: Routledge, 1993; Friedman, Jonathan, *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage, 1994.

⁴¹ Braudel, F., *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, 2, London: Collins, 1982; Wallerstein, I., *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: CUP, 1979; Frank, A. G. and Gill, B. K., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* London: Routledge, 1993; Friedman, J., *Cultural Identity and Global Process*, London: Sage, 1994.

Northern Europe, from the Netherlands and Northern France to England, from England to the USA, from the USA back to Europe and Japan, from the USA and Europe—to East and South-East Asia and Brazil.

The second process is the global economic upswing. New communication and information technologies have shortened and even distorted the capital translocation cycle. Capital moves quickly and easily today, so it doesn't stay in one place for long. England's deindustrialisation lasted for a century, in the United States it took several decades, while Japan and Southeast Asia did not become the dominant 'core' of the global economy. Friedman even claims that in the long term a new global, aterritorial structure—a 'world-city'—may emerge. The high technology, information technology and financial sectors are directly linked to other similar sectors in other parts of the world. These sectors have their own service sectors. The classical structure of such world-cities (Tokyo, Los Angeles, New York, London, Hong Kong) is highly polarized. This is due to the increased mobility of the multi-ethnic workforce working in low-productivity services and low-paid jobs at high-tech industries. World-cities are centres of luxury for the economic, cultural, political elite.

In 2015, it was Los Angeles (economically equivalent to Australia), London (its economy was larger than that of the whole Netherlands), New York (USD 1.49 trillion was economically almost equivalent to the Canadian economy of USD 1.58 trillion), also Tokyo (its share of the GDP was bigger than that of Australia and Spain and was equivalent to that of Canada and South Korea). If Tokyo were a separate state, it would rank the 15th according to this indicator. The GDP of the 20 largest metropolitan cities in the world was about USD 14 trillion. This was more than the sum of China's total GDP (USD 11 trillion) and that of the five largest EU Member States.⁴² The economic growth of 300 largest metropolitan areas in 2014–2016 accounted for 67 percent of the global economic growth and 37 percent of global employment growth, and in 2016 these metropolitan cities produced 49 percent of the global output, employing and housing around 24 percent of the world population.⁴³

Researchers of the global economic system disagree on whether the global economic crisis of 2008 marks the beginning of phase B of the fifth long Kondratieff wave. Some say phase B has already begun, while others predict that

⁴² Florida, R., *The Economic Power of Cities Compared to Nations*, CityLab, 16 March 2017, <https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/03/the-economic-power-of-global-cities-compared-to-nations/519294/> [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

⁴³ Bouchet, M., Liu, S., Parilla, J., Kabbani, N., *Global Metro Monitor 2018*, Brookings institution, June 2018, p. 3–7, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Brookings-Metro_Global-Metro-Monitor-2018.pdf#page=18 [Retrieved on 28-12-2018].

it will happen around 2020.⁴⁴ I. Wallerstein radically observes that the global capitalist system has come to a structural crisis because it is not only to the detriment of exploited workers, but also capitalists—organizers of production and services. Global manufacturing productivity has been declining for 50 years. Capitalists are accumulating less and less added value as globally the middle class has expanded and the working class income is being eroded as a result of computerization and robotization—the social and economic polarization is increasing. Since 1970 the profits of capitalists were only diminishing as the cost of production increased. In the core states, the middle class is shrinking (for example, in 2015, in the United States and Germany it accounted for about 50 percent of the population⁴⁵, whereas in 1971, the middle class in the United States accounted for 61 percent and in 1983, in Germany it accounted for 69 percent of the population⁴⁶), but globally the share of the middle-class in the world population (residents with income between USD 10,000 and USD 100,000) grew from 13.8 percent in 2000 to 26.6 percent in 2018.⁴⁷

The global economic system has come into misbalance and, in Wallerstein's view, structural contradictions and polarization have reached the point of bifurcation of the global system. He believes that the global capitalist system should be replaced by another political and economic system at about 2040, the outline of which is now yet unclear. In his view, the new system may be relatively more democratic and egalitarian than the current capitalist system or, conversely, retain the worst features of the latter—hierarchy, inequality, exploitation.⁴⁸ Many international relations analysts and commentators note that the world order is changing and humanity has entered a transitional pha-

⁴⁴ Norkus, Z., *When the Kondratieff winter comes: an exploration of the recent economic crisis from a long wave theory perspective*, Social Space Journal, 2013, 1(5), [Retrieved on 10-02-2018], <http://socialspace-journal.eu/Piety%20numer/Zenonas%20Norkus%20-%20KondratieffWinter.pdf>.

⁴⁵ Credit Suisse, *Global Wealth Report 2015*, <https://publications.credit-suisse.com/tasks/render/file/?fileID=F2425415-DCA7-80B8-EAD989AF9341D47E> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁴⁶ Grabka, M. M., Goebel, J., Schröder, C., and Schuppfile, J., *Shrinking Share of Middle-Income Group in Germany and the US*, DIW Economic Bulletin, DIW Berlin, 18, 2016, p. 199–210, file:///E:/ACA-DEMIC/Publikacijos/Straipsniai/Strategie%20apzv%20alga%202018/biblio/Globalizacija/Global%20wealth%20Report%20Credit%20suisse/Shrinking%20middle%20income%20in%20US%20and%20Germany2016-18.pdf [Retrieved on 30-12-2018]; National Public Radio, *A Portrait Of America's Middle Class, By The Numbers*, 7 July 2016, <https://www.npr.org/2016/07/07/484941939/a-portrait-of-americas-middle-class-by-the-numbers> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁴⁷ Credit Suisse, *Global Wealth Report 2018: US and China in the lead*, <https://www.credit-suisse.com/corporate/en/articles/news-and-expertise/global-wealth-report-2018-us-and-china-in-the-lead-201810.html> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁴⁸ Wallerstein, I., *On the future of Capitalism*, Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qCMLzUHnspA> [Retrieved on 23-03-2018].

se.⁴⁹ As Z. Norkus observes, whether the declining phase of the 5th Kondratieff wave (digital techno-capitalism) has begun or is about to begin, “it will reveal the technological foundations of the next (6th) capitalist mode of production / .../ The technological foundations of this new capitalist mode of production are probably best described by the concept of ‘synthetic biology’”. According to Z. Norkus, the most important source of power in techno-capitalism is the ownership of the latest production technologies (certain types of knowledge) and the maintenance of barriers to the dissemination of such knowledge, and technological development ‘becomes the strongest variable, the best basis for long-term social forecasts.’⁵⁰

The transition to a new political and economic system will be the result of the 4th Industrial Revolution, which will better tailor production to consumers, will be more personalized—returning from the mass production to the craft production. As a result, factories will be smaller, flexibility rather than large quantities will be important. Therefore, economic relations will first and foremost have to be in the immediate environment: city, town, village—as close as possible to the individual consumer. However, linking will be higher through the Internet of Things (IoT).⁵¹ The development of Artificial Intelligence (AI), biotechnology, robotization and automation are the cornerstones of the emerging new economic system. Mass production is already being replaced by automation and 3D printers. Services of such occupations as stockbrokers and stock market analysts are increasingly being provided by computer algorithms and services of drivers, family doctors, etc. are also in line.⁵²

The change in the centres of capital accumulation, the decentralization of production and the increasing desynchronization of the regions (regionalization) of the world economy generate two interrelated transformations of the social and cultural spheres of the core states. Weakening economic hegemony of the core is reducing state tax revenues. States are forced to reduce and even abandon social support programs. The slowdown in economic development increases competition for the distribution of wealth in society. It induces fragmentation of

⁴⁹ Wright, Th. J., *All Measures Short of War: The Contest For the 21st Century and the Future of American Power*. Yale University Press, 2017, p. xi–xiii; Bremmer, Ian, *Us vs. Them. The Failure of Globalism*. Portfolio, 2018, p. 7–12; O, Walt, S. M., *The Hell of Good Intentions. America’s Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018, p. 31–36; Friedman, G., *What Has Happened to Us. The global system that many fear is dying is already dead. The new one has yet to emerge*, Geopolitical Futures, 2 January 2019, <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/what-has-happened-to-us/> [Retrieved on 02-01-2019].

⁵⁰ Norkus, Z., *Du nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiai. Kapitalizmas, klasės ir demokratija Pirmojoje ir Antrojoje Lietuvos Respublikoje lyginamosios istorinės sociologijos požiūriu*. Auksa žuvys, 2014, p. 585–586.

⁵¹ Scalabre, O., *The next manufacturing revolution is here*, TED, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AyWtlwwEgS0&index=3&list=PLqb3-qmYM8X_nZLrHJuoEmvNG4lDDWorZ [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁵² Harari, Y., *Homo Deus. Glausta rytojaus istorija*. Kitos knygos, 2018, p. 273–312.

national identity, as it actualizes existing sub-national identities and encourages the emergence of new identities (*horizontal fragmentation*).

Meanwhile, the regions of economic upswing are undergoing significant national consolidation and ethnic integration (e.g., Southeast Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia). At the same time, economic globalization is increasing social divisions into super-rich and super-poor (*vertical polarization*) both in the core states and on the periphery. Managers of transnational corporations, various experts, bureaucrats of international institutions, and entertainment business representatives on a global scale are acquiring a new trans-ethnic, hybrid identity characterized by the interconnection of different cultural elements, i.e. a kind of cultural Creolism. Therefore, modern global identification processes—*vertical socio-cultural polarization* and *horizontal cultural fragmentation* (ethnification)—are closely related. ‘Cultural fragmentation’ marks the flourishing of aboriginal, regional, ethnic, neo-religious and gender identities, while the second, ‘sociocultural polarization’, refers to the increasing income stratification between social strata and the formation of cosmopolitan political and economic elites.⁵³

2.5. The gravedigger of nationalism is digital dictatorship and biometric racism

It was mentioned earlier that the invention of the mass army, along with other modernization processes, led to democratization and the formation of nation states. T. van Hanen’s research on democratization and the formation of a polyarchy shows that democracy arises when power resources are distributed evenly across society and no group of society can compel obedience or maintain dominance over political competitors. In other words, there is no political centralization in society, because there is no concentration of wealth and other resources of power, and democracy emerges as an institutionalized compromise between competing societal groups, which lays down rules for obtaining and changing power.⁵⁴

Automation and robotization in warfare, just like in manufacturing, reduce the importance of the masses and the need for people, their value for war and the economy. Y. Harari notes that the cutting edge 21st century troops need

⁵³ Friedman, J., *Class Formation, Hybridity and Ethnification in Declining Global Hegemonies*, in Olds, R., and all eds., *Globalization and The Asia Pacific*, London: Routledge, 1999, p. 183–201.

⁵⁴ Vanhanen, T., *Democratization in the World and Challenges to European Democracies*, *The Korean Journal of International Relations*, 44, 2004, Seoul, Korea, p. 201–214, http://kaisnet.or.kr/resource/down/2_11.pdf [Retrieved on 11-11-2018].

‘a small number of highly trained soldiers, an even smaller number of special forces super-soldiers and a handful of experts trained in the production and use of sophisticated technology. The modern technology forces are made up of unmanned aircraft and cyber worms, which replace the mass 20th century armies, and generals are increasingly relying on algorithms for decisive solutions.’⁵⁵ The US, Russian and Chinese military industries are rapidly developing AI autonomous weapon systems, military land and water robots and drones. For now, the declared objectives are development of battlefield support systems, intended mostly for intelligence, de-mining, and soldier protection. Developed systems should become operational at around 2030.⁵⁶

Small and medium-sized states cannot and will not be able in the future to compete with the economically strongest states and their blocks, capable of making the biggest allocations for military research and its technological application, which are highly advanced in terms of military technological power (in outer space, potentially there may be 9 competing states in general, however realistically—only the USA, Russia, and China).⁵⁷ AI and robots are being rapidly deployed for criminal intelligence and tracking. The development of information technology and the abundance of smart devices produce a great deal of human data. Governments and large technology corporations have the technical ability to gather and store this data over a long period of time. The advancement of AI will allow for efficient real-time analysis of this data. Intelligent machines today reliably recognize faces and will soon be able to recognize and evaluate non-verbal body signs, link them to people’s personal belongings.⁵⁸

As the people masses lose their economic and military value, such economic and military developments can increase the cost of maintaining democracy for the elite (progressive taxes, social policy on wealth redistribution, etc.) while

⁵⁵ Harari, Y., *Homo Deus. Glausta rytojaus istorija*. Kitos knygos, 2018, p. 275.

⁵⁶ Christian, Jon, *The Pentagon Wants to Buy Thousands of Battlefield Robots*, Futurism, 28 December 2018, <https://futurism.com/the-byte/battlefield-robots-pentagon-thousands> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018]; Robitzski, Dan, *The UK Is Developing Autonomous Killer Robots. The UK was opposed to autonomous weapons — until it wasn't*, 12 November 2018, <https://futurism.com/uk-autonomous-killer-robots> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁵⁷ Česnakas, G., *The Implications of the Technological Trends in Military on the Defence of Small States*, report in the annual conference “Lithuanian National Security and Defence”, 28-11-2018.

⁵⁸ *Does China’s digital police state have echoes in the West? The state can gather more information, more easily, than ever before. Do not underestimate the risks*, The Economist, 31 May 2018, <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2018/05/31/does-chinas-digital-police-state-have-echoes-in-the-west> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018]; Fasman, J., *More data and surveillance are transforming justice systems*, Technology Quarterly, 2 June 2018, <https://www.economist.com/technology-quarterly/2018-05-02/justice> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

reducing the negative effects of democracy refusal.⁵⁹ In his latest study, Y. Mounk shows that liberal democracies are being deconsolidated—in Western societies, mistrust in liberal democratic institutions and procedures is growing and respect for democratic norms is diminishing. The data he collected shows that over the last decades of the 20th century, the West has seen an increase in the proportion of citizens who find the rule by the military and/or one man, as a strong leader, acceptable.⁶⁰

According to 2011 survey data, 44 percent of 18–24 year olds and 32 percent of all those polled in the USA thought that it was either good or very good to have a political system with a strong leader not constrained by the Congress or elections. Meanwhile, in 1995, there was 10 percent fewer young people with such views—34 percent, and 24 percent of all respondents, respectively. In 1995, only 8 percent of 18–24 year olds and 7 percent of all those polled in the USA approved of the rule by the army, but in 2011, the number of such young people tripled and reached 24 percent (and 16 percent of all the respondents). It is interesting to note that among affluent Americans, admiration for military rule increased six-fold, from 6 percent in 1995 to 35 percent in 2011.⁶¹ Y. Mounk argues that if AI systems reach the average human computing efficiency, the working class and lower middle class will disappear—they will be replaced by robots in production⁶².

As a result, the elites of the most technologically advanced countries will have the opportunity to ignore the views, protests and needs of the broad masses and, if necessary, to defeat their resistance through robotic armies. In the 21st century, the masses would lose the power of passive resistance (because their skills would simply not be needed in the market or warfare) and active action could be effectively suppressed. Concentration of power and wealth through robotization and digitalization opens up opportunities for ‘algorithmocracy’ and digital dictatorship. As people lose their jobs, they lose political power, and corporations and/or states gain power, which is concentrated in the hands of the few due to the use of AI for manufacturing, big data analysis, communication and warfare. What’s more, advancement in synthetic biology and genetic engineering create preconditions for improving human intelligence and emotional traits.⁶³

⁵⁹ Mounk, Y., *Automation will crunch democracy*, IntelligenceSquared Debates, 16-05-2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A7Tzbu2xJnc&list=PLh9Xs5KXL88hrn3VfkVc3kvh6LOnk0AP7&index=22&t=4502s> [Retrieved on 11-11-2018].

⁶⁰ Mounk, Y., *The People VS. Democracy. Why Our Freedom is in Danger & How to Save It*. Harvard University Press, 2018, p. 105–115.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109–110.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Harari, Y., *Will the Future Be Human?*, World Economic Forum, 25-01-2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hL9uk4hKyg4&t=77s> [Retrieved on 26-04-2018]; Harari, Y., *Why fascism is so tempting—and how your data could power it*, TED, 8 June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xHHb7R3kx40&list=PLh9Xs5KXL88hrn3VfkVc3kvh6LOnk0AP7&index=37&t=0s>.

Cloud computing and nanorobotics can also expand possibilities of human brain activity—the creation of an additional artificial layer, simulating human forebrain cortex (neocortex), would allow people, with the help of nanorobots, to directly connect wirelessly to the Internet and via a computer cloud to other people with the same artificial forebrain cortex computer simulations. Such capabilities would greatly improve people’s computing, information storage, instantaneous transmission and communication capabilities. R. Kurzweil, now working with a team to create such an artificial cortex for Google, hopes to achieve this by about 2030.⁶⁴

R. Kurzweil says that over a decade, genetic engineering and synthetic biology will also make it possible to adjust the human immune system, rejuvenate organs, replace them with new organs that contain individuals’ DNA so there is no rejection and with the help of nanorobots to monitor and regulate all body activity.⁶⁵ In essence, this technological transformation would be equivalent to the evolution of the human language 70,000 years ago, the appearance of which resulted in separation of *Homo Sapiens* from other hominids. The cognitive revolution took place between 70,000 and 30,000 years ago and led to a new *Homo Sapiens* intellection and communication skills. Mutations in the FOXP2 gene (this gene is involved in the formation of the brain region responsible for abstract thinking and speech) have altered neural connections and have led to the emergence of human language as we know it today with the ability to create abstractions.⁶⁶

Therefore, it is probable likelihood that the elites of the most technologically advanced countries may improve the morphological, physiological and psychological quality of theirs and their offspring through genetic engineering and thereby begin to genetically alter and differ from the rest of the human population. As the ethnic identities of groups of people are based on an imagined (putative) extended kinship, which correlates with the real endogamy of human populations and the averages of genetic distances, respectively⁶⁷, therefore, genetic engineering should promote the ethnic differentiation of the current ethnic groups’ social elites from the rest of the members of the ethnic groups.

If power in the society were to be disproportionately concentrated again (as in the early antiquity or in the late Middle Ages) in the hands of members

⁶⁴ Kurzweil, Ray, *The Future*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1N3j8pBCNE> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁶⁵ Kurzweil, Ray, *Future of Intelligence: Artificial and Natural*, The SuperNova Conference, 28 September 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1DW6thQ-bZw&t=2s> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018].

⁶⁶ Sanderson, Stephen, K., *Human Nature and the Evolution of Society*, Westview Press, 2014, p. 29–32; Harari, Y., *Homo Deus. Glausta rytojaus istorija*. Kitos knygos, 2018, p. 137–138.

⁶⁷ Statkus, N., *Tapatybės politika etniniamis konfliktams reguliuoti*. Versus aureus, 2004, p. 92–94; 98–100.

only a few strata of the society, it would reduce social mobility both within a single generation and between generations due to the influence of nepotism. If social mobility were to decline significantly, social classes would become endogamous in a few generations, as people tend to marry on the basis of three criteria: height, intellect, and social status.⁶⁸ In this way, the social elite would, over several generations, initially become separate ‘tribes-ethnoses’ or even races.

The process would be greatly accelerated by falling individual genomic diagnostic costs (now genome sequencing costs around USD 200 (in 2003, when the human genome was first decoded, the cost of that process was USD 2.7 billion and in 2006 sequencing of a single genome cost USD 300,000), but diagnostic equipment is very expensive so far, with a unit costing about USD 900,000. However, one of the leaders in this market, the company *Illumina*, hopes to build a gene sequencing machine in two years that will cost only USD 20,000).⁶⁹

Y. Harari, on the basis of slightly different arguments (in particular the growing economic inequality and the opportunities afforded by technological advancement to meet the power and longevity aspirations of the elite, ignoring the importance of kinship selection and nepotism), concludes similarly that humanity may disintegrate into biological castes. A small part of *Homo Sapiens* who are rich and powerful will be genetically refined by new eugenics, whereas most of the people can become ‘inferior caste controlled by super-humans and computer algorithms.’⁷⁰ Overlapping social, wealth and biological disparities within the power elite and the latter’s vertical separation from the rest of the social classes will provide prerequisites in the long run for *Homo Sapiens* species to evolve towards separate races or even biological species.⁷¹

If social and biological differences were to coincide and be institutionalized, the scenario described by Harari could materialize. The institutionalization of social and biological differences can be named as *biometric racism*— an ideology that is likely to replace the remnants of humanist ideologies of liberalism or socialism. Now it is difficult to define the essential parameters of such an

⁶⁸ Epstein, Elizabeth, and Gutman, Ruth, *Mate Selection in Man. Evidence, Theory and Outcome*, Social Biology, vol. 31, 3–4, 1986, p. 243–278.

⁶⁹ Buhr, S., *Illumina wants to sequence your whole genome for \$100*, Techcrunch, 10 January 2017, <https://techcrunch.com/2017/01/10/illumina-wants-to-sequence-your-whole-genome-for-100/?guccounter=1> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018]; Molteni, Megan, *Now You Can Sequence Your Whole Genome for Just \$200*, Wired, 11-19-2018, <https://www.wired.com/story/whole-genome-sequencing-cost-200-dollars> [30-12-2018]; National Human Genome Research Institute, *The Cost of Sequencing a Human Genome*, <https://www.genome.gov/27565109/the-cost-of-sequencing-a-human-genome> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018].

⁷⁰ Harari, Y., *Homo Deus. Glausta rytojaus istorija*. Kitos knygos, 2018, p. 308–309.

⁷¹ Harari, Y. N., *21 Lessons for the 21st Century*. Jonathan Cape, 2018, p. 75–76.

ideology, but by analogy with conventional racism – an ideology that divides humanity into distinct essentially different political and social categories with different characteristics and rights by physical appearance – *biometric racism*, would probably be based on biometric and genetic markers. Endogamy based on biometric racism would, over several generations, lead to the emergence of a particular collective genealogical identity. In other words, *estates*—‘ethnos’ and ‘class’ hybrids—are likely to occur, having class and ethnos characteristics. Estates occupy a certain place in the division of labour and have a sense of common affinity. Artificial and purposeful adjusting of the genetic evolution of human beings would result in obvious physical and mental differences, and if further restrictions on free marital choice were imposed, *estates could become castes*—‘race’ and ‘class’ hybrids (this is how the castes in India evolved⁷²). Similarly, in medieval Europe, since the 14th century, after the creation of estates, myths of common origin of noble estates, separate from other social strata, have emerged, replacing egalitarian ethnic myths that existed since the 5th century, which defined affiliation with symbolic societies of common origin in medieval kingdoms.⁷³

Y. Harari paints a possibly bleak picture of the future of the humankind if non-crossable biological boundaries separate the elite from the masses and blur the differences within the oligarchic elite. Such a development would render entire countries and continents irrelevant and lead to deglobalization when separate elite castes of ‘enhanced humans’ form a separate ‘civilization’ within a defined area of the globe that is protected from the rest of the ‘barbarian’ humankind by armies of robots and drones.⁷⁴

How this might work is illustrated by China’s policy in its Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region with the population of about 20 million, about 8 million of which are Uyghurs Muslims. China is widely using tracking devices and AI to control the movement of Uyghurs. In Xinjiang, CCTV cameras are located every 100–200 meters on the streets of many cities and towns in the region. Cameras capture the faces of both passers-by and drivers, and vehicle license plates. Various audio and video recording and positioning applications are forcibly installed in mobile phones of the population. In addition to ordinary personal data, Uyghurs’ identity data in databases include workplace, fingerprints, blood type, DNA information, detention records, security vetting and data about relatives. All data is analysed by the Integrated Joint Operational

⁷² Van den Berghe, P. L., *The Ethnic Phenomenon*, Elsevier, 1981, p. 159–162.

⁷³ Reynolds, S., *Medieval Origins Gentium and the Community of the Realm*, History, 68, 1983, p. 375–390.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Platform, which, based on the algorithms used, identifies and generates lists of suspected persons to be detained.⁷⁵

Other countries are also expanding gathering and use of biometrics. According to experts at the Georgetown University Law Center, facial images of approximately half of all American adults (most of them without any criminal past) are stored in databases accessible by the FBI. Many companies offer the police crime prediction software, which by analysing big data arrays should help the police allocate resources more efficiently by predicting and preventing crime. For example, an algorithm used in the State of New Jersey, based on a person's age, criminal record and the violence level of the committed crime, helps to determine whether a person can be released on bail. Several US states use algorithms to make recommendations for court sentences. At least 13 US cities use algorithms to identify individuals who may use or become victims of firearms. Algorithms start to independently determine decisions about human destiny and can punish for potential crimes rather than actual crimes. The operation of algorithms is not completely clear and transparent because their developers do not disclose their exact structure.⁷⁶

Artificial intelligence, operating on algorithms, is already making autonomous decisions that differentiate social groups in the financial and other business sectors. For example, *Amazon* managers were surprised when the algorithm responded to a task who should have priority in provision of an extremely urgent delivery service. The algorithm suggested that the service should be intended for middle-class Americans of the white race, not lower-class black people. The airline British Airways applied an algorithm for auto seating of passengers—the result was strange—the algorithm decided to seat men in the front and women in the back of the plane!⁷⁷

Profiling and a social score rating system that measures citizens' behaviour and imposes social sanctions have been introduced since 2014 and will become fully mandatory throughout China in 2020. By its very nature, the system is behaviourist—politically acceptable behaviour is given positive reinforcement, while non-acceptable—negative sanctions (depending on how many points are scored). For example, for speeding, smoking in unspecified places, not paying

⁷⁵ Does China's digital police state have echoes in the West? The state can gather more information, more easily, than ever before. Do not underestimate the risks, *The Economist*, 31 May 2018, <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2018/05/31/does-chinas-digital-police-state-have-echoes-in-the-west> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁷⁶ Fasman, Jon, *More data and surveillance are transforming justice systems*, *Technology Quarterly*, 2 June 2018, <https://www.economist.com/technology-quarterly/2018-05-02/justice> [Retrieved on 30-12-2018].

⁷⁷ Kewley, J., *Talk in Session Three: The Way Forward at Modern Deterrence Conference 2018: Securing Societies*, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, 8 November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nw1xQQ9h7v8&t=1908s> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018].

taxes on time, too many computer games or false posts on social networks and similar misconduct, 9 million Chinese were denied airline tickets and 3 million were unable to travel by train. A negative social rating will prevent access to prestigious schools for children of the ‘wrong-doers’ and the ‘untrustworthy’ and better jobs for themselves. Other sanctions include restricting Internet access, a possibility to stay in better hotels or have a pet, etc.⁷⁸ Good reputation has always been important, but now in China it is rather AI that will decide about it, and more importantly, it will differentiate people into privileged and non-privileged socio-political classes.

China also plans to fully implement it in the industry and become a global leader in this field of AI around 2030. For the development of AI, China has big data, sufficient number of scientists and technological knowledge, and does not impose any ethical restrictions on the storage of this data, using it for research, and for the development and application of AI.⁷⁹ It may be only a matter of time when the Western states will have to follow the Chinese example if the West does not want to lag behind in this arms race.

The above analysis of economic processes shows that human economic activity has long crossed the borders of national markets, although the global liberal economy system does not cover the entire globe. The development of international communications and social networks is breaking down the communication barriers between nations as ‘imagined communities’. The decline in the importance of the masses in warfare weakens the need and opportunities for active involvement of citizens in state governance. This creates economic, political and social preconditions for the separation of political and ethnic communities. The postmodern world of the 21st century creates the conditions for larger and even smaller political communities than nation states. And these formations consistently start to deviate from ethnic groups.

Such trends in science, societal development, warfare, and manufacturing could ultimately lead to the end of both democracy and nation states. The emergence of digital dictatorships—societies where social structure is extremely politically, socially, culturally, and, finally, genetically polarized—should logically open up opportunities for political formations that are completely different

⁷⁸ Ma Alexandra, *China has started ranking citizens with a creepy ‘social credit’ system—here’s what you can do wrong, and the embarrassing, demeaning ways they can punish you*, Business Insider, 29 October 2018, 12:06, <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-social-credit-system-punishments-and-rewards-explained-2018-4> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018].

⁷⁹ Robles, P., *China plans to be a world leader in Artificial Intelligence by 2030*, South China Morning Post, 1 October 2018, <https://multimedia.scmp.com/news/china/article/2166148/china-2025-artificial-intelligence/index.html> [Retrieved on 29-12-2018].

from those of a nation state. The boundaries between ethnic and political units could start to diverge once wealth and power in societies are disproportionately concentrated again in only a few ethnically (racially) different strata of the society. Ethnic identity would not disappear, but it is possible that new identities would emerge that more or less coincide with socioeconomic backgrounds. Paradoxically, advancement in information technology and biotechnology may lead not to the unification of the humankind and the world, but, on the contrary, to deglobalization and the unprecedented radical biological division of the humankind. However, one cannot deny that new technological innovations will not re-establish the balance of power in favour of democracy and nationalism.

3. The Post-Liberal Deglobalized Trans-nationalist World

Globalization in the realm of identity created the preconditions for the gradual trans-nationalization of elites (the formation of regional elites and a narrow global elite) and actualised the autochthonous identities of the masses. In other words, *glocalization* (globalization + localization) of identities took place. As a result, ethnic identity as such has not disappeared and will not disappear, but it is more likely than not that new identities will form that will be increasingly coinciding with socio-economic strata, large regions, 'global cities'.

Similarly, globalization and modernization have exacerbated the cultural differences at the junctions of political conflicts and major world civilizations. The cultural response to globalization manifests itself in tensions between local identities and the forces of globalization.⁸⁰ Accelerating development of international cultural and communication infrastructure creates preconditions for formation of a qualitative new culture of transnational elite and professional experts⁸¹, but there is still a lack of obvious evidence of emergence of a strong global elite culture, transcending national and ethnic identities, overshadowing them, whereas manifestations of intercultural civilization conflicts are ample. Therefore, there are also manifestations of the trend towards regionalization, and the civilizational opposition underpins S. Huntington's theory of a conflict of civilizations.

⁸⁰ Mazarr, M. J., *Culture and International Relations: a Review Essay*, The Washington Quarterly, Spring 1996, p. 177–195; Rothkopf, D., *In Praise of Cultural Imperialism?*, Foreign Policy, 1997 (107), p. 38–44.

⁸¹ Stevenson, N., *Globalization, National Cultures and Cultural Citizenship*, Sociological Quarterly, 1997 (38, 1), p. 41–67.

The desynchronization of the global economy, the rise of major powers seeking to become regional dominants, and the sociocultural vertical polarization and horizontal fragmentation of ethno-cultural identification imply that in the second decade of the 21st century globalization is being replaced by regionalization tendencies. The dominant state or group of states in the region is creating regional military-political and economic blocs that some nation states oppose while others cling to these imperial blocs. The empire has always been the antipode of the nation state.⁸² In fact, a closer look at 193 member states of the United Nations in 2018 reveals that only 36 (19 percent) were nation states according to the definition used in this article—the political community coincided with an ethnic group—more than 95 percent of the state's citizens belonged to one ethnic group. And, as Timothy Snyder perfectly noted, the alternatives for modern nation states of Eastern and Central Europe are either incorporation into the neo-empire that Russia seeks to rebuild or deeper EU integration.⁸³ To paraphrase Snyder, one can say that for all nation states the alternatives are either empire or regional integration. However, the political, economic, civilizational and ethnic boundaries of the regions intertwine and the regional configuration of the international system remains very dynamic. The sustainability of regionalization trends remains uncertain.

But one thing is clear that globalization brought about by technological advancement in the information and transport sectors and by the liberal hegemony of the United States has given a strong impetus to the global convergence of legal, cultural and educational systems and has created economic, social and political preconditions for formation of political entities larger and/or smaller than nation states.

Proponents of the ideology of nationalism, on the other hand, are not going to retreat silently—a growing wave of nationalist ideas, i.e. the sovereignty of nations and the right of peoples to self-determination, has swept through Western Europe and the USA since 2014, which cannot be adequately explained by claims of modern theories of nationalism, whereas theories of transformational nationalism can again just state that the current “revival” of nationalist ideas in Europe, Eurasia, East Asia, and the USA confirms claims that nationalism is politically necessary, socially functional, and historically rooted.⁸⁴

Experts note a growing new principle of political grouping, a new political division between globalists and nationalists, both nationally, regionally and

⁸² Hazony, Y., *The Virtue of Nationalism*, Basic Books, 2018, Ch. 1.

⁸³ Snyder, Th., *The Nation-State and Europe, 1918 and 2018*, Institute of International Relations (Prague), 23 December 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBe8-QIoirI&t=799s> [Retrieved on 27-02-2019].

⁸⁴ Smith, A. D., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Polity Press, 1995, p. 160.

internationally. This new cleavage replaces the previous opposition between the right and the left.⁸⁵ The presidential elections in the USA (2016) and France (2017), national elections in Austria, Italy, Sweden in 2018, regional elections in Bavaria, Andalusia illustrate the dichotomy of globalists (internationalists) and nationalists.

Past political differences lose relevance as the significant social, cultural, or economic problems, that politicians face and must address, transcend boundaries of nation states. And the typical recipes offered by the political right or the left, liberals or conservatives, no longer meet the challenges of the present, as the social and political problems caused by industrialization in the 19th century have long been solved in Western countries. Climate change, the crisis of the global liberal economy, the legal regulation of biotechnology, the regulation of the Internet are global issues of an international dimension, but essentially nation states remain the decision-making formats. It is impossible to deglobalize economic, ecological problems, or stop scientific progress, therefore we need to globalize politics by releasing it from the constraints of nation states, says Y. Harari.⁸⁶ Indeed, it must be accepted that these problems can be solved by looking for global solutions—to globalize politics (the vision of H. Clinton, the US Democratic Party, the European Commission). It is hard to imagine how these problems could be resolved by the path suggested by nationalists—restoring previous power to citizens of nation states, abolishing or reducing the competences of international institutions, i.e. *renationalizing* politics. This is how the management of world affairs is seen by D. Trump, V. Putin, M. Le Pen and N. Farage.⁸⁷

Therefore, this ‘return’ of nationalism ideals—independence, authenticity of a nation—to the foreground can only be explained and interpreted as nationalism’s ‘swan song’ before extinction, temporarily driven by the tendencies of protectionism and regionalization in the international system witnessing a hegemon shift and in the early phase B of the long Kondratieff wave of capital accumulation, while attractiveness of nationalism for the middle class of some of the ‘core’ societies is reinforced by increased international migration flows.

The end of nationalism is possibly being prepared by digitalisation and all-inclusive networking and the forthcoming 4th (or 3rd, depending on how one counts) industrial revolution, which will connect people, computers and ma-

⁸⁵ Friedman, G., *Nationalism, Internationalism and New Politics*, Geopolitical Futures, 30 November 2016, <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/nationalism-internationalism-and-new-politics> [Retrieved on 17-11-2017].

⁸⁶ Harari, Y. N., *21 Lessons for the 21st Century*. Jonathan Cape, 2018, p. 110–126.

⁸⁷ Caldwell, Ch., *How to Think About Vladimir Putin*, Imprimis, March 2017, 46, 3, <https://imprimis.hillsdale.edu/how-to-think-about-vladimir-putin> [Retrieved on 21-12-2018].

chines into the 'all-inclusive Internet' (Internet of Things).⁸⁸ The revolutionary convergence of synthetic biology and information technology can create a whole new platform for production, communication and logistical infrastructures, potentially paving the way for a new economic, social and political order where ethnic and political boundaries will no longer coincide.

And it is important to realize that the alternative to failing globalization is not nationalism and the regeneration of the role of nation states on the international stage, but rather the increasing regionalization of the international system and the emergence of regional political military and economic blocs—their alliances, competition and conflicts. Individual nations will probably not be able to confront these blocs and will probably have to choose which ones to attach to. And if the tendencies of democracy decline and social disruption persists, the identities of the regions will not cover their entire population—there will be ethnic and cultural pluralism within the regions. Regional identities will only emerge at the elite level—the combinations of culturally Creole-type neo-eugenics, the ideas of evolutionary humanism and trans-humanism.

Conclusions

The 21st century has been perceived by many social scientists as a period of intense globalization, the end result of which is a fully integrated humankind, as a whole community, without division into races, nations or ethnic groups. Globalization, as an economic and social phenomenon, involving phenomena such as capital mobility, intense international trade and production, international transactions and agreements, international migration, global media, has indeed led to the diminishing political and economic influence of nation states, and questions have been raised about the prospects for the survival or transformation of nation states and nations: what a nation was yesterday, what it is today and what it will become tomorrow.

Nationalism, as a political ideology, spread and existed when the security and stability of the state depended on an unprecedented mass active involvement of the people in political processes. The voluntary service of the people to the state was an important crucial factor for governments. However, the fate of nationalism in the 21st century is driven by a trend where a *state* less and less needs democratic methods of governance and measures of socio-cultural politics that

⁸⁸ Rifkin, J., *The Third Industrial Revolution*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2011; Schwab, K., *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*. World Economic Forum, 2016.

ensure the health, loyalty, and activism of the masses—obedience is enough.

The breakthrough in information technology and biotechnology is the most significant global change since Gutenberg and the industrial revolutions. Medias have changed, education, warfare and production are changing rapidly—personalizing. This suggests that there is a fundamental societal transformation, the reverse of the ‘triple revolution’ formulated by A.D. Smith, which has laid the foundations for mass domination, emergence and spreading of nationalism.

Modernist and transformational theories of nationalism explain very well the emergence and spread of nationalism, and the factors behind nationalism, as indicated by such theories—industrialization, mass education, mass communication and transportation capabilities, press, mass literacy, mass army—are actually gradually losing significance in developed core states of international economy. And the resurgence of nationalist ideas within them is rather an attempt to return to a familiar past, as the future is uncertain and frightening.

As K. Popper perfectly pointed out, we cannot know today what we will find out only tomorrow. The future is very uncertain and depends on all of us—actions of many people today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. And what we do depends on our ideas and desires, our hopes and fears. It depends on how we see the world and how we assess future opportunities.⁸⁹

When printing machine invented by Gutenberg and gunpowder guns spread in the early modern Europe, it sank into religious wars and wars between estate monarchies. No one at that time had imagined that these inventions, along with the development of capitalism and industry, would create the conditions for emergence of nation states, nations—‘imagined’ socially horizontal political-cultural communities.

New technologies are already on the way, but we do not know the challenges and opportunities they bring, how they will be adapted for our daily lives. Will the culture of images and sounds not suppress abstract thinking? Will new digital direct communication technologies not kill many non-digital languages? Will language at all remain a means of communication? And how to answer the fundamental political question—who is the enemy and who is the friend and how to distinguish between them? What is it worth or not worth sacrificing for?

April 2019

⁸⁹ Popper, K., *The Lesson of this Century: With Two Talks on Freedom and the Democratic State*. Routledge, 1997, p. 81.