INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND INFLUENCE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES ON CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Key words

International political communication, International relations, Information and communication technologies, Information revolution, Subjects of international relations, Digital age

Author

Aleksandar Vranjes, MA is a Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Banja Luka
Željko Budimir, MA is a Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Banja Luka

Correspondence

aleksandar.vranjes@fpn.unibl.org
zeljko.budimir@fpn.unibl.org

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Summary

International political communication can be seen as an auxiliary but also constitutive discipline of the International relations in the wider field of the Political science. At the very core of International relations is Political communication through which the most important actors of world politics realize political goals. This paper presents a short genesis of the development of the International political communication and relation to the International relations. The key terms have been defined, the most important theories have been given and today's global character of International communication has been highlighted. The changes in International politics were analyzed as the consequence of the information and communication revolution and the emergence of modern Information and communication technologies that change the very nature of International relations. An overview of the new communication technologies impact on the main actors (subjects/entities) of International relations was made, thus analyzing the impact of this factor on both state and non-state actors. We looked back at the impact of information and communication technologies on an individual who, thanks to the global communications network, became a real actor of world politics. There is also a section of the main theories of International relations and their relation to the challenges brought by the Informatics revolution (IT revolution) and the Digital age.*

* „International political communication” and “International communication” in this paper are understood as synonyms because it is a question of the teaching the same subject with the name variation, depending on the school where it is taught. In other words, the derivative “International Political Communication” was created in analogy with “International Political Relations”, which is in the same relationship with its synonym - the “International relations”.

INTRODUCTION

International political communication is found in the very historical roots of international relations. As an interesting example that supports this thesis, we can take the development of writing systems as an epochal discovery that promoted both communication and the international relations. More than six thousand years ago, the Sumerians began to write on clay tiles and for the first time in human history, managed to materialize the thought of a man. A thousand and five hundred years later, the Egyptians replaced clay tiles with papyrus and recorded the most important religious rituals by hieroglyphics.

For more than a millennium afterwards, the human race was introduced to the phonetic alphabet in the Western Asia that arrived in the ancient Greece with Phoenicians in eighth century BC, thus prompting the first phonetic script of western civilization. It generated the classical Latin script, which developed into Latin and Cyrillic alphabets. Thus, interstate relations of the ancient times developed along with the communication technology. In this context, Andre Gunder Frank (Frank, 1998.) wrote that the original wave of the so-called "archaic globalization" moved from the earliest Southeast Asian states, through the Western world to the Far East.

Trade was definitely the dominant intermediary in connecting the first states. However, as can be seen from the above, cultural, social, technological, economic and ultimately political ties also developed among peoples, only significantly slower than today. If this historic review were to fast forward several centuries and focus on setup up of a transatlantic telegraph cable in the mid-19th century, we would also be convinced that (then new) communication technology significantly

improved international relations, in this case the United Kingdom and the United States with first telegraph messages exchange between the Queen Victoria and President James Buchanan in 1858.

From that point onwards, international political communication, the development of information and communication technologies and international relations are in an inseparable relationship. This is also evidenced by the event of 1973. when the first computer networks were connected - ARPANET from the USA and NORSAR - the Norwegian "Seismic Array". We can call the first network connection between America and Europe the forerunner of today's Internet. This started the process of significant reduction of the information transmission time between Europe and the United States, and later throughout the world. This increased the scope of international political communication to a global level, whole international relations got an entirely new dimension.

International communication importance and its role in international relations cannot be considered without understanding the influence of the technological factor on the relations between the main actors of world politics. The technological factor of international relations is related to the dynamics of the science and technology development and it is one of the main characteristics of the modern world (Vukadinović, 2004). Also, information and communication technologies are the ultimate scope of the development of technological factors today. Since its inception, the science of international relations has been seriously engaged in tracking the influence of technological development on the state, its internal and external policy, as well as the impact of this factor on the functioning and the emergence of non-state entities of international relations.

The development of technology has always had a significant influence on international relations. However, it was with the emergence of industry at the beginning of the 19th century, that these changes got a revolutionary character. The first industrial revolution in which the use of steam in production (steam mills) up to transport (railways, steamboats), as depicted by Joseph Nye, changed the foundations of society: "models of production, labor, living conditions, social classes and political power are changed" (Nye, 2006: 284). Even greater social and economic changes were brought by the second industrial revolution with the appearance of synthetic materials, electricity and internal combustion engines at the transition from the 19th to the 20th century.

The third, IT revolution produced by far the biggest changes in society, economy and international politics. It changes the building blocks from which the world policy was founded (Nye, 2006: 285), acting towards the key actors of international relations by changing their nature and significance.

The development of diplomatic service clearly shows how technological factor influenced the international communication. The case of Benjamin Franklin, who was a US Ambassador to France at the end of the 18th century, is often mentioned in this context. It took him five months to get in touch with his government and get further instructions.

Nowadays traditional diplomatic role is almost meaningless, exchange of information between the government and its representatives is instant, thus diplomats lost their independence and autonomy of action. Also, the development of modern information and communication technologies has influenced the transparency of international relations, so information concerning global politics are no longer limited to a narrow circle of

professionals but is available to the broadest masses.

THEORETICAL ASPECT

In the Encyclopedia of Communication Theory, the author of "Theories of International Communication", Mark DaCosta Alleyne, defines the international communication as an interdisciplinary field of research¹ whose focus are various forms of interaction at the global level, including global communication through mass media, intercultural communication and politics (as defined in the English language) in the field of telecommunications (Littlejohn, Foss, 2009: 537).

The author explains that the subject of international communication research can be identified through two dimensions: 1. the legal and political dimension which refers to analyzing how the decisions and procedures of certain governments and government institutions affect the nature of international communication; 2. a cultural dimension that is focused on the relation between culture and international communication (Ibid.).

So, at the very beginning, we notice that the notion of international political communication is in direct relation with the areas of international relations and political science with the national state as primary actor in the center of this form of communication. In other words, theories of international political communication mainly deal with the interaction between different countries. Nevertheless, there are also broader perceptions offered by Radojković, Stojković and Vranješ: international communication is a process that

¹ Research methods, concepts and data from various fields including political science, sociology, economics, history, etc.

encompasses the totality of communication actors, relations and norms by which, through world's space and time, spiritual creations spill across the national borders (Radojković, Stojković and Vranješ, 2015: 23).

When it comes to theories of international communication, Mark DeCosta Aliyn (according to Littlejohn, Foss, 2009) identifies five paradigms in this domain:

1. Theories of internationalism - it is a paradigm based on technological determinism. It argues that democratic potential and order in the world will develop more as actors of international relations get more connected through new technologies. This paradigm was based on the assumptions that human beings around the world share a great number of basic values, regardless of their cultural and geographic origins. Also, as an important assumption in this paradigm is the existence of an idea of an international society in which the opinion oriented towards peace and tolerance prevails. Recent theories of how the Internet will transform the international society into some global order mainly share the basic assumptions of this paradigm. Therefore we can freely say that the early optimism regarding the social role of the Internet as a demiurge of a new democratic, global and cosmopolitan order, has been largely derived from these theories. Harold Innis was certainly the most influential theoretician in the field of internationalism theories;

2. The Marxist paradigm of international communication is based on the assumption that the form or manner in which the international system communicates essentially represents the function of certain modes of economic production. One of the most famous authors in the domain of this paradigm is Herbert Schiller. His theory of cultural

imperialism accuses the developed US economy of being the culprit of the imbalance in domain of global communication. According to Schiller, the state is intended to be an extension of the capitalist project, which allowed for new technologies to be used for the purpose of creating excessive value instead of a wider social good. Finally, Schiller suggests that the state should use its power to regulate the "communications industry" for wider social welfare, not for the benefit of the capitalists minority;

3. Representation theories assume that the popular culture should be taken seriously in the context of providing insight into the international political relations. Studies of linguistics and literature can monitor the international media, especially since the meanings are not a fixed category and there is a constant struggle to maintain the dominant ideology. Finally, discursive tendencies in popular media often mirror international political agendas;

4. Reception theories claim that there is an inequality in the information flow that is generated by the international media and the reason is found through the analysis of the texts, not on the basis of cultural imperialism. An illustrative example is the transparent narrative model of Scott Robert Olson, who sought the cause of the immense popularity of the American audiovisual production around the world. According to this theory, American films and TV programs are examples of the so-called "transparent media texts" because people from different cultures can easily decode their messages. In other words, transparent media texts are designed to contain the elements recognizable to people all over the world. Regardless of the fact that Olson did not put his theory in the context of

cultural imperialism, we can certainly identify some elements that give dynamics to the process of "Americanization" around the world.

5. The theory of identity is based on a postmodernist intellectual tradition and it assumes that the main contours of the formation of human identity are not by the class, but in a new social movements configured by the issues of gender, race, ethnic affection and sexual orientation. Identity theories propose significant changes in the way in which international communication is conceived, especially as they reject the primacy of national states and focus on the role of actors or subjects of this form of communication practice. According to its point of view, the actors of international political communication have agents that can reduce and exceed the power of the state in this process. One of the most influential theorists in the domain of this paradigm is the famous Manuel Castells (Littlejohn, Foss, 2009: 538-541).

Both internationalist and Marxist paradigms represent the so-called "grand theories" regarding international political communication because they tend to describe and enable normative rules for understanding the entire system of international communication. The remaining three paradigms tend to find traces for understanding the international political communication through specific elements within the communicative process itself. Finally, we can determine the tendency of shifting the theories of international political communication from social sciences toward the general humanist perspective.

The early internationalist and Marxist theories strived for the positive perception on the international social environment's reality

and even empirically based, they left out the issue of identity and the perception of international communication as the arena of rational choice (Ibid.).

Due to the development of modern information and communication technologies and their accessibility to common users, there has been an upgrade of international political communication. The scope has shifted from the framework of national states to global level and the number of this form of communication's subjects has increased. In the past, the state was the most important subject of international political communication, as a special form of communication practice.

In addition to the state, transnational companies, supranational media, news agencies, international radio and TV services etc. also played an important role. The development of new information and communication technologies has increased the number of subjects.

Radojković, Stojković and Vranješ argue the list of actors of this type of interaction can include the Internet search engines, social networks, international governmental and non-governmental organizations, different local and transnational social movements, but also, as mentioned, any citizen with adequate Internet access "gadget", knowledge, ideas and the need to communicate in cyber-space, i.e. across the borders of his/her national state (Radojković et al., 2015: 141). This process could also be explained as a consequence of the disappearance of communication sovereignty that modern countries have lost long before the emergence of the Internet. Later, under the influence of globalization processes, they began to lose economic, military, financial, environmental and other sovereignties (Ibid.). In this context, the authors Style and Stein argue that the development and the availability of new information and communication

technologies have reduced the power of states as their residents and the media were given the opportunity of direct and fast information gathering (Steel, Stein 2002: 35).

We continue discussion of the upgrade of international political communication under the influence of the development of modern information and communication technologies with the theses of Pippa Norris and Ronald F. Inglehart. They note that the development of this form of communication practice is inextricably linked to the globalization – a multidimensional process of free flow of ideas, capital, goods and people across international borders. The political dimension of globalization involves the integration of states into international and regional organizations, which should not be mistaken for similar processes of "westernization," "Americanization" and "modernization". The result should be the creation of a "cosmopolitan democracy" based on the principle that democracy must be applied not only within the national states but also between the states and globally (Norris, Inglehart, 2009: 6-8). In order to support this thesis and describe how the given model of democracy can be achieved, Norris and Inglehart note that human society is increasingly living and communicating within the global community, not just within its own countries. They called this form of interaction a "cosmopolitan communication". The similarity of cosmopolitan and international political communication on a global level lies in the fact that both are based on the possibilities of practicing interpersonal communication by modern information and communication technologies, outside the territories of national states.

When we return to the concept of "cosmopolitan communication" offered by Norris and Inglehart, a logical conclusion from the above would be that this kind of

interaction can lead to the establishment of cosmopolitan democracy and ultimately to the end of nation states. Anthony Giddens claims that it leads to the remodeling of contemporary societies, economies, governments and the world order itself (Giddens, 2003: 60-65). A large number of authors, the so-called "pro-globalist" on this trail explain that the development and application of information-communication technologies finally creates a fertile ground for the realization of this idea. The expansion of cosmopolitan orientation among citizens would result in increased understanding and respect for the habits and customs of other cultures, thus strengthening the trust and tolerance among the peoples. All this, according to the expectations of the above mentioned authors, should ultimately lead to a reduction in the parochial feeling of nationality (Norris, Inglehart, 2009: 174). On the other hand, skeptics start with the fact that there is no empirical research that would confirm thesis that the process of globalization and the ability to communicate across borders of national states could build cosmopolitan orientation among citizens around the globe.

According to authors like Robert Gilpin (Gilpin, 2003: 349) and Michael Mann (Mann, 2003: 135-137), it is a rather controversial thesis that globalization poses a threat to the future of national states and that it weakens the national identities. They can lay down such evidence as ethnonationalist secessionist movements in East Timor, Kosovo, Iraqi Kurdistan, and we can also add, into classification, the movements for the autonomy of the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, in the Basque Country and Catalonia (Spain) and in Scotland, as well as demands of the Flemish and Walloon language communities in Belgium, etc.

Anthony Smith believes that today we are witnessing the growth of regional blocs in

which nation-states still play the main role and not the process of overcoming the states. Smith concludes that we are far from the outlines of some functional model of a global culture that would be formed on cosmopolitan ideals and definitely change the existing world of nations who still inherit their history, tradition, national myths, etc. (Smith, 2003: 284).

It is important to look back at the realism and liberalism as the most important traditional theories of international relations as they occupy a central place in the science of international relations and have the most profound influence. Other theoretical directions do not have a role and place as these two and they mostly developed through their critique. That is why we will consider how these theories look at contemporary international political communication.

In realistic theory, the state is the main actor of inter-state relations and the center of all willing activities in world politics. Here the power and security are the most important issues, the state acts to achieve national interests in a rational way, while the view of international politics is pessimistic. Anarchy of the international system without supreme authority inevitably leads a state to the "security dilemma", and the question of war and peace is the central point of undergoing processes. Although there are different theoretical approaches within realism: from classical, structural and neo-realism, there is a theoretical core of three basic principles that unite all realists - this is called the Three Ss. The first principle is a state orientation - the statism), the second principle is survival and the third principle is self-help (Baylis, Smith, 2001). These basic principles indicate the most important issues of realistic theory and that is why we do not have more serious studies dealing with international communication and

information and communication technologies. International political communication, according to realists, should be an integral part of diplomatic and strategic relations between the states and should help the state in realisation of the most important issues of security and foreign policy. The realists's view on the IT revolution is also interesting since they do not see any need to carry out the revisions within the theory due to the challenges of the digital age. According to realists, modern information and communication technologies are just another phenomenon that the state (as the most important actor of international relations) faces – just like a globalization or transnationalism.

The liberal theory of international relations holds a completely different view of international communication, as well on the impact of the information revolution on world politics. Such stance on these issues stems from the basic principle of this theory where cooperation between the actors of international politics is the most important thing for achieving and maintaining the peace. Joseph Nye, as a prominent representative of this theory, emphasizes that there is no cooperation without communication and no peace without cooperation (Nye, 2006).

In liberal theory there are several principles acceptable to all its variants, ranging from idealism to neoliberalism. The starting point is different from the realistic theory, because the pluralism of the actors is emphasized, meaning the state is the main but not the only actor. A state's behavior in the international system depends on the internal politics. In today's world importance of international institutions for preserving peace is especially emphasized due to their complex interdependence.

There is a deeper consideration of the importance of information and commu-

nication technologies for international relations, especially within the concept of complex interdependency, offered by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane. Nye emphasizes that soft power becomes more relevant in the digital age than ever before due to development of a multitude global communication channels that easily cross state borders. (Nye, 2004: Ch7.).

It is clear for the realists that the IT revolution brought a great power to the non-state actors of international relations, allowing transnational economic and political subjects to easily cross state borders and "undermine" states' sovereignties. Thanks to modern technologies, international communication is becoming a matter of a wider spectrum of actors that derogate the earlier exclusivity of interstate communication. It is important to note that the soft power of transnational subjects of international relations in combination with the global information and communication technologies are not being used only for positive aspects such as democratization, mutual cooperation and peacekeeping, but also for propaganda, misrepresentation, terrorism, transnational crime and other negative phenomena in the international politics.

Almost all authors who support this theory of international relations agree that the information revolution has brought the new (cyber) threats and challenges to a state which is the most important actor of international relations. That is why the theoretical considerations of state role in digital age are important. They strive to find adequate responses to cyber threats that endanger the security of the state and reduce its sovereignty.

It is also necessary to mention the constructivist theory of international relations in the context of theoretical understanding of the impact of information and communication technologies on the world politics. This theory

does not belong to the universal theories like realism and liberalism, nor does it have so much influence within the science of international relations. However, it analyzes, very interestingly, the importance of information technologies in relations between the actors of international politics, looking for the causes of why states and other actors behave in a definite way. This theory generally comes from the point that the world is kind of a social construct and that people, with the help of communication (the language), construct the society in which they live, together with the political world with behavioural rules. Therefore, constructivists consider that information and communication technologies are important means of construct and interpretation of reality. Authors like Murray Edelman investigate how this factor influences the shaping of reality by using / misusing political symbols that manipulate the public.

It is also interesting how the constructivists interpret the language of virtual world which is analogue of the language of "real" (off-line) world, as well as its impact on international relations and international security. The terms like the "bug", "firewall", "viruses" are no longer translated and are part of the vocabulary of both computer technicians and world leaders. How the digital age terms influence the creation of international political actions is the question that constructivists are trying to understand and answer.

Although international communication is essential auxiliary discipline and an integral part of overall international relations, its theory is just beginning to explore this issue, especially through the challenge of the IT revolution. In any case, the influence of modern communication technologies on the main actors of international politics is undoubted and must be the subject of theoretical analysis.

CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Although contemporary international relations include the pluralism of actors, the state is still the main actor - the bearer of the most important processes in international politics. Therefore, it is important to understand all factors that affect the behavior and dynamics of relations between the states and between the state and non-state actors. The IT revolution transformed the role and significance of all international relations actors (Aronson, 2001): of the state, transnational companies, non-governmental organizations, international institutions and finally of the individual as a subject of international relations. For the state, the IT revolution brought new challenges of the digital age, which influence the decision-making process and diminish the significance of the traditional state apparatus, changing the nature of state power in the international system. The big challenge is the overload of information that affects the most important political decision makers. Too much information often paralyzes the government's work and work of other authorities, especially when important foreign policy decisions are made.

Jonathan Aronson cites an example of the Pearl Harbor attack, where in a torrent of information the US intelligence officers neglected the information on the attack on a harbor in Hawaii (Baylis, Smith, 2001: 249). Another major challenge is (de)centralization of political power because modern information and communication technologies enable communication directly and in a real time, which diminishes the significance of ambassadors and other diplomatic officials, as we have already mentioned. The third and

probably the most significant influence of modern information and communication technologies is on the state's monopoly over information. Namely, information technology derogates the government's monopoly over information, unlike before. Today, with the help of the global network, the important information often comes to the journalists prior to the most important state's decisions makers. Also, the access to information is more transparent, its flow through the global Internet network easily "crosses" state borders, weakening that state sovereignty.

The influence of IT on multinational companies (international economic organizations) as subjects of international relations, is also enormous. The free flow of information through the global Internet has enabled the fast development of the global market. By strengthening their economic power, political power of important multinational companies, which compete with the governments of significant countries, is also getting stronger. A good example are the companies that exploit Middle East oil - the "seven sisters" whose influence is often greater than one of the countries whose resources are exploited. Information and communication technologies have greatly increased the power of these non-state actors, who in their economic and political significance can seriously compete with the state.

One of the consequences of the IT revolution is the growth of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as significant actors of international relations. Various non-governmental organizations that deal with human rights, environmental protection, women's rights and other activities, thanks to information and communication technologies, gained global character and influence. Also, the impact of information and communication technologies on an individual is important, as

well as the impact of an individual (through these technologies) on a larger systems and actors. The privacy of an individual today is far more endangered than ever before, as well as the ability of an individual to inflict serious damage on the states, corporations, and international organizations is greater than ever. Information technologies provide an extra strength to the individual as an actor of international relations. Thus, no longer is a prominent statesman the only subject of international relations. These technologies enable an anonymous hacker from the third world to become one.

The free use of a new dimension of space, the "cyber space", has given an individual the ability to unrestrictedly cross the state borders and other physical barriers. With the help of social network groups, he/she can create a public opinion that governments of the most powerful countries of the world have to take seriously.

CONCLUSION

International political communication is a functional part of international relations, an auxiliary discipline through which the international political relations materialize. It has a long history that starts from the earliest contacts between international actors - the states. We trace it far in the past through communication that took place between the Greek polis on the eve and during the Peloponnesian War, as described by Thucydides in the same-titled eternal masterpiece.

After the IT revolution, modern information and communication technologies began to change the very nature of international relations. The influence of the new technological factor on the most important subjects of international relations is

unexpectedly strong changing their essential characteristics. The state, as the main subject of international relations is facing a serious challenge since the most important characteristics of the state change its essence.

Today, for example, we cannot talk about classical territorial sovereignty when a new dimension of space, "the cyber space" emerged with the IT revolution. We saw that state lost its monopoly over information, while on the other hand the non-state actors began to gain the power and characteristics that were previously exclusively related to the state.

Theories do not question anymore whether an individual is a subject or a factor of the international relations. This is obvious today because new information and communication technologies have enabled the individual to be an equal participant in the international events.

It is superfluous to speak about the influence and power that transnational economic and political subjects along international governmental and non-governmental organizations obtained through modern means of communication.

That is why scientific approach to international political communication is more important today than ever before. It is impossible to understand new processes in world politics if you do not understand contemporary international political communication in the digital age. Occurrences such as the globalization, hacker attacks on important state institutions or international organizations such as the UN, may shake up the very structure of the international system itself. On the other hand, the global communications network is the driving force behind globalization and the challenge for the policy makers to adapt to new developments in international relations (Baylis, Smith, 2001: 556).

Entities and factors that traditionally shape international relations still remain. However, modern information and communication technologies alter the intensity and speed of their interaction. International politics is becoming ever more and more complex for understanding, so interdisciplinary complementarity between international relations and international political communication has become a scientific necessity.

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МЕЂУНАРОДНО ПОЛИТИЧКО КОМУНИЦИРАЊЕ И УТИЦАЈ ИНФОРМАЦИОНО-КОМУНИКАЦИЈСКИХ ТЕХНОЛОГИЈА НА САВРЕМЕНЕ МЕЂУНАРОДНЕ ОДНОСЕ

Кључне ријечи

Међународно политичко комуницирање, Међународни односи, информационо-комуникационе технологије, информатичка револуција, субјекти међународних односа, дигитално доба

Аутор

Мр Александар Врањеш је виши асистент на Факултету политичких наука Универзитета у Бањој Луци

Мр Жељко Будимир је виши асистент на Факултету политичких наука Универзитета у Бањој Луци

Кореспонденција

aleksandar.vranjes@fpn.unibl.org
zeljko.budimir@fpn.unibl.org

Област

Политичко комуницирање
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Сажетак

*Међународно политичко комуницирање** се може посматрати као помоћна, али и конститутивна дисциплина међународних односа у ширем пољу политичких наука. У самој суштини међународних односа јесте политичка комуникација преко које се реализују политички циљеви најважнијих актера светске политике. У овом раду дата је кратка генеза развоја међународног политичког комуницирања и релација према међународним односима. Дефинисани су кључни термини, изложене најважније теорије, указано на глобални карактер међународног комуницирања данас. Анализиране су промене у међународној политици које су последице информатичке револуције и појаве савремених информационо-комуникацијских технологија које мењају саму природу међународних односа. Направљен је преглед утицаја нових технологија комуницирања на главне актере (субјекте) међународних односа, тако је анализиран утицај овога фактора како на државу тако и на недржавне актере. Осврнули смо се на утицај информационо-комуникацијских технологија на појединца који захваљујући глобалној комуникацијској мрежи постаје стварни актер светске политике. Дат је и пресек главних теорија међународних односа и њихов однос према изазовима које је донела информатичка револуција и дигитално доба.

* „Међународно политичко комуницирање“ и „Међународно комуницирање“ у овом раду се подразумевају као синоними, зато што је у питању варијација назива наставног предмета у зависности од факултета на којем се изводи, док је у питању иста дисциплина. Другим ријечима изведеница „Међународно политичко комуницирање“ настала је по аналогiji са „Међународним политичким односима“ који се налази у истој релацији са својим синонимом „Међународни односи“.