International Variables Influencing National State Sovereignty after 2010: Political Variables as a Model (Extracted from a Doctoral Thesis)

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Abstract

The global environment post-2010 has witnessed numerous transformations across all political, economic, military-security, cultural, and societal spheres, which have posed a threat to the sovereignty of nation-states and their official functions. These transformations have contributed to redefining the role and functions of the state, acting as incentives and catalysts in the global transfer of power. Consequently, they have created a dilemma manifested in the diffusion of power, where power is no longer exclusively held by the state as the primary actor in global politics. Rather, numerous non-state actors have emerged, wielding and exercising power both domestically and internationally across all levels— local, regional, and global. Therefore, contemporary power shifts have led to the dissemination of power beyond the framework of the state, consequently reshaping the definition of the tools and mechanisms it possesses, ultimately penetrating the sovereignty of the state. Moreover, we must not overlook the significance of technological and informational advancements, which have played a pivotal role in power transitions and redefinitions.

Keywords: *Power transformations, Political geography change, Power transition, Power diffusion, Global chaos.*

Introduction

The concept of power has witnessed numerous transitions and shifts, moving from one entirely different pattern to another in recent years. The political variable, alongside other factors, contributed to this transition. The change in power patterns not only involved the shift from traditional hard power to soft, intelligent, and ultimately electronic power but also led to the spread of power and its various tools and means in a manner entirely different from before. This spread of power created a state of global chaos and instability, causing a shift in both the concept and implications, as well as the application and mechanisms of power. Consequently, power now possesses specific mechanisms that do not necessarily rely on traditional forms, with electronic power prominently emerging. The technological variable played a crucial role in power transitions, leading to the emergence of non-state actors exercising their influence beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. The state has become a secondary actor alongside non-state actors in the global system. This shift no longer encompasses only states and international non-governmental organizations as key players, but has also altered the forms of political, economic, military-security, and cultural power, consequently resulting in a geopolitical transition of power.

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Significance of the Research

The significance of this topic lies in its examination of the most prominent international variables, particularly the political variable, which played a role in weakening national state sovereignty after 2010. It is among the most significant causes and incentives that impacted the state, its functions, roles, and sovereignty penetration.

Research Problem

The research focuses on a fundamental problem: how does the political variable influence power transitions and shifts from one pattern to another, and what are the dimensions of these transitions in the global system after 2010? Consequently, questions arise: how can these international variables affect the state? What are the ramifications of the political variable? And how can national state sovereignty be affected by it?

Research Hypothesis

The research attempts to verify the hypothesis that political variables have affected national state sovereignty, transforming the concept of power transition from a shift to power diffusion in the global system. Consequently, a shift in the geopolitical power landscape occurred between the state as a unit of the international system and non-state actors, under various appellations, who now possess power, means, and tools alongside the state.

Research Methodology

The methodology serves as the tool through which research is described, analyzed, hypotheses are tested, and solutions to the research problem are found. Therefore, due to the research's need for a specific methodology, the inductive approach was adopted, along with the utilization of several approaches, notably the descriptive and analytical approaches, to describe and analyze the study in order to reach conclusions and test the validity of the hypothesis.

Research Structure

To find a solution to the research problem and test the hypothesis, the study's structure is divided into three main axes, in addition to the introduction, conclusion, references, and margins. These axes include the global spread of power and the shift in the centrality of national state power, while the second axis addresses the rearrangement of international interactions, formations, and projects according to the theory of global chaos. The third axis deals with the reformation and reconstruction of the state structure and the change in political geography.

First Axis: Global Spread of Power and Shift in the Centrality of National State Power

The variables, as defined by Ramadan, are "the causes, i.e., the incentives or motives, influencing decision-makers' perception and driving them to adopt specific behavioral patterns to deal with them in a manner consistent with them." It is now well-known that all variables come from both external and internal environments, leading us to observe trends in defining the concept of variables through two directions:

- The first direction focuses primarily on external environmental variables in its main study,

starting its intellectual inquiry from the idea that "any state requires goals and interests to pursue and achieve according to a strategy based on certain principles and policies, which may be influenced — among many other factors — by the international environment, which deals with the nature of interaction between the actors forming the international system and its structure, and the distribution of power among its major poles, reflecting the shape of the existing international system." Therefore, the international system is "associated with its stability or instability with international environmental variables."

From the foregoing, it can be said that international variables, according to proponents of the first direction, represent the fundamental and dynamic catalyst for the global system, reflecting on the concept of power patterns and their distribution, as well as reflecting this shift on national state sovereignty amid contemporary power transitions and redefinition of power due to international variables. External and internal variables experienced by the nation-state represented one of the most important influencing factors in transitioning from the concept of hard power to soft power, and subsequently to smart power, and finally to electronic power.

- As for the second direction, its proponents perceive, based on the idea that "the world has become a small village, heading towards having unified events, which means that it is natural for one event to occupy our entire world." Therefore, they assume a high degree of interaction between the variables and factors influencing the crystallization of a specific phenomenon, both domestically and internationally. Moreover, proponents of this direction add: "All variables converge with each other to become more effective and comprehensive to encompass the international system." (Kazem, 2012, p. 106)

Power remains a pivotal concept shaping the dynamics of international relations, with conflicts in global politics revolving around the pursuit of power components. While military might traditionally held a central role in the power hierarchy of states, there is presently a discernible trend towards diminishing its prominence in favor of alternative, economically and politically less burdensome forms or patterns. This trend is underscored by prevailing international practices across various scenarios, where a reliance on a spectrum of international positions and interactions has highlighted the inadequacy of organized military strength in resolving global issues. This inadequacy is particularly evident in light of the emergence of new actors on the international stage, namely non-state entities employing diverse strategies and operating beyond the confines of state sovereignty. These actors serve as catalysts for social change, sharing a common methodological and theoretical perspective that champions the righteousness of their pursuits. The evolving dynamics of power have compelled scholars of international relations and strategic analysts to reassess approaches to ensuring global security and peace. There is a growing recognition of the limitations of excessive reliance on military force in the contemporary landscape, prompting a shift towards prioritizing non-military means to achieve state objectives and safeguard its sovereignty (Al-Jouhari, 2018, p. 56)

The beginnings of the transformation in power dynamics can be traced back to the post-Cold War era and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, followed by the Gulf War in 1991. This period marked a significant turning point and a new starting point for the post-Cold War era. State sovereignty during the bipolarity of the Cold War era was fundamentally different, given the dominance of the United States of America as the leader of the unipolar international system. This differs from what the current multi-polar international system experiences with the emergence of non-state actors and their impact on state sovereignty.

Non-state actors have acquired political power through their activities in defending human rights or shaping the political agenda of institutions to influence decision-making directly or indirectly. They can employ various strategies such as pressure, protest, advocacy, monitoring, and participation to achieve their desired impact on decision-making processes. The multipolarity of power is no longer limited to states as single and effective international units; it extends to non-state actors, appearing at all levels of political, economic, military-security, social, and cultural-value spheres. They have become active and influential variables in global interactions, affecting the decline of national state sovereignty after 2010. (Rahmeen & Kwashi, 2021).

The capability to utilize certain types of power, once exclusively reserved for and confined within the state, has surpassed its previous limitations. This signifies the end of the state's monopoly and its right to employ tools of power. These changes in political issues rendered material-military power less effective in addressing contemporary political problems. The strongest army globally cannot resolve various issues such as poverty, famine, epidemic outbreaks, pollution, and climate change. The current use of military power has become costlier compared to its past expenditures. (Ibrahim, 2022, p. 114)

All international variables resulting from this significant phase marked the beginning of a shift in power patterns, symbolized by the emergence of globalization. Globalization represents one form of soft power aimed at eliminating borders between individual nation-states. It facilitated their transformation from states into multinational corporations, depriving local governments of legitimacy towards their citizens. Consequently, states became incapable of confronting the global market, external impositions, and external flows that deprived them of their inherited and fundamental societal functions. Furthermore, structural economic adjustment policies towards developing countries, utilized by globalization tools such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, stripped them of their justifications for continuity and their political and legal existence as independent entities. Recognition of their sovereignty is now contingent upon international acknowledgment. (Boush & Tarkal, 2015, p. 18)

Moreover, political changes highlighted a trend towards Western democracy, political pluralism, respect for human rights, and the downfall of totalitarian regimes, especially after 010 and the Arab Spring events in the Arab region. The contemporary international environment has witnessed an escalation in infiltration methods and Western American support for many personalities, parties, and associations advocating for reform, democracy, and human rights, aiming to penetrate state sovereignty under the guise of being their protector and advocate for these humanitarian principles. It is undeniable that the current international environment is witnessing a depletion of sovereignty's essence. Recent international developments have produced a set of variables and influences capable of breaching the fundamental domains of developing countries. (Al-Azawi, 2014, pp. 87-88) Furthermore, the internationalization of human rights and the emergence of the concept of "human security" have altered the traditional perception of state sovereignty. The state is no longer an end in itself but a means to achieve human security. Human rights now supersede state rights and sovereignty in contemporary international legal systems, where state sovereignty is no longer absolute but contingent upon international recognition. International organizations seek to achieve their goals by organizing international relations based on means that ensure peaceful conflict resolution, minimize conflicts and international, regional, and local wars to help create a peaceful environment through establishing joint defense arrangements to achieve and guarantee the security of a group of states. However, these defense arrangements have led to a collision between state

sovereignty and the right of international organizations to intervene for humanitarian reasons, putting sovereignty in crisis within the framework of reconciling state sovereignty with popular sovereignty and responding to these international developments and changes, giving rise to the concept of "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P). (Boukhalfa, 2022, p. 141).

The political changes occurring within the international system have greatly impacted the nature and patterns of power, as well as the dynamics of global balances. Among these variables are those related to their impact on the internal environment of states, their local dynamics, as well as those related to the external environment. Some of these variables withdraw their influence from the internal environment to the external environment of the state, especially as the world of new political blocs has taken various positions due to the manifestations of global integration. This has empowered the political field with a significant impetus embodied in the experiences of political leaders and strategic thinkers of major powers to adopt new policies and strategies. These include political behavior, strategic behavior, alliances, blocs, and strategic interest conflicts, which have garnered significant attention from them. (Gorbachev, 1998, p. 12)

The developments and events shaping the world today are of global significance, and accordingly, several political variables have emerged that have contributed to reshaping the concept and distribution of power globally. Among these variables are state failure, the decline of state sovereignty, strategic failures, political globalization, and mutual international dependency. (Amer, 2006, pp. 74-75)

The Second Axis: Reordering International Interactions, Alignments, and Projects According to the Theory of Global Chaos

Simultaneously, we observe that global politics has entered pathways characterized by chaotic construction, directly influencing the behavior and policies of other international units. This can be discerned in the outcomes of some regional and international developments that have relied on unequal conflicts erupting between major and failed states. Meanwhile, failed states have suffered from limited resources and numerous internal challenges, rendering them less influential in global politics and diminishing their power and capacity to maintain their security and interests. Consequently, they have been compelled To establish regional and international alliances and blocs in an attempt to create a new pattern of power through which they can acquire strength (Thorhallsson & Wivel, 2006).

At the same time, we find that the international system is moving towards further institutionalization and expanding global structures beyond the nation-state level. These structures now encompass economic and trade blocs based on geography and economics, amidst intentional marginalization by major powers, monopolizing the conditions of influence. This is primarily associated with the changes and shifts in power patterns within the international system, resulting from changes in the cultural, ideological, technological, and informational content of international performance (Amer, 2006, p. 83).

One of the most significant transformations and initiatives witnessed in 2011 regarding the Middle East region actually dates back to 2002, as a result of the implementation of various political projects launched towards the Arab region aimed at penetration, whether these projects were American or European. Among these projects was the American initiative "Partnership for Progress with the Middle East," announced by former US Secretary of State Colin Powell in December 2002. This initiative was described as a bridge to fill the gap experienced by countries in the region by using energy, ideas, and funds to improve the conditions of the people in the region. A budget of $29 billion was allocated to this initiative.

The initiative was based on three main pillars: firstly, utilizing both public and private sectors to fill job gaps through economic reform, business investment, and private sector development in the countries of the region. Secondly, involving the United States with community leaders to fill the gap of freedom through projects to strengthen civil society. Thirdly, involving the United States with educators to fill the knowledge gap by providing better schools and more opportunities for higher education in the Middle East. Moreover, there was the initiative of partnership with the Middle East announced in October 2003 by former US President George W. Bush, which aimed to promote diplomatic work in encouraging democratic transition in the region. A budget of $293 billion was allocated for four years.

In 2004, another initiative or project was announced by the United States called the "Greater Middle East Initiative," coinciding with the joint German-French project for the same year. All of these projects aimed to bring about change through introducing political and economic reforms through soft/smart external intervention. The goals of these projects focused on introducing a package of democratic reforms to the region. Furthermore, the support for these political and economic projects contributed to the spread of economic freedom through economic globalization and creative technological development, which facilitated the use of satellite television stations, mobile phones, free social networking sites on the Internet, and other opportunities for the spread of Western values, ideas, and concepts (Al-Nadawi & Al-Khazraji, 2013).

In 2017, there were numerous instances of Russian interference in the political systems of Western countries, influencing the choices of voters. Prior to 2018, there was a growing Chinese interest in infiltrating Western countries with the aim of influencing their decision-making processes through various mechanisms such as political financing, social media, media outlets, employing Chinese minorities, academic surveillance, and economic sanctions. Some Western media outlets, such as The Economist, and research institutions, like the Council on Foreign Relations, have labeled these policies as "sharp power," referring to the use of various political and economic tools to penetrate the internal/domestic/local affairs of a state, reshape the interests of national political elites, influence influential forces, and affect the political decision-making process. (Fakhry, 2018)

Third Axis: Reshaping and Rebuilding the State Structure and Changing Political Geography

Since the inception of the nation-state and the sovereignty issue, there has been debate. The need to protect the form of the state compelled constitutional jurists to insist on making sovereignty absolute. However, in light of the major changes and transformations that occurred at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, the concept has occupied a significant space in the fields of research, discussion, and debate among many political and legal elites, especially cultural ones. The traditional concept is based on the state alone monopolizing this absolute sovereignty and the powers emanating from it, without restriction. However, what prompts this restriction is the fact that the state is often unable to control the growing influence of external factors and their consequences on the internal affairs of the state, especially in politics, economics, media, and other fields, due to global developments and major changes in international relations. These transformations and changes have produced new concepts such as international cooperation and mutual economic dependence, leading the state to become constrained (Tahaitar, 2021, p. 15).

Given that the concept of nationalism entails a shared sense of belonging and affiliation with a specific nation, where there prevailed the belief that any nation has the right to control a piece of

land and to exercise its political sovereignty and authority over it, this led to the predominance of the idea and shared feeling of nationalism. They came to constitute a "nation," especially since the concept of nationalism implies the idea that any group defining itself as a nation has the natural right to possess the land it lives on and govern it. Thus, the nation entails a simple concept that every nation should have its own state that governs and controls it.

The world entered a new phase after 2010, where the process of geopolitical change accelerated in many countries and regions around the world. In light of the urgent pressures for change in the structure and internal functions of states, and within the framework of international relations, the world began to move towards a fundamental change in the sovereign concepts of the state, established by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The world witnessed a series of phenomena/changes that contributed to diminishing the role and sovereignty of the state, among the most prominent being: (Al-Sabawi, 12017, 290-292)

1. The emergence of separatist tendencies in many countries around the world, especially in countries facing ethnic, social, economic, or external pressures, which led to their collapse and disintegration, resulting in the fragmentation of the state into a series of ethnic and sectarian city-states, or due to differences in language and culture among its social components.
2. The emergence of new complexities in the international system, where independence and national sovereignty of the state became threatened by a set of complications/challenges/restrictions that emerged on vital issues such as security, illegal migration, capital movement, environmental issues, health, social and cultural disparities, and language. All these restrictions blurred the border barriers between countries by establishing international institutions/organizations to cooperate on these issues/challenges, which imposed a set of conditions, laws, and administrative decisions for economic, humanitarian, or even political reasons.
3. The emergence of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, both of which posed a threat to international security, with their risks becoming comprehensive after 2001. This new threat justified the strategy of intervention in the internal affairs of states, and reshuffled the importance of global issues, according to the standards and interests imposed by the developments in counter-terrorism.
4. The rise of armed militias, as witnessed by the increasing formation of armed militias such as the Houthi movement in Yemen and some factions in Libya (declaration of the Barqa region), in addition to exacerbating sectarian and identity-based dimensions through external interventions. These were among the important factors in igniting separatist conflicts within the state and civil wars, as seen in the support provided by some Gulf states to certain factions in Libya and Syria after 2010, leading to the blurring of boundaries between internal/local transformations and regional dimensions, and creating a structural gap in the regional cohesion of Arab states (economist-sy.com, 2022).

The evolution of this concept notably centered on the idea of the nation-state, particularly during the modern era, when the rise of the nation-state stemmed from profound economic changes observed in the sixteenth century. This period witnessed the emergence of new societal strata, notably the bourgeoisie, and substantial shifts in the dynamics of production forces. The feudal system experienced weakening as a result of fragmentation and decline, paving the way for the ascendance of a more sophisticated form of capitalism (Giddens, 1973). The decline of the feudal system in favor of capitalism and the bourgeoisie paved the way for the emergence of the nation-state. Its construction came as a result of the bourgeoisie's desire to achieve its

interests and assert its authority, emerging with the support of the bourgeoisie class and political structures, whether domestically or internationally (Mahdi, 2016, p. 38).

After the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the notion of the sovereign nation-state came into existence, marked by distinct geographical limits and the ensuing duties that followed (Frankel, 1984, p. 20). During this era, there was a notable concentration on political analysis, particularly regarding the state's role in maintaining sovereignty and preventing internal interference. Despite the existence of alliances reflecting collective intent, there was no conceptual framework to comprehensively address global affairs beyond national boundaries. However, as the last decade of the previous century waned and the twenty-first century commenced, advancements in technology, transportation, communications, and information technology emerged, eroding barriers that impeded people's interactions, the exchange of ideas, and their incorporation into a unified global framework of perspectives. Consequently, state sovereignty gradually diminished, along with state control over the movements of its citizens. Threats and challenges began to swiftly migrate across different regions, transforming the world into a closely interconnected global community. Numerous new global factors influenced the roles and authorities of states (Iftode, 2010). Contemporary global security encompasses the far-reaching consequences and impacts across a significant portion of the world, influenced by global communication networks, advancements in technology, international trade dynamics, and the flow of financial resources (Bryzhinski, 2007, p. 37).

Here, Brzezinski relied on the hypothesis that the role of the state had receded due to technological and informational advancements (Thanon, 2019, p 68). In parallel, a multitude of non-state actors have emerged, contributing to the shaping and consolidation of global decision-making processes. The landscape of international relations, influenced by a myriad of global variables, is characterized by a plethora of regional challenges and an amplified role played by non-state entities, notably multinational corporations. These entities have actively sought to leverage international dynamics, particularly those spurred by globalization, to amplify their influence, exploiting regional conflicts and instabilities for their own gain (Fishbein & Wenger, 2007, p. 12). Simultaneously, the structure of the global system contributed to the emergence of a multipolar world system, giving rise to new and multiple centers of power and influence. This created an opportunity for the emergence of centers represented by active entities that played a global role as a result of the rise and expansion of neoliberal thinking, focusing on self-regulating markets, the interconnection imposed on society members, and the restrictions imposed on state authority (Rahman & Kwashi, 2021).

It is worth noting that the principles upon which the traditional perspective relied (power, sovereignty, security, and hierarchy) no longer withstand global transformations. The international system now lacks the singular role of the state, owing to the emergence of a broad public sphere where values and interests intersect, and the role of non-state actors and human movements intensify. International relations no longer solely reflect the direction led by the state as a single international actor amid the movement of the international community. Rather, other actors have emerged in international politics, influencing the nature of the concepts associated with international relations theory and its systems.

Furthermore, political changes have given rise to another trend known as political globalization, which leans towards weakening the authority of the state and its sovereign boundaries in the face of interventionist mechanisms in the name of protecting human rights, the responsibility to protect approach, and preventing persecution of certain groups and minorities through permanent international military presence and regulation of elections, referendums, and other

contemporary methods and patterns aimed at stripping the state of its sovereign rights and defining characteristics. All these variables have led to significant challenges manifested in the escalation of instability and civil wars/internal conflicts in southern world societies, especially those hostile to American foreign policy orientations. This has resulted in increased violence as the US administration clings to human rights, democracy, and freedom covers, using them as pretexts for intervention, division, and fragmentation against peoples opposing American hegemony and attempting to remodel and engineer them anew. (Al-Kridi, 2021, p. 67)

In particular, as it proposes cosmetic and populist mechanisms and concepts such as cooperation, mutual dependence, international partnership, democracy promotion, party pluralism, counterterrorism, and the eradication of dictatorships worldwide, and the protection of oppressed/minority groups subjected to various forms of genocide and persecution by their political governments, they are, in fact, nothing more than methods for hybrid practices aimed at imposing the agenda of division and fragmentation on states to subject them to Western policies and interests. (Al-Kridi, 2021, pp. 17-18.)

Political globalization adopts a method of controlling world states by influencing their decisions, not allowing them to undertake any political action without their consent, and ensuring they are a principal party therein. Major powers today intervene in the affairs of failed/weak states overtly and covertly, aiming to achieve further gains and power on the global stage. Consequently, the significance of strategic pivots, upon which regional and international relations rely, has increased after political globalization signaled its expansion of political relations across regions and the world, leading to a series of issues, led by the future of global power, and new international arrangements and their management, surpassing the framework of the nation-state. Thus, political globalization embodies a new reality, serving as the policy of the twenty-first century and playing a significant role in shaping global balances (Amer, 2006, p. 91).

Jean Art Sholt sees political globalization as an opportunity for democratic transformation within the context of ending state sovereignty. There is an inverse relationship between sovereignty and democratic transformation, referred to as "new sovereignty," which is highlighted through a range of strategies and features: (Abdel-Sattar, 2022, pp. 68-69).

1. The traditional concept of the state has changed, as the state no longer enjoys complete sovereignty over its territory. Radical transformations in various levels of the international system limit its capabilities and its security control over its regional surroundings.
2. The emergence of a network of new global powers, regional blocs, and local entities that compete with the state, especially regarding decision-making mechanisms.
3. The evolution of information-technological superiority and the disappearance of political boundaries have introduced a new role for the state as an international actor, necessitating the adaptation of citizens to the new information-based reality (Boubouch, 2006, p. 122).

Amidst the immense developments witnessed by the international system, sovereignty is no longer capable of maintaining its influential, cohesive, and largely liberated positions against external pressures: whether in the political, economic, cultural, social, or even military-security fields. Political globalization poses a challenge to the departure of the political process from the boundaries of national sovereignty and its global transition in terms of the free movement of decisions, legislation, policies, convictions, and choices across societies with fewer restrictions and controls. Furthermore, it enhances political, economic, cultural, and social links on a global scale, and develops political systems in third world countries by introducing

political, social, economic, and cultural reforms into their various systems, thereby empowering the state to provide more successful services to its citizens to withstand this comprehensive encroachment on all aspects of sovereignty, in addition to the collapse of absolute systems that monopolized power to a few elites. Focus shifted to the global community as an alternative to the nation-state due to the emergence of a global community in contrast to the disintegration of the state-nation as a result of the changes resulting from the enlargement and expansion of global variables at all levels (Al-Badaina, 2006, p. 22).

The emergence of the concept of state-building, within the same framework, is defined by Francis Fukuyama as "the establishment of new governmental institutions and the strengthening of existing ones." He further adds that "the strength of the state is reflected in its institutional and administrative capacity to design policies, enact regulations, and enforce them." Thus, the theory of state-building resurfaced in the late twentieth century and became one of the directions of US foreign policy. State-building, according to the American vision, entails direct intervention in weak or failed states and reshaping them according to the American perspective. Francis Fukuyama considers it one of the most important issues facing contemporary society, given the threats posed by these weak or failed states to the international community. He argues that there is an urgent need to use force to strip these states of their sovereignty, dismantle them, and reshape them according to Western visions. (Fukuyama, 2007, p 11-14)

The current situation can be described as articulated in the article "The Populist Challenge" by the Belgian thinker Chantal Mouffe, who refers to it as "post-democracy." This term reflects the structural tension and weakening of democratic values due to the emergence of the "new liberal hegemony" and the disappearance of discursive spaces. This is achieved by exporting a standardized model of the political system to all countries worldwide, aligning with the transformation of the concept of the state amidst international changes and the emergence of concepts such as "the end of history and the last man," "the end of ideologies," "the end of politics," and "the end of the nation-state." These unprecedented transformations highlight the ideas of "global citizenship," "human identity," "belonging," and "cosmic consciousness," leading individuals to embrace the phenomenon of the global political sphere replacing the local/national/national political arena. This entails the reshaping/creation of a new international system led by Western states based on a unified global political conception founded on universal human rights, combining participatory democracy, enlightened governance, and the rule of law. (Mouffe, 2016)

From an objective perspective, political globalization transcends the old understanding of state boundaries and shifts allegiance from old, narrow, and nationalistic loyalties to broader, more global, open, and inclusive ones. This has led to the diminishing role and influence of the state, gradually relinquishing its position to other institutions and actors. Political globalization prioritizes interests over absolute sovereignty, emphasizing international agreements, transcontinental corporations, and global institutional entities, thereby diminishing the notion of state sovereignty due to political globalization. (Tahaitar, 2021, p. 6)

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emergence of slogans (the end of history and the last man, the end of ideologies, the end of politics, and the end of the nation-state). These are considered unprecedented shifts that highlight the emergence of ideas such as global citizenship, human identity, belonging, and cosmic awareness. Consequently, individuals are more accepting of the phenomenon of the global political sphere, which is replacing the local/national political sphere. This entails the reshaping/creation of a new international system led by Western countries, based on a unified global political vision centered around universal human rights, combining participatory democracy, good governance, and the rule of law.

From an objective perspective, political globalization implies transcending the old understanding of state boundaries and abandoning old loyalties in favor of broader, global, open, and inclusive loyalties. This has led to a diminished role for the state, as it gradually relinquishes its absolute sovereignty over its territory and citizens. This is due to a series of radical transformations that prevent the state from fulfilling its political, security/military, economic, social, and cultural obligations. These transformations are driven largely by the dominance and proliferation of information technology, which significantly contributes to the shrinking of political boundaries. Conversely, they introduce a new and contrasting role for the state as an international actor aiming to adapt citizens to the structure of global and local technological development (Omar, 2000, p. 37).

Since the mid-twentieth century, change has accelerated to a degree that almost impedes research progress. The first casualty of this trend has been the state and its sovereignty. It is no longer the dominant and influential player in global interactions, as its powers have been curtailed by the rise of numerous international actors that compete with and often surpass it in form and substance. The expanding international reach is evident in the conclusion of international agreements to monitor and hold countries accountable in various fields, such as human rights, nuclear armament, and labor agreements. Moreover, global issues necessitate international cooperation and political will to achieve meaningful and effective solutions on a global scale, including environmental problems, pollution, desertification, unemployment, poverty, food shortages, transnational terrorism, political violence, the spread of epidemics and diseases such as AIDS, drugs, organized crime, and genocide, which may prompt state or group intervention, leading to sovereignty violations and international intervention. (Zehran, 2019). On the other hand, weak governance systems, the state's failure to provide public services, law enforcement deficiencies, human rights abuses, democracy erosion, and the inability to control internal political instability amid increased external interference have collectively weakened the internal state capacity to protect its citizens and bolster its sovereignty against external penetration (Amer, 2006, p. 79).

Richard Falk argues in his book "Toward a New World Politics" that the state, once predominantly unified and centralized in all its activities, legislation, and decisions, has now become merely a unit within a network of numerous relationships and entities that are increasingly contracting and interlocking. These dynamics are affecting decision-making in both domestic and foreign policies (Abdel-Sattar, 2022, p. 69). Alongside the state, there are now multinational bodies, global organizations, and international groups, among other active entities, seeking further global integration and cooperation at the expense of the state (Omar, 2000, p. 7). This means that the principle of sovereignty is eroding and weakening due to the expansion of inter-state relations across various fields and levels. Consequently, power is shifting from the state and its local institutions to global entities tasked with governing and directing the world. Thus, these global institutions replace the state and overshadow its

sovereignty, identity, and functions, rendering the concept of sovereignty incompatible with global developments within the international system (Bakkar, 2013, p. 63).

From a political perspective, it can be said that the state no longer represents the sole actor in the global political arena. Alongside the state, there are multinational bodies, global organizations, international groups, and other influential organizations impacting the international system and its interactions (Mohammed & Abdel-Aziz, 2011). They seek to achieve greater cohesion, integration, and international interplay among the units of the international system. This intellectual perspective is supported by Dani Rodrik's assertion that sovereignty has notably contradicted itself. Companies in developed countries can relocate their operations to countries with lower labor costs, while unions and labor associations are weaker. This weakens wages and, consequently, undermines the state's bargaining power and reduces the necessary government resources to support welfare and social security programs. Hence, two trends emerge: first, creating a single framework by unifying the center through imposing hegemony on the world, making it a homogeneous and integrated bloc, eliminating the sovereignty of the nation-state, and utilizing all possible political, economic, military, technological, and social means to impose centralized decisions within a unipolar framework. The second trend, emerging from these changes, is the move towards the periphery, working to fragment and tear apart national, regional, and even continental blocs, which could pose a competitive pole to the United States (El-Sheikh, 2018). In conclusion, scholars of international relations acknowledge the international shifts/transitions that have affected the international system. However, they do not adopt the thesis of the demise of sovereignty in the absence of a state alternative. They see that sovereignty has not disappeared entirely due to these new forces, but rather its effectiveness and procedures have been weakened and eroded due to the state's necessity (El-Sheikh, 2018, p. 186 & Fahima, 2018).

Regional external interventions are seen to have particularities that distinguish them from international external interventions. The dangerous repercussions of regional interventions lie in their expansionist tendency towards geographical control and influence at the expense of state sovereignty. This is achieved by exploiting ideological, sectarian, ethnic, and racial differences as a means to support interventionist policies. This was evident in what is known as the "Arab Spring" events and the state of security vulnerability in many Arab Spring countries. Therefore, regional interventions have negative effects on both society and the state. This was highlighted through the ability of regional powers to penetrate the sovereignty of Arab states in 2011, exploiting the deteriorating Arab situation in technical and cognitive fields and the weak utilization of information aspects to protect their internal and external security. (Ibrahim, 2018)

Globalization of economy, politics, and culture entails the decline of the nation-state and the collapse of the concept of regional borders, leading to the emergence of a global community. This signifies a transition from citizenship based on nationality to citizenship and belonging based on a global basis. Kenichi Ohmae confirms this in his book "The End of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economies," stating that "state authority has shifted to regional organizations, as the spread of markets and rapid technological changes weaken the social contract between individuals and the nation." This assertion is supported by Heidi Baral, who states: "The erosion affecting the state leads to the increasing power of power centers directing flows across nations, whether cultural, economic, religious, demographic, or media-related, and they tend to move beyond any geographical territorial basis." From this perspective, controlling knowledge/technology and controlling finances and possessing means of political or moral

influence on the community represent a means to seek dependence away from the concept of state sovereignty and independence. (Ibrahim, 2018, p. 176 & El-Sheikh, 2018)

In conclusion, international changes consist of a set of interactions and latent variables, as well as a range of traditional and non-traditional phenomena within political, economic, military-security, technological, cultural circles, which have led to a series of transformations in both the primary regional circle represented by the sovereign state, as well as the secondary circle represented by the international sphere, alongside the impacts exerted by non-state actors, leading to the undermining and weakening of state sovereignty and its role in the global system.

Conclusion

After drawing upon the literature pertinent to the study's subject, we attempted to delineate the most significant international variables that impacted the decline of national state sovereignty, particularly after 2010. Among these prominent variables were political, economic, military-security, as well as technological-cultural factors. An analysis of the prominent effects of the political variable on national state sovereignty revealed that it was the result of contemporary shifts in power dynamics following the end of the Cold War and the United States' hegemony leading to a unipolar world order. This greatly affected the security, stability, and sovereignty of national states and their retention of traditional/classic functions. The prevalence of numerous international variables based on shifts in power, transitioning from hard to soft power and then to smart and electronic power, contributed to this. Consequently, the study yielded several conclusions:

1. International variables constituted a set of factors/causes that undermined the concept of sovereignty after its establishment with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. States no longer solely act as primary actors; they share this role with non-state actors, including international organizations, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and other non-state actors such as civil society organizations and individuals.
2. The transformations in the traditional concept of power not only affected its nature and pattern but also led to the proliferation of power. As previously stated, this proliferation enabled non-state actors to possess power elements, allowing them to play regional/global roles alongside states. Power is no longer confined to the state's environment and its elements but has spread across all political, economic, military/security, technological, and cultural/civilizational levels. As power becomes less subject to state control, the role of the state naturally diminishes, impacting its sovereignty and weakening its traditional functions.
3. The concept of power has undergone changes due to the nature of the changes affecting the international system. The international system is no longer limited to the state as a single, primary actor. Instead, it has evolved into a broader, more inclusive, global system encompassing numerous international and non-international actors interacting with each other and influencing and being influenced by their global environment. This is particularly evident in the post-international politics era, where numerous official and unofficial actors exert extensive global roles and influence.

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