



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

"Hyperpolarity: Reconfiguring Power Beyond the Post-Westphalian Order"

Researcher:

Mohammad S. Alzou'bi

Bio: MA in International Policy & Diplomacy (Staffordshire University), Researcher at the Gulf Research Center (GRC), Founder of the DEVE Initiative for Think Tanks & Decision Makers, Author of Hyperpolar World Orders: A Reading of Emerging Economic, Security, and Digital Patterns in the International System (in Arabic).

International Relations/Humanities/Staffordshire University



https://doi.org/10.36571/ajsp8612



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

Abstract:

The 21st century has exposed the exhaustion of the Westphalian grammar of international relations. Traditional paradigms—realism's balance of power, liberal interdependence, and multipolar transition theories—presume that order is territorially grounded and humanly governed. Yet the architecture of world politics has been quietly rewritten by infrastructures of finance, data, logistics, and cognition whose operations transcend borders and increasingly elude deliberate control. This paper advances hyperpolarity as a comprehensive ontological and analytical framework for interpreting this transformation. Hyperpolarity designates a systemic condition in which power, sovereignty, and legitimacy are constituted through infrastructural, algorithmic, and epistemic systems that operate across multiple spatial and temporal scales. Rather than discrete poles, global order will consist of layered architectures of authority—a core of infrastructural sovereignties that design and govern connective systems; a middle layer of states and hybrid institutions translating infrastructural power into policy; and an outer layer of dependent and adaptive actors that interface with these systems through conditional access. Flows of capital, data, protection, and norms—driven by what I term Transnational Continuous Fast Access (TCFA) dynamics—link these layers into an asymmetrical yet continuous whole.

By synthesizing insights from network governance, weaponized interdependence, and digital sovereignty studies, the hyperpolarity framework reorients the ontology of IR from territorial balance to infrastructural entanglement. It integrates the non-human turn in social theory with systemic-level IR analysis, demonstrating that algorithms, standards, and protocols now exercise agency once reserved for states. The argument proceeds in ten sections: it begins with the conceptual foundations of hyperpolarity, situates it within existing theories of order, and elaborates its architectural structure before exploring epistemic power, state adaptation, and strategic consequences. The paper concludes that hyperpolarity marks a paradigmatic rupture in the international system—a shift from geopolitics as the management of territory to geo-infrastructure as the management of connection, code, and cognition.

Keywords: Hyperpolarity, Sovereignty, Infrastructure, Algorithmic Power, Epistemic Governance, World Order.

1. Introduction – From the Grammar of Polarity to the Logic of Infrastructure

The modern discipline of International Relations was born from an obsession with polarity. Since Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics in 1979, the field has organized its models of order around the number and distribution of powerful states—unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar systems that supposedly determined the probabilities of war and peace. This "grammar of polarity" presupposed a world of territorially bounded actors interacting through material capabilities and formal sovereignty (Bull 1977). Even critical and liberal revisions of realism retained the same ontology: the state as the unit of analysis and territory as the spatial container of politics.

This grammar started to dissolve in the 21st century. Power is no longer primarily about who commands the largest armies or GDP but about who designs, owns, and governs the infrastructures that make global life possible—sub-sea cables, cloud data centers, logistics chains, satellite networks, algorithmic trading systems, and the standards that interconnect them. These infrastructures are not merely instruments; they are constitutive architectures that define what forms of coordination, coercion, and cognition are possible (Easterling 2014). They operate at speeds and scales that exceed human decision cycles and often reside in private, transnational domains immune to classical diplomacy.

Hyperpolarity emerges as both diagnosis and hypothesis of this transformation. It proposes that world order is no longer structured by the balance among states but by the entanglement among infrastructural systems. The relevant measure of power is not territorial extent but positional centrality within the global architecture of connection. In this view, Microsoft's Azure Cloud or China's BeiDou satellite network exert systemic influence comparable to states: they mediate flows of value, information, and security for entire regions.

The hyperpolar turn therefore demands a re-ontologization of IR. Instead of treating infrastructures as background, it places them at the analytical center. Instead of assuming human agency as primary, it recognizes hybrid sovereignty, in which algorithms, protocols, and standards share in governing authority (Latour 2005; Bennett 2010). And instead of conceptualizing space as fixed territory, it understands it as networked topology—a relational field defined by latency, access, and interoperability.

The implications are profound. The United States' strategic leverage now rests less on its military bases than on its infrastructural choke points—the dollar clearing system, semiconductor design standards, and digital-platform dominance. China's rise similarly depends on the infrastructural export of its Digital Silk Road. Meanwhile, smaller states such as



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

Singapore, the UAE, or Estonia exercise disproportionate influence by embedding themselves efficiently within global systems of data and finance. Hyperpolarity, then, is not an intensification of multipolarity but a qualitatively new configuration of order: a multi-layered, post-sovereign ecology of power.

2. Ontological Foundations of Hyperpolarity

2.1 Beyond the Anthropocentric State

Traditional IR rests on an anthropocentric ontology: humans design institutions, wield weapons, and make decisions. The state aggregates this agency. Yet the infrastructures that sustain global life increasingly operate autonomously and at temporalities beyond human cognition. Automated trading algorithms move billions before policymakers can react (MacKenzie 2021). Machine-learning systems in logistics or cyber defense detect and act without direct oversight. These developments require extending the concept of agency beyond the human.

Drawing from Bruno Latour's actor-network theory and Jane Bennett's (2010) "vital materialism," hyperpolarity conceives agency as distributed among heterogeneous actants—people, institutions, algorithms, standards, and material infrastructures. Each shapes outcomes by virtue of its relational position and capacity to affect others. Sovereignty thus becomes a practice of orchestration rather than possession: the ability to align human and non-human agencies within a functional assemblage.

2.2 Relational and Material Ontology

Barry Buzan and George Lawson (2015) describe modernity as the "global transformation" that fused industrial, military, and bureaucratic revolutions into a single world system. Hyperpolarity extends that argument into the digital age: infrastructures will constitute the material substrate of global interdependence. Power arises from the design of networks—the capacity to set the terms of connection and disconnection (Farrell & Newman 2019). This relational view dissolves the boundary between domestic and international. A cloud-service outage in Virginia can disrupt hospitals in Africa; a sanctions update in Washington can freeze payments in Istanbul. The global is becoming a continuum of infrastructures rather than an arena of sovereign units.

2.3 Temporal and Epistemic Ontology

If the Westphalian order was more spatial, hyperpolarity is more temporal. The decisive advantage lies in controlling the speed of access to information, capital, and decision loops. The TCFA (Transnational Continuous Fast Access) dynamic encapsulates this temporality: actors compete to compress latency between sensing and action. As Manuel Castells (2009) argued in The Rise of the Network Society, the space of flows has replaced the space of places. In hyperpolarity, this logic becomes systemic: infrastructures that shorten response times become nodes of sovereignty. AI-assisted intelligence analysis or high-frequency trading thus represent temporal sovereignties—forms of control exercised through acceleration.

Epistemically, hyperpolarity recognizes that knowing the world is inseparable from the infrastructures through which knowledge is produced. Data architectures filter reality; algorithms prioritize visibility. Power over information selection equals power over perception (Beer 2019). Consequently, global politics unfolds within what Nick Couldry and Ulises Mejias (2019) call "data colonialism"—a condition where extraction and classification of information reproduce hierarchies akin to territorial authority.

2.4 Infrastructural Sovereignty as Ontological Practice

Lisa DeNardis (2020) describes digital infrastructures as "constitutional systems" of global society. They determine rights of access and standards of security without recourse to formal law. Hyperpolarity theorizes this as infrastructural sovereignty: the authority to design, maintain, and modify the systems through which others must operate. Such sovereignty is performative and relational. It depends on continuous operation (uptime), trust in protocols, and the ability to adapt norms into code. It also blurs public-private divides: firms such as Amazon Web Services or Huawei wield infrastructural sovereignty comparable to states because their networks underpin critical national functions.

2.5 Toward an Ontology of Distributed Order

Taken together, these dimensions—distributed agency, relational materiality, temporal acceleration, epistemic mediation, and infrastructural sovereignty—compose the ontology of hyperpolarity. The world order is an ecology of entangled



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

sovereignties where authority emerges from connectivity rather than from bounded control. This ontology underpins the rest of the paper: it allows us to reinterpret classical IR debates about polarity, hierarchy, and governance through the lens of infrastructural entanglement.

3. Literature Review: Positioning Hyperpolarity within Global-Order Debates

The literature on world order has struggled to keep pace with structural transformations generated by the digital and financial revolutions. Hyperpolarity builds on, but ultimately departs from, four major schools: multipolarity theory, complex interdependence, network governance, and digital sovereignty.

3.1 Multipolarity and Its Limits

Analysts such as Mearsheimer (2019) and Walt (2018) foresee a return to multipolar competition among the United States, China, Russia, the EU, and India. Their models remain rooted in territorial materialism—the notion that security and hierarchy emerge from geography, resources, and armament. Yet the most decisive asymmetries of our time arise not from borders but from control over infrastructural cores: platforms, standards, and data architectures. Farrell and Newman (2019) show that the U.S. Treasury's command of the dollar-clearing network gives Washington global coercive reach regardless of military deployment. Likewise, Beijing's Digital Silk Road secures political leverage through dependency on Chinese telecommunications standards (Rolland 2020). Hyperpolarity therefore reframes polarity as entanglement among systems rather than balance among states.

3.2 Complex Interdependence and Automation

Keohane and Nye (1977) argued that dense interdependence constrained state coercion. But what they treated as institutionally mediated reciprocity has evolved into machine-mediated automation. High-frequency-trading algorithms and AI-optimized logistics now execute decisions in microseconds, producing effects no ministry can anticipate (MacKenzie 2021). Interdependence has become autonomous—an ecology of feedback loops that generate power through speed. Hyperpolarity extends their insight by foregrounding non-anthropocentric interdependence: the capacity of automated systems to create new dependencies and asymmetries beyond intentional design.

3.3 Network Governance

Anne-Marie Slaughter (2017) and Miles Kahler (2009) conceptualize governance as networks of regulators, judges, and experts. Their focus on connectivity anticipated today's infrastructural order, yet their frameworks remain human-centric. Hyperpolarity introduces hierarchy within networks and autonomy within code. Protocols and AI models themselves govern by setting the rules of interaction; not all nodes are equal. Core infrastructures—cloud providers, standards bodies, financial switches—occupy privileged architectural centrality. Influence radiates outward through technical dependence rather than diplomatic consensus.

3.4 Digital Sovereignty and Infrastructural Power

Lisa DeNardis (2020) portrays digital infrastructures as constitutional frameworks of global society. States attempt to reclaim control through "digital sovereignty" projects such as the EU's GAIA-X or Russia's Runet. Hyperpolarity views these not as restorations of autonomy but as negotiations for co-sovereignty inside global architectures. Echoing Michael Mann's (1984) idea of infrastructural power, sovereignty now means the ability to shape the systems through which others must operate. The relevant politics is one of design and interoperability rather than defense and conquest.

Figure 1: Comparative Ontologies of Global Order and Positioning Hyperpolarity								
Dimension	Unipolarity (1991–2008)	Multipolarity (Emerging)	Complex Interdependence (1977)	Network Governance (2010s)	Hyperpolarity (Proposed)			
Primary Unit of Power	Hegemon (U.S.)	Multiple great powers	Sovereign states	States + transnational networks	Infrastructural cores (states, platforms, standards)			
Spatial Ontology	Territorial	Territorial	Territorial, partially networked	Mixed territorial & networked	Post-territorial, multi-scalar			



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

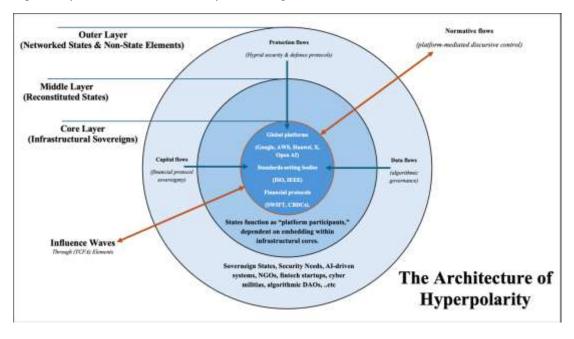
www.ajsp.net



Systemic Logic	Hierarchical but coherent	Balance among competing poles	Institutionalized cooperation	Network centrality	Stratified entanglement (fragmented authority, overlapping sovereignties)
Agency	Human statecraft	Human statecraft	Human institutions	Human network actors	Hybrid human- algorithmic agency
Governance Mode	Military dominance + legal primacy	Power balancing + law	Rule-based institutions	Network-based norms	Infrastructural, algorithmic, and normative governance

4. The Architecture of Hyperpolarity: Layered Infrastructures and Systemic Flows

Hyperpolarity's explanatory strength lies in its architectural visualization of the system as three concentric layers joined by Transnational Continuous Fast Access (TCFA) flows. Each layer represents a distinct configuration of sovereignty and dependency; each flow a medium of systemic integration.



4.1 The Core Layer — Infrastructural Sovereignties

At the center are infrastructural sovereigns: entities that design and administer the technical systems upon which the world depends. They include cloud-service giants (AWS, Google Cloud, Tencent), global payment and clearing networks (SWIFT, CIPS), transnational standards institutions (ISO, IEEE), and orbital communication constellations. Their power is constitutive: they define what forms of exchange and recognition are even possible. Because participation in these infrastructures is mandatory for modern existence, control over them produces a form of jurisdiction without territory—a functional sovereignty (DeNardis 2020).

4.2 The Middle Layer — Reconstituted States and Hybrid Institutions

The middle layer consists of nation-states and regional bodies that translate infrastructural logics into political authority. They mediate between core architectures and local societies. States such as Singapore, Estonia, and the UAE illustrate the "platform-state" model: they invest in digital governance to convert connectivity into legitimacy and resilience. Their foreign policy emphasizes standards alignment, data corridors, and cyber interoperability. This layer also includes hybrid consortia—



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

central-bank-digital-currency collaborations, international cybersecurity centers, and regulatory sandboxes—that institutionalize cooperation between governments and corporations.

4.3 The Outer Layer — Networked Peripheries

Peripheral actors—developing states, NGOs, and small enterprises—form the outer layer. They depend on access granted by middle-layer mediators and core infrastructures. Their sovereignty is conditional: compliance with technical and normative standards determines inclusion. Yet these actors are not passive. Through digital-diplomacy coalitions, open-source communities, and data-localization movements, they attempt to renegotiate dependence, demonstrating the recursive nature of hyperpolar order: feedback from the periphery can modify standards at the center.

4.4 Systemic Flows and TCFA Dynamics

Four principal flows connect the layers:

- 1. Capital Flows instant transactions through global clearing systems; they constitute the bloodstream of the economy.
- 2. Data Flows information streams governed by cloud infrastructures; they shape cognition and coordination.
- 3. Protection Flows cyber-security and supply-chain assurance mechanisms that secure other flows.
- 4. Normative Flows legal templates, algorithmic ethics, and narratives that legitimize participation.

These flows move continuously and at high velocity, producing the TCFA dynamic: power accrues to those who can sense, decide, and act within minimal latency. Sovereignty thus becomes a question of temporal advantage. TCFA links material and cognitive dimensions—finance, intelligence, and meaning—into one integrated field of motion.

4.5 Hierarchy and Recursivity

The architecture is not a static pyramid but a dynamic ecosystem. Influence radiates outward from the core yet also feeds back through peripheral innovation and contestation. The result is a stratified but adaptive topology. Hyperpolarity therefore resolves the false dichotomy between hierarchy and anarchy: the system is hierarchically structured yet recursively self-modifying.

5. Epistemic and Algorithmic Power: The Non-Human Turn in Global Governance

If infrastructures are the skeleton of hyperpolarity, information and computation form its nervous system. Governance increasingly unfolds through epistemic infrastructures—the databases, algorithms, and analytic models that mediate perception and decision. Three propositions follow.

5.1 Epistemic Governance

Knowledge and power are co-produced. Michel Foucault (1980) argued that regimes of truth sustain political order. In the hyperpolar system, those regimes are algorithmic: search-engine rankings, recommendation systems, and predictive analytics determine what becomes visible and credible. States, firms, and citizens operate within realities curated by computational filters. Whoever designs these filters effectively writes the constitution of cognition. Epistemic power thus joins military, economic, and diplomatic power as a fourth dimension of strategy.

5.2 Algorithmic Agency

Algorithms do not merely execute commands; they govern. Drawing on Bennett (2010) and Latour (2005), hyperpolarity attributes partial agency to non-human actants. Automated credit scoring decides access to capital; AI-driven border controls classify travelers; content-moderation bots police political discourse. These systems exercise discretionary authority yet remain opaque, creating what Frank Pasquale (2015) calls the "black-box society." Algorithmic agency converts technical design into a continuous exercise of rule.

5.3 Normative Automation and Governance by Default

Kate Crawford (2021) observes that AI systems encode social hierarchies while presenting them as objective. This normative automation relocates ethics from deliberation to architecture. Once fairness or risk thresholds are hard-coded, politics



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

becomes a matter of parameter tuning. The legitimacy of order thus shifts from consent to efficiency: systems are accepted because they work, not because they are just. Hyperpolarity identifies this as a critical danger—the quiet replacement of political negotiation by infrastructural determinism.

5.4 Epistemic Inequality and Cognitive Dependency

Access to data and compute power determines who can model the world. Major platforms and intelligence alliances monopolize global situational awareness, leaving others epistemically dependent. This mirrors colonial hierarchies of knowledge described by Couldry and Mejias (2019): data extraction substitutes for territorial extraction. Hyperpolarity reframes these asymmetries as structural features of the international system. Epistemic inequality entrenches infrastructural hierarchy, binding peripheries through informational dependence.

5.5 Toward Epistemic Pluralism

Yet algorithmic hegemony is not inevitable. Initiatives in open-source intelligence, federated learning, and indigenous data governance illustrate efforts to reclaim epistemic agency. Hyperpolarity theorizes these as counter-movements toward epistemic pluralism: the creation of alternative infrastructures of knowledge production. Their success will determine whether the hyperpolar order remains oligarchic or evolves toward distributed sovereignty.

6. The Hyperpolar State: Reconstituted Sovereignty in a Post-Spatial System

The state, though transformed, remains a pivotal actor in the hyperpolar configuration. It persists not as an obsolete relic of territorial modernity but as a translation interface between infrastructures and societies. The hyperpolar state is neither fully autonomous nor entirely subordinated to transnational systems; it occupies the middle layer of the architectural model, mediating between the infrastructural core and the networked periphery.

6.1 Sovereignty as Translation

Historically, sovereignty signified the supreme authority within a bounded territory. In the hyperpolar system, authority is performative rather than absolute. States translate infrastructural capacities into political legitimacy by aligning domestic regulation with global technical standards. Sovereignty thus becomes the art of interoperability management—synchronizing national objectives with the protocols of global systems. This echoes Saskia Sassen's (2006) notion of "denationalized statehood," where states internalize global norms to remain viable participants in interconnected systems.

6.2 The Temporal Dimension of Authority

The TCFA dynamic, as outlined earlier, situates time at the heart of sovereignty. The hyperpolar state's strength lies in its capacity for real-time governance—the ability to detect signals, process information, and execute decisions across financial, informational, and operational domains with minimal latency. Gulf countries such as the United Arab Emirates exemplify this adaptation: through digital twin technologies and AI-assisted crisis management, they pursue a governance model based on speed as security. Sovereignty here is temporal agility, not territorial reach.

6.3 Hybrid Governance and Embedded Dependence

Because infrastructural systems are transnational, states must engage private actors as partners. Cloud providers, fintech firms, and telecom operators become extensions of state apparatus. Yet this symbiosis produces embedded dependence: control over data storage, encryption standards, or payment APIs remains external. The hyperpolar state navigates this dilemma through diversification—joining multiple infrastructural regimes to reduce vulnerability. Thus, digital alliances such as the EU–Japan connectivity partnership or Gulf–Asian AI collaborations illustrate sovereignty through redundancy.

6.4 The Ethics of Sovereignty

The reconstitution of sovereignty raises normative questions. If authority is distributed among algorithms and corporations, who bears responsibility for failure or abuse? Hyperpolarity insists that sovereignty retains a moral dimension: states must institutionalize accountability mechanisms for infrastructural governance. The emergence of national AI ethics councils, data-protection authorities, and algorithmic-audit laws represents early attempts to anchor legitimacy within distributed systems.



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2005م

www.ajsp.net

7. Empirical Vectors of Hyperpolarity

Hyperpolarity's theoretical claims manifest empirically across multiple domains of global life. These cases illustrate how infrastructural entanglement restructures hierarchy and agency.

7.1 Financial Infrastructures and Weaponized Interdependence

As Farrell and Newman (2019) demonstrate, control of network nodes in finance enables coercion without force. The U.S. Treasury's capacity to cut access to SWIFT or dollar clearing effectively functions as a global sanction regime. Competing infrastructures—China's Cross-Border Interbank Payment System (CIPS), Russia's SPFS, and blockchain-based alternatives—represent not mere technical redundancy but strategic moves toward infrastructural sovereignty. The struggle over financial plumbing thus replaces territorial conquest as the defining form of rivalry.

7.2 Digital Silk Road and Infrastructural Expansion

China's Belt and Road Initiative, particularly its digital component, exemplifies infrastructural entrenchment as statecraft. Through fiber-optic networks, smart cities, and surveillance systems, Beijing embeds its standards into partner states' critical infrastructures. The resulting dependency produces enduring asymmetries in information sovereignty (Rolland 2020). This dynamic confirms that hyperpolarity's primary terrain is connectivity governance.

7.3 Cyber Assemblages and the Blurring of War and Peace

Cyber operations such as Stuxnet and SolarWinds reveal the permeability of peace and conflict in infrastructural space. Offense and defense become indistinguishable; public and private boundaries dissolve in an invisible balance of power. Hyperpolarity interprets such episodes as systemic turbulence: localized actions that propagate through global codebases, demonstrating the inseparability of security from infrastructure.

7.4 Platform Sovereignty and Data Governance

Tech conglomerates act as de facto global governors. Through algorithmic moderation, identity authentication, and content curation, they regulate billions without formal mandate. DeNardis (2020) argues that these "architectures of control" now constitute constitutional orders. The GAIA-X initiative and India's Digital Public Infrastructure are counter-efforts to reclaim agency by designing open, sovereign alternatives. These cases show that infrastructural design is geopolitical design.

7.5 AI Infrastructures and Cognitive Dependency

The geopolitics of artificial intelligence revolves around data accumulation, computational capacity, and model training. States lacking access to massive datasets or advanced chips become cognitively dependent. Crawford (2021) calls this the "Atlas of AI": a material empire of extraction and computation. Hyperpolarity identifies in this domain the fusion of epistemic and infrastructural power—the ability to define what is knowable and actionable.

8. Strategic and Structural Implications for Global Order

Hyperpolarity transforms the strategic landscape, compelling states and institutions to rethink the grammar of security and cooperation.

8.1 Sovereignty as Interoperability

Infrastructural interdependence converts sovereignty from exclusivity to relational capacity. States secure influence by shaping standards rather than by dominating territory. The contest between U.S.-led and China-led 5G ecosystems demonstrates that protocols are the new borders. Strategy thus shifts toward maintaining compatibility with multiple regimes while preserving local regulatory discretion.

8.2 Infrastructural Diplomacy

Diplomacy now unfolds as the negotiation of architectures. Lindsay and Gartzke (2019) hint to this as "code diplomacy"—alliances forged through shared cybersecurity frameworks and software standards. Memoranda of understanding on AI ethics,



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net

data protection, or quantum collaboration represent the treaties of the hyperpolar age. Embassies are supplemented by data centers; ambassadors by chief technology officers.

8.3 Algorithmic Deterrence and Mutual Vulnerability

Because actors are interlinked through the same infrastructures, coercion risks self-harm. Nye (2020) suggests that cyber interdependence creates a form of mutual deterrence akin to nuclear stability. Hyperpolarity conceptualizes this as mutual assured disruption—a strategic equilibrium sustained by reciprocal infrastructural exposure. Deterrence is achieved not through fear of annihilation but through recognition of systemic fragility.

8.4 Regulatory Pluralism and Governance Complexity

Public, private, and algorithmic authorities coexist and overlap. Deibert (2020) calls this the "privatization of governance." Hyperpolarity adds that governance is also algorithmicized: decisions embedded in code operate beyond contestation. The resulting pluralism produces ambiguity but also resilience; redundancy among regimes prevents singular control. Effective policy therefore requires meta-governance—the coordination of governance systems themselves.

8.5 Ethical and Epistemic Strategy

Power in hyperpolarity is inseparable from narrative legitimacy. Floridi (2019) argues for "AI ethics as global soft power." States and corporations promote competing moral codes—liberal privacy norms versus authoritarian data collectivism—as instruments of influence. The ability to align technological design with credible ethical frameworks becomes a decisive source of normative attraction. Strategy thus acquires an epistemic dimension: shaping what others believe to be right and possible.

9. Conclusion: Toward an Ontology of Distributed Sovereignty

Hyperpolarity marks a paradigmatic rupture in the ontology of world order. The Westphalian triad of state, territory, and anarchy no longer captures the systemic logic of the twenty-first century. The global system now operates as a distributed ecology of infrastructures, where power emerges from positionality within networks of connectivity, not from territorial possession.

Three conclusions follow:

- 1. Ontology: IR must expand its conception of agency to include infrastructures and algorithms as constitutive actors. This demands an interdisciplinary synthesis between political theory, science and technology studies, and systems analysis.
- 2. Methodology: Analysis must shift from static structures to dynamic processes—feedback, latency, and adaptation. Hyperpolarity provides a vocabulary for tracing how authority flows through technical architectures.
- 3. Normativity: Governance in hyperpolarity hinges on designing just and transparent infrastructures. Accountability, interoperability, and epistemic diversity are the moral foundations of future order.

The age of hyperpolarity is therefore not merely a technological epoch but a philosophical transformation. Power becomes infrastructural, sovereignty relational, and politics ontological. Recognizing this condition is the first step toward governing it.



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net



References:

Beer, D. (2019). The data gaze: Capitalism, power and perception. Sage.

Bennett, J. (2010). Vibrant matter: A political ecology of things. Duke University Press.

Bull, H. (1977). The anarchical society: A study of order in world politics. Columbia University Press.

Buzan, B., & Lawson, G. (2015). The global transformation: History, modernity and the making of international relations. Cambridge University Press.

Castells, M. (2009). The rise of the network society (2nd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.

Couldry, N., & Mejias, U. (2019). The costs of connection: How data is colonizing human life and appropriating it for capitalism. Stanford University Press.

Crawford, K. (2021). Atlas of AI: Power, politics, and the planetary costs of artificial intelligence. Yale University Press. Deibert, R. (2020). Reset: Reclaiming the internet for civil society. House of Anansi.

DeNardis, L. (2020). The internet in everything: Freedom and security in a world with no off switch. Yale University Press.

Easterling, K. (2014). Extrastatecraft: The power of infrastructure space. Verso.

Farrell, H., & Newman, A. L. (2019). Weaponized interdependence: How global economic networks shape state coercion. International Security, 44(1), 42–79.

Floridi, L. (2019). The logic of information: A theory of philosophy as conceptual design. Oxford University Press.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings. Pantheon Books.

Kahler, M. (2009). Networked politics: Agency, power, and governance. Cornell University Press.

Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1977). Power and interdependence: World politics in transition. Little, Brown.

Latour, B. (2005). Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory. Oxford University Press.

Lindsay, J. R., & Gartzke, E. (2019). Cross-domain deterrence: Strategy in an era of complexity. Oxford University Press.

MacKenzie, D. (2021). Trading at the speed of light: How Ultrafast Algorithms Are Transforming Financial Markets. Ascent Audio and Blackstone Publishing.

Mann, M. (1984). The autonomous power of the state: Its origins, mechanisms and results. European Journal of Sociology, 25(2), 185–213.

Mearsheimer, J. J. (2019). The great delusion: Liberal dreams and international realities. Yale University Press.

Nye, J. S. (2020). Do morals matter? Presidents and foreign policy from FDR to Trump (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press. Pasquale, F. (2015). The black box society: The secret algorithms that control money and information. Harvard University Press.

Rolland, N. (2020). China's vision for a new world order. National Bureau of Asian Research.

Sassen, S. (2006). Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages. Princeton University Press.

Slaughter, A.-M. (2017). The chessboard and the web: Strategies of connection in a networked world. Yale University Press.

Walt, S. M. (2018). The hell of good intentions: America's foreign policy elite and the decline of U.S. primacy. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Waltz, K. N. (1979). Theory of international politics. Addison-Wesley.



الإصدار الثامن – العدد السادس والثمانون تاريخ الإصدار: 2 – كانون الأول – 2025م

www.ajsp.net



"الفرضية فوق القطبية (Hyperpolarity): إعادة تشكيل القوة خارج إطار نظام ما بعد وستفاليا"

إعداد الباحث:

محمد ساري الزعبى

السيرة الذاتية: ماجستير في السياسة الدولية والدبلوماسية (جامعة ستافوردشاير)، باحث في مركز الخليج للأبحاث، ومؤسس مبادرة DEVEلمراكز الفكر وصناع القرار، ومؤلف كتاب "الأنظمة العالمية فوق القطبية: قراءة في الأنماط والسمات الاقتصادية والأمنية والأمنية الناشئة في النظام الدولي".

العلاقات الدولية/العلوم الإنسانية/جامعة ستافوردشاير

الملخص:

كشف القرن الحادي والعشرون عن استفاد قواعد وستقاليا للعلاقات الدولية، تقترض النماذج التقليدية من توازن القوى الواقعي، والترابط الليبرالي، ونظريات التحول متعدد الأقطاب، أن النظام قائم على أساس إقليمي ويحكمه الإنسان. ومع ذلك، تُعاد صياغة بنية السياسة العالمية بهدوء من خلال بنى تحتية تشمل التمويل والبيانات والخدمات اللوجستية والإدراك، وتتجاوز عملياتها الحدود وتقلت بشكل متزايد من السيطرة المتعمدة، تُقدم هذه الورقة مفهوم فوق القطبية كإطار وجودي وتحليلي شامل لتفسير هذا التحول. يُشير فوق القطبية إلى حالة نظامية تتشكل فيها السلطة والسيادة والشرعية من خلال أنظمة بنيوية وخوارزمية ومعرفية تعمل عبر مقاييس مكانية وزمانية متعددة. بدلاً من أقطاب منفصلة، سيتكون النظام العالمي من هياكل سلطة متعددة الطبقات، نواة من السيادة البنيوية التي تُصمم وتُحكم الأنظمة الترابطة؛ وطبقة وسطى من الدول والمؤسسات الهجيئة التي تُترجم قوة البنية التحتية إلى سياسات؛ وطبقة خارجية من الجهات الفاعلة التابعة والمتكيّفة التي تتفاعل مع هذه الأنظمة من خلال الوصول المشروط. تربط تدفقات رأس المال والبيانات والحماية والمعايير، التي تُحركها ما أسميه ديناميكيات الوصول السريع المستمر العابر للحدود الوطنية (TCFA) هذه الطبقات في كلية غير متماثلة، ولكنها توجيه أنطولوجيا العلاقات الدولية من النوازن الإقليمي إلى التشابك البنيوي. فهو يدمج التحول غير البشري في النظرية الاجتماعية مع مستمرة. من خلال عشرة أقسام: يبدأ بالأسس المفاهيمية للفوق قطبية، ويضعه ضمن نظريات النظام القائمة، السابق حكرًا على الدول، ينقسم النقاش إلى عشرة أقسام: يبدأ بالأسس المفاهيمية للفوق قطبية، ويضعه ضمن نظريات النظام القائمة، نوفرة يق النظام الدولي، تتحول من الجغرافيا السياسية إلى البنية التحتية الجغرافية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: فوق القطبية، السيادة، البنية التحتية، القوة الخوارزمية، الحوكمة المعرفية، النظام العالمي.