

I. ГЛОБАЛ СИЁСИЙ ЖАРАЁНЛАР

Global Political Processes

Глобальные политические процессы

**ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE IN PRISM OF
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS**

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Abstract: *This article attempts to explore the issues surrounding the integration of artificial intelligence (AI) into the system of public administration in the United States of America, which has become increasingly relevant and has significant importance in decision-making processes. The mechanism of government service plays a crucial role in executing the powers of government agencies. In the context of rapidly developing technologies and databases, the application of AI aims to increase the efficiency of decision-making in government agencies in the United States. However, there are several complexities that arise in the integration of AI into government administration, including ethical issues, the preservation of transparency, and the protection of data privacy.*

Keywords: *Public administration, artificial intelligence, United States, decision-making process, system of spoils, system of merits.*

In the early American Republic, during the presidency of George Washington (1789-1797), the government administration was small, with only three departments created - the State Department to address international issues, the Department of Treasury to monitor monetary policy, and the Department of War to manage the armed forces. The employees of these departments, in addition to the postal service, formed the main part of the federal bureaucracy during the first three decades of the republic's existence. According to George Washington, he appointed individuals to positions based on their competence and loyalty to the Constitution.

The first mention of civil servants appeared in the Articles of Confederation in 1781, which established the provision that Congress had the power to appoint civil officers. When developing the US Constitution in 1787, the “Founding Fathers” decided to delegate the authority to appoint high-ranking officials not to Congress, but to the head of the executive branch - the President of the United States. According to section 2 of Article 2 of the US Constitution, “the President shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, appoint

Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law”¹.

When recruiting civil servants, President John Adams (1797-1801) also prioritized the candidate's competence, but took into account the opinions of political actors. However, the third President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), representing the Republican Party, was forced to increasingly consider the opinions of political opponents as partisan disagreements intensified while still adhering to the same principles of appointment as Washington and Adams. Jefferson was one of the first to propose the division of positions in the government administration between representatives of the two parties; therefore, he is traditionally considered the founder of the principle of appointment based on party affiliation.

Meanwhile, the industrial bourgeoisie, seeking to increase its power, demanded greater representation in the state apparatus. The struggle between representatives of the nascent big capital and the traditional aristocracy of landowners, who were unwilling to relinquish their positions voluntarily, became increasingly intense. Government positions were turning not only to a source of prestige but also a common means of personal enrichment through illegal activities. In the 1820s, as Americans intensified their struggle for democratization of political power, historical and objective prerequisites for strengthening the role of federal agencies and reforming the civil service system emerged in the United States. This was also due to territorial expansion to the West (the Frontier), which led to increasing complexity in governing the country.

During this period, the Democratic Party was led by President Andrew Jackson (1829-1837), who is credited with initiating the democratic era in the United States. In his first inaugural speech in 1829, President Jackson emphasized the need for civil service reform by introducing the “system of spoils”², which became the basis of the government reform at that time. The essence of this system was that all appointments from the highest to the lowest clerks had to be made from members of the party that won the presidential election. During Jackson's first year in office, more than 900 federal government officials appointed by previous presidents were removed as part of the reform. It became

¹ Keenan J.T. (1975). *The Constitution of the United States*. Homewood, 111. Dow-JonesIrwin.

² Daniel Walker Howe. (2007). *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. // Oxford: Oxford University Press.

common practice for all government positions to be completely renewed after a new president was elected at his direct order.

The “system of spoils” gave the still small government apparatus structural clarity and was positive for its time. It showed its effectiveness later during the Civil War period when relations between Republicans and Democrats, related to the abolition of slavery, became antagonistic. Due to the established “system of spoils”, Republican President Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865) managed to win the war between the North and South and preserve the Union. The “system of spoils” was characterized by strict party discipline, which ensured that orders were executed promptly and accurately, as required during times of crisis. At this time, all civil servants were subject to impeachment. The need for centralization of federal power to preserve the unity of the country under Lincoln led to a significant strengthening and numerical growth of federal authorities.

After President James Garfield (March-September 1881) was assassinated by one of the applicants for a position in which he was denied, Congress responded to calls for reform with the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act in 1883³. Its goal was to limit the practice of appointing political allies or presidential friends to government positions, discrediting the “system of spoils”, and establishing the principle of considering professional qualities when appointing to civil service positions. According to this law, a permanent US Civil Service Commission was established, consisting of three members (no more than two members from any party), which selected candidates for federal positions based on competitive exams within the “system of merit”. The passage of this law marked the beginning of a period of social activity and political reform that continued until the twentieth century.

President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) made a significant contribution to strengthening the system of government in the United States. As a prominent political scientist and Provost of the prestigious Princeton University, he expressed his clear position on the separation of powers, advocating for the leadership of the executive branch of government. After coming to power, Wilson took a number of actions to increase the role of the federal government. At his initiative, the 16th Amendment to the Constitution and the Progressive Income Tax Act were passed in 1913, which led to a significant expansion of the functions

³ Sean M. Theriault. (2003). "Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People," *The Journal of Politics* 65 No. 1: 50-68; Craig V. D. Thornton. 1983. "Review of Centenary Issues of the Pendleton Act of 1883: The Problematic Legacy of Civil Service Reform," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 2 No. 4: 653-53.

and size of the central government: the growth of federal subsidies and programs led to an increase in the influence of the federal administration and greater dependence of states on these subsidies. Additionally, Wilson proposed using methods to limit the impact of large corporations on the process of government administration. He emphasized the importance of selecting government officials based on their professional competence, thus turning the bureaucracy into an instrument of professional management with the principles of “hierarchy and division of functions”⁴.

The Great Depression and particularly World War II increased the level of centralization, as the role of a strong federal government in crisis management through the state apparatus became evident. In 1933, to overcome the consequences of the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) developed the New Deal policy, aimed at radically increasing the role of the state and narrowing the mechanisms of regulation inherent in the free market (*laissez faire*), based on the teachings of British economist John Maynard Keynes. Thanks to Roosevelt's active and measured policy, which resulted in a multiple increase in the size and functions of the government apparatus, Americans began to view the role of a strong federal government not as an attack on the rights of states, but as a necessary expansion of the scope of government regulation in the economy and concentration of necessary resources to solve social and economic problems in the face of the inability of states to cope with national-scale problems⁵.

For about 30 years after the Great Depression, active state participation in the economy was interpreted by most economists as a necessary and already built-in element of social development. The American government took responsibility for reducing poverty levels in the country, developing education, and to a significant extent, healthcare, as well as providing many other social services. The state pursued an increasingly active macroeconomic policy, both through indirect measures and often through administrative measures.

President Lyndon Johnson's (1963-1969) proclaimed goal of building a “Great Society” little differed from paternalistic government programs in socialist countries. In contrast to the New Deal period, Johnson's initiatives emerged during a period of rapid economic growth in the United States. The main focus of

⁴ Salikov D.H. Public Service USA: The history of the formation and modernity. // Internet Source URL: <https://uchimsya.com/a/hDOW2dII>

⁵ Ibid.

Johnson's domestic policy was a package of programs and laws aimed at eradicating poverty and improving the quality of life for all Americans. The Medicare and Medicaid programs are the most vivid examples of the sharply increased role of federal agencies.

However, many economists and politicians at that time already saw the costs of excessive state intervention in the economy and the inefficiency of some government programs in the socio-economic sphere. The Keynesian policy of demand stimulation and large-scale redistribution of national income through the federal budget began to show more and more noticeable failures. The simultaneous rise of unemployment and inflation in the second half of the 1970s called into question the postulates of Keynesianism that had previously seemed unshakable. Thus, for conservative, market-oriented economists and politicians, this was not only an intellectual challenge, but also a political challenge associated with overcoming mass attitudes in favor of the paternalistic role of the state.

As a result, the newly elected President of the United States, Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), who adhered to conservative views, proclaimed the program “new New Federalism”, aimed at “restoring the proper constitutional relationship between the governments at the federal, state, and local levels”. Reagan believed that the federal government treated elected officials at the state and local levels as if they were only federal employees. Reagan's promises to reduce federal taxes and spending meant that states themselves had to pay an increasing share of the cost of government services and implied a reduction in the size and competencies of federal agencies.

President Bill Clinton (1993-2001) undertook a radical attempt to improve government management. In March 1993, Clinton stated that “our goal is to make all of government less costly and more efficient, and to change the culture of our national bureaucracy”⁶. After that, Clinton handed the initiative over to Vice President Al Gore, with a six-month deadline for presenting a plan. In due time, the National Performance Review (NPR) was presented, which later was renamed the National Partnership for Reinventing Government (NPRG). It contained 384 recommendations for improving the work of the government throughout the federal government. The NPR promised to save the federal government about

⁶ President Clinton in creating NPR on March 3, 1993. // Internet Source URL: <https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/npr/whoweare/historyofnpr.html>

\$108 billion: \$40.4 billion from “small bureaucracy”, \$36.4 billion from program changes, and \$22.5 billion from contract process optimization. To give the entire program an official character, the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) was passed, requiring each government agency to implement quantitative performance indicators to evaluate its performance in achieving program goals⁷.

In 2010, President Barack Obama’s (2009 – 2017) administration initiated an update to the GPRA. The updated act required government agencies to publish their strategic plans and reports in machine-readable formats⁸. Each report was to contain a list of performance goals for each program based on indicators that help measure results for each goal set by agencies for the year. If the performance goal was not achieved in the current fiscal year, an explanation was required as to why the initial goals were not met. After the explanation, the agencies were required to prepare a written plan of what they would do to achieve their goals in the next fiscal year. These results were sent to the President and Congress, and after publication, they became available to the public⁹.

With the beginning of the rapid process of informatization, and due to the chronic criticism by Americans of the lasting shortcomings of federal agencies' work, elements of artificial intelligence began to be increasingly introduced into the US system of government management.

At this point it is worthwhile to get in depth of the AI concept. Due to the diversity of views, it is difficult to give a single definition of AI. Each discipline, field of science, and sphere of life works with AI within its own structure. Today, AI has become one of the areas of study of philosophy, psychology, economics, and even law, going beyond the scope of computer science. From a technical point of view, AI is not a separate technology, but a set of technologies.

The term “Artificial Intelligence” refers to a type of technology that allows machines or computers to perform tasks that traditionally required human mind or intelligence. Some examples of such tasks include natural language processing, facial recognition, and decision-making. Thus, the imitation of our thinking processes requires an understanding of how we make decisions. The origins of thought about AI go back to ancient times. Prominent philosophers such as R.

⁷ The Best Kept Secrets in Government: How the Clinton Administration Is Reinventing the Way Washington Works. (1995). // National Performance Review. Random House Inc.

⁸ The US Congress. (1993). "The Law on the activities and results of the Government of 1993". In the 103rd Congress. Congressional record.

⁹ US Congress. "GPRA Modernization Act of 2010, PL 111-352".

Descartes or G.W. Leibniz envisioned mechanical humans and mechanical thinking devices¹⁰. In Vannevar Bush's fundamental work, "As We May Think", published in 1945¹¹, he proposed a system that expands human knowledge and understanding. Five years later, Alan Turing published an article arguing that machines could imitate humans and perform intellectual activities such as playing chess, etc. At the Dartmouth Conference in 1956 the foundations of AI in modern understanding were laid. The Dartmouth Summer Research Project on AI was a turning point in the history of AI, as the term "Artificial Intelligence" was first used at this conference. The participants in this conference were recognized as pioneers or founding fathers of AI.

AI technologies can be classified into "Artificial Narrow Intelligence" (ANI), "Artificial General Intelligence" (AGI), and "Artificial Superintelligence" (ASI)¹². All the technologies that exist in everyday life are ANI technologies. AI includes methods such as "machine learning", "deep learning", and "neural networks"¹³, which allow machines to learn from data and provide increasingly accurate output as they process more data.

The development of AGI and ASI creates the possibility of a phenomenon called "technological singularity". This means that if machines become exponentially better than humans at everything they do, will humans work at all in the future? Additionally, if such machines have intelligence and superiority over humans, what prevents them from promoting their own growth and starting a fight against humans?¹⁴. However, according to futurist Ray Kurzweil, we will be able to coexist with AI in a world where such machines will only enhance human capabilities¹⁵. These technologies enable us to focus on the most important tasks and make more effective decisions. Research in this field is related to the

¹⁰ Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza: a brief survey of rationalism. (2020). AMAMIHE: Journal of Applied Philosophy. // Internet Source URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344454306_DESCARTES_LEIBNIZ_AND_SPINOZA_A_BRIEF_SURVEY_OF_RATIONALISM

¹¹ Vannevar Bush. (1945). As we may think. The Atlantic Monthly. // Internet Source URL: <https://web.mit.edu/STS.035/www/PDFs/think.pdf>

¹² Kumar, C. (2019). Artificial Intelligence: Definition, Types, Examples, Technologies. // Internet Source URL: <https://medium.com/@chethankumargn/artificial-intelligence-definition-typesexamples-technologies-962ea75c7b9b>

¹³ Ongsulee, P. (2018). Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning And Deep Learning. International Conference on ICT and Knowledge Engineering, 1–6. // Internet Source URL: <https://doi.org/10.1109/ICTKE.2017.8259629>

¹⁴ Pandya, J. (2019). The troubling trajectory of technological singularity. // Internet Source URL: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/cognitiveworld/2019/02/10/the-troubling-trajectory-of-technologicalsingularity/#7038d3496711>

¹⁵ Kurzweil, R. (2017). AI Will Not Displace Humans, It's Going to Enhance Us. // Internet Source URL: <https://futurism.com/ray-kurzweil-ai-displace-humans-going-enhance>

creation of machines for automating tasks. “AI now includes a range of algorithms and software systems, the distinguishing feature of which is that they can solve some problems as a human would think about solving them”¹⁶. Such a system is capable of performing some intellectual functions of a person, i.e. the system simulates the work of the brain. However, the development of AI technology was initially limited by the lack of development in this industry and the lack of available resources.

The second half of the 1970s is often referred to as the “AI winter”, as criticism of AI intensified during the period from 1974 to 1980, and funding for the industry was considered a waste. However, in the 1980s, expert systems brought renewed interest to AI research. Algorithmic structures developed during this period were transferred to the field of AI, which can be defined as “deep learning”, or the use of computer-stored or previously used information in a new experience, as proposed by John Hopfield and David Rumelhart, and allowed for accelerated development of AI technology¹⁷. In the 2000s, text recognition and translation systems became popular. In the 2010s, a new leap in AI occurred due to a sharp increase in data volume and a decrease in the cost of data storage. The process of public policy analysis and the wider use of ICTs to identify and solve public problems are linked, and a synergy has emerged between these two areas. The increase in internet access and widespread use of social networks marked the beginning of a new era in policy development. This new era began to be studied as “policy-making 2.0” or “government 2.0.”.

With the implementation of fourth wave technologies (the current trend in automation and data exchange in manufacturing technology) in government institutions, the cost of data processing and storage has decreased, as governments generate and collect large volumes of data in their daily activities. For example, data on tax collection, national healthcare systems, traffic data, cybersecurity, editing and publishing official documents. In addition, “data analytics” is one of the most important protective mechanisms for governments in crisis management, such as in emergencies like pandemics or terrorism. The United States was one of the first countries in the world to initiate and implement the

¹⁶ A. Teiz, P. Gribomon, J. Louis, D. Sniers, P. Here he is, P. Gaucher, E. Gregoire, E. Sanchez, F. Delsarte. (1990). Logical approach to artificial intelligence: from Classical Logic to logical programming // Moscow: Mir.

¹⁷ Daly, A., Hagendorff, T., Li, H., Mann, M., Marda, V., Wagner, B., Wang, W., & Witteborn, S. (2019). Artificial Intelligence, Governance and Ethics: Global Perspectives. SSRN Electronic Journal. // Internet Source URL: <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3414805>

concept of e-government. Today, this nation is recognized as a global leader in this field.

Returning to the above, President Obama gave the most serious attention to government reform and the implementation of AI into the system. His memorandum, “Transparency and Open Government”, signed on his first day in office on January 21, 2009, was one of the first documents of his administration.

Following Obama’s footsteps, next American President Donald Trump (2017 – 2021) on February 11, 2019, signed the executive order, titled the “American AI Initiative”. This initiative aimed to stimulate the AI industry in America through the redistribution of funds, the creation of new resources, and the development of ways to shape technology in the country even as globalization progresses.

In December 2020, another executive order was signed by Trump, defining the principles that federal agencies in the country should follow when using AI. Later, on October 4, 2022, the President Joseph Biden’s administration proposed the AI Rights Bill, which aims to protect the rights of parents, patients, and workers in connection with the growing use of automation in education, healthcare, and employment¹⁸. The Biden administration's proposal reflects the need that technology companies, industry associations, and other government agencies have been trying to address in recent years. The White House proposed a range of practices that AI software developers and users should voluntarily follow to prevent unfair infringements of rights resulting from the use of AI. Biden believes that AI developer companies have a “fundamental responsibility” in this regard. The presidential administration is calling on companies working in this field to be more transparent about the features of their developments¹⁹. The administration is also actively working to address national security issues arising from AI, particularly in critical areas such as cybersecurity, biodefense, and safety.

To improve the performance of government services in the United States, an independent government agency called the Administrative Conference of the United States (ACUS) is currently in operation²⁰. The goal of this organization is to promote the effectiveness, adequacy, and fairness of the procedures through

¹⁸ The White House. (2023). Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights // Internet Source URL: . <https://www.whitehouse.gov/ostp/ai-bill-of-rights/>

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Official website of the Administrative Conference of the USA. // Internet Source URL: . <https://www.acus.gov>

which federal agencies perform their respective government functions. To this end, ACUS conducts research and publishes reports on various aspects of the administrative process, and, where necessary, provides recommendations to the President, Congress, specific departments and agencies, and the judicial system regarding the need for procedural reforms. Of these recommendations, 33% focused on reducing government expenditures and increasing revenue, 26% on improving the use of scientific methods in the administrative process, and 20% on reducing the number of court proceedings in the regulatory process²¹. The implementation of conference recommendations can be achieved through direct action by affected agencies or through changes to legislation. ACUS began its work in 1968 and has since implemented over 200 advisory projects exploring various areas of administrative law and practice. The Congressional Research Service noted that ACUS has provided “impartial, comprehensive, and practical assessments and recommendations regarding a wide range of agency processes, procedures, and practices”²². However, in 1995, the Conference ceased operations due to a loss of funding, but resumed its work in 2010. In recent years, the agency has been actively working on developing and implementing AI elements into the activities of government agencies, which are expected to improve the objectivity, timeliness, and efficiency of decision-making.

The use of AI-based tools to support decision-making and their implementation, which can be called “algorithmic governance”, is already part of the work of the modern system of government²³. Algorithms are sets of instructions and rules that machines use to solve problems that are the cornerstone of modern intelligent machines; they perform computations, process automated reasoning tasks, and transform data. In this context, algorithms that perform automatic data analysis, AI systems, “machine learning”, chatbots, and supercomputers are important components of algorithmic governance. According to the report “Algorithmic Governance: AI in Federal Administrative Agencies” prepared by ACUS, almost half (45%) of federal agencies surveyed in the US are

²¹ David Freeman Engstrom et al. (2020). Government by algorithm: artificial intelligence in federal administrative agencies: report submitted to the Administrative Conference of the United States. // Internet Source URL: <https://law.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/ACUS-AI-Report.pdf>

²² Official website of the Administrative Conference of the USA. // Internet Source URL: . <https://www.acus.gov>

²³ David Freeman Engstrom et al. (2020). Government by algorithm: artificial intelligence in federal administrative agencies: report submitted to the Administrative Conference of the United States. // Internet Source URL: <https://law.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/ACUS-AI-Report.pdf>

trying to adapt to this digital transformation using AI and “machine learning” tools²⁴.

Under these circumstances, the requirements for governments in providing public services are increasing. The government must pay attention to several important aspects to meet these requirements. Transparency and accountability of government services must be ensured. This aims to ensure that the public can monitor and control the government's work. In addition, speed and efficiency in providing public services are also demands of society in this era of change. To achieve this, efforts must be made to accelerate these processes, reduce unnecessary bureaucracy, and use cutting-edge technologies such as AI, big data, and blockchain. The gold standard of transparency in any decision-making context is a full account of the "origin" of the decision, including the key factors that formed the basis for its adoption.

One of the main advantages of AI in decision-making is its ability to identify patterns and trends based on data. In this case, AI can identify new patterns from past data and make predictions about what may happen in the future. In some cases, AI can even identify hidden patterns in people. This can help the government make better and more effective decisions in complex and unpredictable situations. In addition, by involving society in the process of providing public services, the government can understand their needs and expectations regarding governance, increase public trust and participation in the process of providing public services²⁵.

Using AI technology, governments can develop applications and online platforms that allow the public to participate and provide feedback on the quality and effectiveness of government services. The government can ensure accessibility of public services for everyone, including residents of remote or disadvantaged areas. Privacy and data security issues are crucial when using AI in government. The collection, storage, and processing of extensive data require guarantees that the data generated and used in AI implementation are confidential and protected from cyber threats. The active use of AI will enable the collection of a huge amount of personal data, starting with web traffic and ending with facial and voice recognition data, which will be vulnerable to hacking. Public concerns

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Valle-Cruz, D., Alejandro Ruvalcaba-Gomez, E., Sandoval-Almazan, R., & Ngnacio Criado, J. (2019). In Proceedings of the 20th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research. (pp. 91-99). // Internet Source URL: <https://scholar.google.com.mx/citations?user=cx02QQYAAAJ&hl=en>

about the collection of such information by government entities (especially biometric data) may lead to negative reactions regarding the use of AI by the government. For example, the Pentagon first published its policy for responsible use of autonomous systems and artificial intelligence in 2012. In January 2023, the US also updated this initial 2012 directive on weapon system autonomy to ensure that they remain a global leader not only in development and deployment but also in security²⁶.

The current level of AI funding reflects how relevant it is: the latest US defense budget for the 2024 fiscal year invests \$1.8 billion in artificial intelligence and machine learning capabilities to continue progress in modernization and innovation²⁷. It is important for government agencies to develop capabilities to create credible evidence, regular and secure use of information in government operations, on which decisions are based and an effective decision-making process is built. The law requires information to be available, understandable, useful, and up-to-date, so that it can inform agency activities and actions such as budgeting, program improvement, accountability, management, and policy development. People must have a general understanding of how the system works and why it does so and not otherwise. The process must be traceable to have the ability to identify errors. The law must be clear and transparent in case an error occurs.

It is also important to note one of the most serious problems associated with artificial intelligence is the risk of job loss. As artificial intelligence systems become more advanced, they are increasingly capable of performing tasks that were previously only possible for humans. This means that many types of jobs that were once performed by people may become automated, leading to widespread unemployment. Job loss can lead to widespread poverty and social unrest, as well as the emergence of a new class of super-rich people who own artificial intelligence systems.

Another problem associated with artificial intelligence is the risk of autonomous weapons. Autonomous weapons are machines that are programmed to make decisions about when and how to use deadly force without human intervention. This means they can make decisions about killing people without

²⁶ Politico. (2023, May 06). What the Pentagon Thinks About AI. Internet Source URL: <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2023/06/15/pentagon-artificial-intelligence-china-00101751>

²⁷ Ibid.

any human involvement or permission, which could lead to potentially catastrophic consequences.

The implementation of AI in government requires appropriate legislation, policy direction, and programs that ensure ethical and responsible use of AI technologies. As its influence on society grows, there is a need for regulation and control of this technology. Regulating AI will help prevent negative consequences and ethical issues that may arise from its use. As a matter of fact, these concerns are expressed by leading experts on the field, including Elon Musk and Steve Wozniak, who have proposed a pause in the advancement of AI technologies until reliable security protocols are developed and implemented.

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