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POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ACTIVITIES OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY

POLITYCZNY WPŁYW KORPORACJI TRANSNARODOWYCH NA ARENĘ I BEZPIECZEŃSTWO MIĘDZYNARODOWE

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to analyze the complex relationship between transnational corporations and international security, especially its political implications. For the purpose of this article, the focus is on issues relating to the future position of states in the international arena. The research questions posed were thus: How do transnational corporations influence the political decisions of states? Do transnational corporations pose a threat to the sovereignty of states and democracy? What position in the international arena will states occupy in the future in the context of the influence of transnational corporations? In the course of the analysis of the issues carried out, it was decided to pose and defend the thesis that over the coming decades, states will continue to be the decisive player in the international arena, and states will determine the future of international security. However, the author is mindful that the formulas for cooperation in this regard in the international arena may evolve as a result of the growing role of transnational corporations. This paper analyzes the literature on this topic and examines online sources. Significant challenges related to the impact of transnational corporations on international relations and on international security are demonstrated.

KEY WORDS: international relations, international security, transnational corporations, international politics, globalization.

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest analiza złożonych zależności między korporacjami transnarodowymi a bezpieczeństwem międzynarodowym, zwłaszcza ich polityczne implikacje. Na potrzeby niniejszego artykułu skupiono się na zagadnieniach dotyczących przyszłej pozycji państw na arenie międzynarodowej. Postawiono więc pytania badawcze: W jaki sposób korporacje transnarodowe wpływają na decyzje polityczne państw? Czy korporacje transnarodowe stanowią one zagrożenie dla suwerenności państw i demokracji? Jaką pozycję na arenie międzynarodowej będą zajmować państwa w przyszłości w kontekście oddziaływań korporacji transnarodowych? W trakcie przeprowadzanej analizy zagadnień zdecydowano się postawić i obronić tezę, iż przez najbliższe dziesięciolecie to państwa nadal będą decydującym graczem na arenie międzynarodowej i to państwa będą decydować o przyszłości bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego. Autorka ma jednak na uwadze, iż formuły współpracy w tym zakresie na arenie międzynarodowej mogą ewoluować w wyniku rosnącej roli korporacji transnarodowych. W niniejszej pracy dokonano analizy literatury przedmiotu dotyczącej niniejszej tematyki oraz analizy źródeł internetowych. Wykazano istotne wyzwania związane z wpływem korporacji transnarodowych na relacje międzynarodowe i na bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: stosunki międzynarodowe, bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe, korporacje transnarodowe, polityka międzynarodowa, globalizacja.

INTRODUCTION

Since the second half of the 20th century, the growing influence of transnational corporations (TNCs) on the geopolitical landscape of the international arena has been observed with concern. Their vast operations and powerful financial resources give them unprecedented power, which can have both positive and negative consequences for international security.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the complex relationship between TNCs and international security in terms of their political implications. When addressing such a topic, it is important to include an analysis of the various spectrums of TNCs' impact on security, including: economic issues: How do TNC investments affect the economic stability of countries? Do TNC practices exacerbate social inequality and marginalization?; security and conflict: How can TNC activities contribute to conflicts over natural resources or escalate geopolitical tensions?; human rights and accountability: What are TNCs' human rights and environmental obligations? What mechanisms ensure TNC accountability for their actions?

However, for the purpose of this article, the author will focus on issues concerning the future position of states in the international arena. Thus, the research questions posed are: How do TNCs influence the political decisions of states? Do transnational corporations pose a threat to the sovereignty of states and democracy? What posi-

tion on the international arena will states occupy in the future in the context of TNC influence?

In the course of the analysis of the issues carried out, it was decided to pose and defend the thesis that over the coming decades, states will continue to be the decisive player in the international arena, and states will determine the future of international security. However, the author is mindful that the formulas for cooperation in this regard in the international arena may evolve as a result of the growing role of TNCs.

This paper analyzes the literature on the subject and examines online sources.

The challenges of TNCs' impact on international relations and international security are demonstrated in this article. The final conclusion after the defended thesis may be the suggestion of the need to strengthen international regulation, increase transparency of TNC activities and promote responsible business.

1. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW PARTICIPANT IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA - TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS (TNCs)

International security is a multifaceted concept, encompassing the protection of states and societies from external and internal threats. It encompasses a wide range of issues, such as armed conflict, weapons of mass destruction, cyber security, climate change and pandemics¹.

International security is maintained through a number of mechanisms, such as diplomacy, international law, the functioning of international organizations and armed forces.

In the 21st century, one of the main challenges facing international security is the process of globalization, the rise of transnational corporations in the international arena and the change in the power of states to influence the international arena, which in turn amplifies the effects of crises and makes it more difficult to solve security problems².

The future of international security is uncertain. It is important for states and international organizations to work together to develop new security strategies and mechanisms to meet the challenges of the 21st century taking into account the impact of transnational corporations in the international arena, among others³.

1 *International Security*, ed. K. Żurowska,, IusTax Publishing House, Warsaw 2011, pp. 21-34; *Meanders of Contemporary Security. Between regionalization and globalization*, ed. by A. Gruszczak, Publishing House of the Jagiellonian University, Cracow 2018, pp. 7-19.

2 *Security in the Era of Globalization Law and Practice*, eds. M. Kun-Buczko, M. Przybysz, Stanisław Staszic Higher School of Public Administration in Białystok, Białystok 2013.

3 *International Security in the 21st Century*, edited by E. Cziomer, AFM Publishing House, Cracow 2010, pp. 9-33.

Transnational corporations (TNCs) are playing an increasingly important role in the global economy and on the world stage. Their activities have a significant impact on many aspects of social, political and economic life, both locally and globally⁴. This article focuses on the socio-political implications. TNCs can influence government policies through lobbying, political campaign financing and other forms of political influence. They can also undermine the sovereignty of states by limiting their ability to control their own economies and policies⁵.

There are a number of mechanisms that can be used to control the activities of TNCs and limit their negative impact on the international arena. These include, first and foremost, international law, regulations at the level of states, mechanisms created within the framework of corporate social responsibility⁶, or the activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) protesting the harmful activities of TNCs and putting pressure on them to change their practices.

The role of TNCs in the international arena is likely to grow in the future. It is important to develop and implement effective mechanisms to control TNCs and reduce their negative impact on society, the environment and the economy.

2. THE FUTURE PLACE AND ROLE OF STATES AND TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

An important part of considering the activities of transnational corporations is the analysis of further development opportunities for these entities in the modern world. Often it is not supported by actual evidence, because it can not be, due to the fast and rapidly developing globalization processes that have a significant impact on our future. Therefore, considerations of various options for the future are largely theoretical predictions. However, the study of past reactions and attitudes to the dynamic processes associated with globalization and the changes brought about by the activities of transnational corporations provides an opportunity to identify three hypothetical scenarios of events based on the phenomena occurring in our reality, viz: qualitative changes occurring at many levels of social life; specific reactions to these changes (noting that they are often contradictory reactions); changes that arise as a result of reactions to specific phenomena related to the activities of transnational corporations and changes in attitudes towards corporations on the part of participants co-evolving with them in the international arena (states and international organizations)⁷.

4 More in: A. Zaorska, *Transnational Corporations*, PWE, Warsaw 2007.

5 *International Security*, K. Zhurovskaya, op.cit, pp. 234-249.

6 More in: *Meanders of Contemporary Security. Between regionalization and globalization*, ed. by A. Gruszczak, UJ Publishing House, Krakow 2018.

7 K. Marzęda, *Corporate globalization process*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, Bydgoszcz-Warsaw-Lublin 2007, p. 301.

The evolution that is taking place as a result of globalization processes and the activities of transnational corporations on a global scale simultaneously affects the economic, political and cultural spheres. The diffusion of power that occurs among participants in international relations, including between states and transnational corporations is reshaping international relations.

For transnational corporations themselves, increasing competition in international markets is a situation that forces flexibility and the ability to respond quickly on a local and global scale. Transnational companies are forced to build and accumulate core competencies that can meet customer needs. On the other hand, in order to efficiently manage core competencies one needs to rely on knowledge of organizational theory. And nowadays, corporations need to „learn” in order to have competitive capabilities. In other words, in the era of modern globalization, transnational corporations are required to become „smart” organizations that take the creation and management of knowledge as their basis of action in gaining competitiveness. „As the pace and unpredictability of change in the global economic environment increases, flexibility and adaptability become increasingly important for maintaining competitive advantage.(...) Organizations must become „smart” by making active efforts to gain knowledge of the internal and external environment and the relationships between them. To learn faster than competitors, it is essential to gain an understanding of the nature and processes of organizational learning and knowledge management.”⁸

Knowledge management in the so-called „smart organization is based on strictly defined processes. At the same time, organizational knowledge is „a common set of principles, facts, skills and norms that find expression in organizational decision-making processes, behaviors and actions”⁹. The first stage in an intelligent organization is knowledge creation, or individual and organizational learning. Next comes the formalization of knowledge, that is, the creation of rules, norms and procedures. Next, there is the consolidation of acquired knowledge enabling it to be shared, and knowledge propagation, that is, the dissemination of knowledge within the organization. The last stage concerns the coordination and control of knowledge, concerning activities that ensure consistency and regularity of knowledge use in the organization.

It should be noted that in order to take care of the effectiveness of the above discussed process of knowledge management in the company, it is necessary to ensure an appropriate organizational structure, which must include an organizational culture, an appropriate structure and an organizational infrastructure with a communication system.

8 G. Stonehouse, J. Hamill, D. Campbell, T. Purdie, *Globalization. Strategy and Management*, Felberg SJA, Warsaw 2001, p. 290.

9 Ibid, p. 291.

The organizational culture discussed should opt for openness, experimentation, sharing of ideas, and put learning and knowledge first. The structure of an organization with the ability to learn, referred to by Stonehouse and Pemberton as an intelligent organization, must include the ability to share ideas among experts throughout the organization. In turn, the organizational infrastructure and communication system should take into account the effective use of internal and external information and communication technology, expert systems and various multimedia¹⁰

Thus, a modern transnational corporation wishing to remain competitive in global markets must bet on knowledge, because it is the source of key competencies, which should be characterized by sustainability, complexity, ease of adaptation and be difficult to duplicate by competitors. An efficient communication system allows for the rapid transfer of information and its transformation into knowledge. One of the better utilizers of this ability are organizations with a network structure, within which operate not only transnational corporations in the modern world, but also many other entities. A. Rothert in his work "The Emergence of Network Governance" proves that network structures can best coordinate various activities and, most importantly, they are dynamic and evolve perfectly, and in the era of globalization, adaptation is an essential skill when an organization wants to maintain its position as a player with whom others reckon. "Adaptive complex systems have been described as a kind of *perpetual motion machine* of innovation, which perhaps in relation to the social or political sphere indicates the possibility of adaptive governance or management. (...) it is the networks in the space between order and disorder that are best able to coordinate various activities, and are also capable of evolution."¹¹ Networks provide an alternative to the traditional understanding of power in terms of hierarchical sources of control. In simplest terms, a network is a system of interrelated actors/actors/elements. The effect of the existence of a network as an environment of individual actors is the emergence of an organization. Modern technologies also use networks, for example, the Internet, personal computers, GPS, cell phones, etc., called communication network technologies, allow the rapid dissemination of valuable information - knowledge, but also norms, rules (regarding cooperation, guidelines on organizational structure and coordination of activities)¹². Therefore, they are eagerly used by transnational corporations. The pace of development of modern information technologies and the extent of their use in the communication process of all participants in international relations, so both transnational corporations and states, makes them relevant to the distribution of influence, as well as to the distribution of political power in the world. Thus, the basic bargaining chip for states and

10 Ibid, p. 292.

11 A. Rothert, *Emergence of networked governance*, Elipsa Publishing House, Warsaw 2008, p. 13.

12 Ibid, p. 73.

transnational corporations is becoming the skillful and rapid acquisition of information and accumulation of knowledge.

3. THREE THEORETICAL OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF STATES AND TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

The literature usually describes three versions of a possible future, where transnational corporations appear as one of the most important participants in international relations besides states. One of these versions accepts the possibility of a situation of total hegemony of transnational corporations, or their total domination over states. The second version on the prospects of a globalizing future speaks of the total subordination of transnational corporations to states. The last version says about the preservation of similar to contemporary, relations between transnational corporations and states along with the co-occurrence of the transformation of certain roles-functions of these entities in relation to each other¹³.

Taking into account the development trends of transnational corporations and, above all, the qualitative changes that are taking place in the political, economic and socio-cultural life of our reality, it is therefore possible to make a rough analysis of the most likely variant.

A TAKE ON THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE STATE AND THE SIMULTANEOUS DOMINANCE OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

The concept concerning the total dominance of transnational corporations in international relations is based on the assumption that there are no more significant constraints on the development of transnational corporations in the near future. The efforts of anti-globalists and any attempts to direct globalization processes on tracks other than those governed only by the pursuit of maximum profits will prove unsuccessful. The unrestricted activities of transnational corporations will lead to the creation of a global economic order headed by transnational corporations. In fact, in most cases, globalization processes are taking place with the political and economic consent of states giving the opportunity to develop a free-market ideology that favors the activities of transnational corporations. And the increasing role of transnational corporations in the international arena sanctions the important position of the private sector in global decision-making processes.

However, the changes taking place today give reason to conclude that such a scenario is unlikely to occur. One extremely important feature can be noted, which leads to a more balanced position. Well, the occurring tendency of both states and international organizations to modify their functions makes it possible to conclude that the states

13 K. Marzęda op. cit., p. 301.

themselves and the legal system of modern international relations are adapting to the requirements posed by globalization and the activities of transnational corporations. Increasingly, the development vision favored by transnational corporations interacts and coexists freely with the social and economic development policies of states¹⁴.

If we were to treat the domination of transnational corporations metaphorically as a hegemony of the rules associated with market mechanisms to master all spheres of social life, such a scenario seems unlikely, and even less so if we treat the domination of transnational corporations as literal and total mastery of the political, economic and sociocultural domains.

A TAKE ON STATE DOMINATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

The scenario of total state supervision of the activities of transnational corporations was created on the basis of movements opposed to the globalization process. The reality of this vision is underpinned by the idea of introducing significant state reforms related to limiting the activities of transnational corporations and to changing the reasoning associated with globalization processes and the accompanying idea of consumerism. The reasons for the changes so presented are the processes of gradual assumption of social, cultural and economic functions by transnational corporations¹⁵. The non-economic activities of transnational corporations will result in a gradual reversal of the consumer trend among societies and the slow construction of a new economic order based on something more than market mechanisms¹⁶. The social, cultural and economic commitments that transnational corporations undertake will ultimately lead to the restriction of fully free economic activities of these entities increasing the political decision-making capacity of states and other participants in international relations.

This vision also seems unrealistic, due to the existing cooperation of transnational corporations with states in the above-mentioned spheres, which is growing and evolving all the time. Such a situation is unlikely to lead to the demolition of the existing socioeconomic order prevailing in the world, but only to the occurrence of various adaptive phenomena strengthening such cooperation in order to realize mutual benefits.

A TAKE ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE CURRENT STATE AND THE COMING COSMOPOLITAN REALISM

The prospect of maintaining the current development trend of transnational corporations and the relationship at many levels between transnational corporations and states and international organizations allow us to conclude that the preservation

14 Ibidem, p. 302.

15 Cf. Sullivan J.J., *The Future of Corporate Globalization. From The Extended Order to the Global Village*, Westport - London 2002, p. 4. ¹⁶ K. Marzęda op. cit. p. 307.

16 K. Marzęda, op.cit., p. 307.

of the current state taking into account the adaptation processes on both sides is the most realistic prospect of the near future. The globalization process favoring the intensive expansion of transnational corporations will continue to develop. Other participants in international relations, therefore, have a choice to make changes and modifications in their internal and external policies taking into account such a state of reality, or to resign themselves to gradual exclusion, as not following the globalization changes may lead to in the end. The essence of the perspective in question is to try to maintain appropriate relations and balance between all actors in the international arena, and to try to prevent one participant from gaining total dominance over the others. Although transnational corporations strive to remove barriers that limit their free action, as this is aimed at being able to maximize their profits. On the other hand, however, they realize that nothing will so well ensure the political and economic stability of the countries in which they invest as a clearly and precisely defined legal framework and a stable political system. Thus, states will continue to decide the areas and scope of transnational corporations' activities. At the same time, transnational corporations, due to their attributes, will increasingly participate in non-economic ventures previously reserved only for states.

4. FORECASTING THE FUTURE OF STATES AND SOCIETIES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

The various reactions occurring to the process of globalization and the activities of transnational corporations on a global scale make it clear that the possibility of accurately predicting the future cannot take place, due to the enormous dynamics of the globalization process and the range of attitudes associated with it. However, seeing both the positive consequences and, at the same time, the negative effects of this process makes it possible to theoretically outline the development concepts of our reality. The most famous futurological concepts about the coming future significantly take into account the changes resulting from globalization processes and look for various complications arising from the current state of reality.

F. Fukuyama in his work „The End of History” sees with the collapse of communism and the adoption by most countries of a system of liberal democracy the end of world history¹⁷. The democratic system and with it a free market economy is, according to F. Fukuyama, the best solution to promote and defend universal rights such as human rights. “Only liberal democracy is not burdened with fundamental flaws, internal contradictions and deficiency of rationality, i.e. what led past regimes to inevitable collapse.”¹⁸ The author's understanding of the term *history* is extremely important, since the collapse of communism simultaneously marked the end of his-

17 More in: F. Fukuyama, *The End of History*, Zysk i S-ka Publishing House, Poznań 1996.

18 F. Fukuyama, *The End of History*, op. cit. p. 9

torical processes based on the aspirations of various social groups to recognize their subjectivity. Besides, the existence of communism set the vector for the policies of Western countries, and its collapse meant the absence of a clear vision of the future. “Even the most momentous events in themselves do not determine the meaning of the historical process coming to an end. For its essence is determined by history proper - a uni-linear, coherent, evolutionary sequence of directed changes, which consists of the collective experience of peoples of all times.”¹⁹ The whole concept of the end of history is based on the processes of homogenization and unification. The consequence of the reign of democracy and the free market economy is progressive globalization bringing with it processes of integration and universalization. All this promotes the development of transnational processes and structures, which are the end of political and state aspirations in the modern world²⁰. Moreover, according to Fukuyama, globalization is an irreversible process, associated with a technological revolution of a unilateral nature involving information, culture, trade and, above all, capital²¹.

The opposite position is taken by B. Barber, emphasizing the phenomenon of glocalization as more likely, and U. Beck, who predicts the strengthening of nation-states and possibly conflicts occurring precisely between nations.

Francis Fukuyama's thesis of the “end of history” was also opposed by political scientist Samuel Huntington, author of the famous work “Clash of Civilizations,” stating that politics will be dominated in the future by clashes between civilizations. He assumed that “culture and cultural identity, which is broadly the identity of civilizations, shape the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-Cold War world.”²² The sources of international conflicts will become cultural differences, derived from religious divisions. However, the question that arises is whether this is definitely an adversarial stance. If Fukuyama declared the end of the history of the modern world, then it is clear that conflicts must move across borders, that is, between civilizations and not between states or nations²³. However, it should be noted that his theory was based on homogenization and interpenetration of values while Huntington's Clash of Civilizations is a theory of conflict. In this context, Fukuyama's thesis seems more plausible. Modern democratic states seek to expand mutual cooperation and avoid conflict. The skeptical Huntington stressed that despite the development of globalization, diversity in terms of values and cultures will continue. Cultural homogenization concomitant with globalization processes will not prevent

19 Ibid, p. 10.

20 R. Legutko, *The End of the West*, WPROST 5/2005 (1157).

21 W. Angel, *Paradoxes of Globalization*, ASPRA-JR, Warsaw 2002, pp. 258 and 260.

22 S. Huntington, *Zderzenie cywilizacji*, Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza SA, Warsaw 2003, p. 15.

23 R. Legutko, op. cit.

conflicts at the interface of different cultural circles²⁴. Huntington also believed that globalization brings with it the loss of the nationstate's position as a fundamental participant in international relations. However, he emphasizes its role in spreading democratic procedures on a global scale. "A world order based on civilizations is emerging: countries with similar cultural characteristics are cooperating (...) The universalist aspirations of the West are leading to increasing conflicts with other civilizations. (...) The avoidance of global conflict depends on whether the world's leaders succeed in accepting the multi-civilization nature of global politics and working together to maintain it."²⁵

Also Benjamin Barber, in his work "Jihad vs. McWorld", draws a vision of the future based on the conflict between Western states participating in the process of globalization and the mechanisms associated with the activities of transnational corporations (McWorld) and states adhering to traditional values, often promoting nationalism or religious orthodoxy (Jihad)²⁶. The author presents a critique of neoliberalism and highlights the negative effects of globalization as one that imposes its own schemes and culture on populations. Hence, he justified the frequent resistance of less developed countries to globalization processes. However, he argued with the author of "The End of History" F. Fukuyama, stating: "The end of history has not come, nor have we found ourselves in the wonderland of techne promised by futurologists. The collapse of state communism has not led nations to a safe democratic haven, and the horizon ahead is still obscured by the clouds of the past, the specter of fratricidal strife and civil wars."²⁷. Barber envisions the future: the first option is a Holy War (Jihad), waged against technology, mass culture and integrated markets. The second option envisions a wonderful unified world (McWorld) economically, politically and culturally. However, the parallel occurrence of both processes in unison, interacting with each other, which will eventually lead to a new reality, is noticeable nowadays. Despite their differentiation, however, both processes have one thing in common, namely, they negate the importance of civil society and democratic institutions, which in the modern world are the guarantors of maintaining peace and stability. It is also extremely important to keep in mind the political and cultural context of contemporary changes on a global scale. Thus, the publication reveals a crisis of democracy, the promotion of which is not the overriding goal of either the proponents of global corporations or traditional cultures. The solution the author proposes is increased activity of civil society as a monitor of the processes and mechanisms oc-

24 W. Angel, op. cit. p.263.

25 S. Huntington, op. cit. p. 16.

26 More in: B. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld*, transl. H. Jankowska, Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza SA, Warsaw 2000.

27 Ibid, p. 5.

curing in the modern world.²⁸ Modern civil society has the opportunity to use modern information technologies, which allow it to participate in and control political, economic and cultural processes on a global scale. Thus, the activity of civil society is a remedy for saving modern democracy, which also needs to step up to the new tracks set by the process of globalization. Global civil society is to help create modern democracy, which requires post-state institutions and mechanisms that emphasize direct responsibility of people for their freedom²⁹. “If society is the key to democracy, its perpetuation on a global scale requires the methodical internationalization of such a society, which in turn must rediscover the appropriate organizational forms at the national level to make the globalization process possible.”³⁰ Thus, in the modern world, the issues of democracy and civil society overlap even more and depend on each other. The author of the book opines that democracy is precisely the glue that will bind together all the changes taking place in the era of globalization in the world.

Jacques Attali, an advisor to Mitterrand, Chirac and Sarkozy, among others, while also holding the position of first president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, argues in his work “A Brief History of the Future” that the best political form is a so-called *hyperdemocracy*. The author first presents two scenarios for the future. The first scenario leads to the takeover of all of humanity by market forces which will eventually lead to the disappearance of man. “Once the market becomes the single law of the world, it will form what I call - an elusive and planetary *hyperimperium* that will be the source of material wealth and new alienation, unimaginable fortunes and extreme poverty. (...) Man will then be equipped with various artificial conveniences, after which he himself will become an artifact; he will be sold serially to consumers, who will also become artifacts themselves. After that, man will become superfluous to his manufacturers and disappear.”³¹ The second scenario includes the disruption of the globalization process, which will eventually lead to *hyperconflict*. There is a third future option - *hyperdemocracy*. Attali’s futurological vision of its future argues that as early as 2050 the world will reach a level where *hyperdemocracy will prevail* globally, and then power will be exercised by supra-national institutions, free of national obligations, with the common good of entire continents or even the entire world in mind first and foremost³². Attali sees *hyperdemocracy* as the next stage of market development ahead of even modern transnational corporations. *Hyperdemocracy* envisions the reduction of globalization, the reduction of

28 ²Gazeta Wyborcza, *Zagnać dzin do butelki*, Artur Domosławski’s conversation with Benjamin Barber dated 22.12.2010, www.wyborcza.pl, Cf. W. Anioł, op.cit., pp. 265-268.

29 B. R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld*, op. cit. pp. 353-354.

30 Ibid, p. 368.

31 J. Attali, *A Short History of the Future*, Pruszyński i S-Ka Publishing House, Warsaw 2008, p. 9

32 Ibid.

the market, the universal reign of the democratic system without the domination of one empire over others. Since “from century to century mankind chooses the primacy of individual freedom over all other values” then in the future “around the year 2060 hyperdemocracy will prevail, the best form of organization of mankind, the highest expression of the driving force of History: freedom.”³³. The system proposed by the author is supposed to be the best solution in achieving a balance between the market and democracy. With new technologies, global institutions will be able to build a collective life based on selflessness, responsibility, access to knowledge, etc. In a hyperdemocracy, there will also be the possibility of a new economy called relational by the author. It will be characterized by the prevalence of services, competitiveness for the market, which is ultimately expected to lead to the disappearance of the search for profit³⁴.

Another researcher using the term “hyper” is Jean Baudrillard, using the term “hyperreality” and using the metaphor of society as a “black hole” from which it is impossible to obtain any information, he analyzes a consumer society that can only be stimulated by product and consumption. He argued that the reality shown by the media becomes more real than real life, and certainly more interesting. This results in the creation of a hyper-reality created by the media, in which the message is more important than the content, and the speed of the information provided increases the interest in the mode of transmission itself. The end result is that society pays no attention to content and its value, which in turn causes it to achieve apathy, including political apathy, and the world becomes a place of empty images repeatedly reproduced³⁵. Today, social life will focus mainly on consumption. The primary distinction between individuals is the amount and type of goods purchased, and the world of advertising and television causes problems in distinguishing reality from artificially created images. Such a situation will cause human society to be dominated by objects in the future. “What is conspicuous everywhere today is the extraordinary phenomenon of consumption, abundance o prosperity, resulting from the growing number of objects, services and material goods, representing a kind of fundamental mutation within the ecosystem in which the human species functions. (...) man of the age of affluence no longer exists, as previously and eternally, in the environment of other people, but is surrounded by objects.”³⁶ This leads to a superfluous accumulation and abundance of products on offer, and ultimately their waste. Hyperreality and all-encompassing human consumption will result in the actual alienation of man³⁷.

33 Ibid., p.10 and 13.

34 Ibid, p. 17.

35 More in: J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, transl. Sławomir Królak, Sic Publishing House, Warsaw 2005.

36 J. Baudrillard, *Consumer society. Its Myths and Structures*, Sic Publishing House, Warsaw 2006, p. 7

37 K. Iszkowski, *Baudrillard: between sociology and pataphysics*, Journal 05.11.2007, www.dziennik.pl

“The end of all transcendence, all purposefulness has come: this. What characterizes society is the lack of reflection, including in the source sense of reflection, the inability to see oneself.”³⁸

One of the world’s most renowned contemporary sociologists, Manuel Castells, has also studied the transformation of modern society described as industrial to the information age. His work entitled. “Network Society” is the first volume of the trilogy “The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture.” The author’s position was that “In a world of global flows of wealth, power and images, the search for collective or individual identity, ascribed or constructed, becomes a source of fundamental meaning.” And that (...) identity becomes the main and sometimes the only source of meaning in those historical periods characterized by widespread destructurization of organizations, delegitimization of institutions, extinguishment of major social movements and ephemeral cultural expressions.”³⁹

The technological revolution has created a new society that is both capitalist and informational. He based the main thesis of his work on the assumption that “societies are organized around processes involving people, structured by historically determined relations of production, experience and power.”⁴⁰ He saw developing technology as the key to all the changes taking place in the modern world. He emphasized the importance of computers, information technology and telecommunications infrastructure, because it was through them that media and ICT networks became the locus of economic value creation, then industrial society was supplanted by network society⁴¹. M. Castells characterizes in detail the concept of networks as an open, synchronous structure with the ability to spread unlimitedly, conditioned by an efficient communication system. “Networks are open structures, capable of spreading without limit, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to share the same communication codes. A network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, prone to innovation without compromising its equilibrium.”⁴² Essential to the smooth functioning of a network society are communication processes. He even referred to today’s network society as a hypercommunication society, as it has the phenomenon of “self-communication,” where thanks to the Internet, anyone in addition to the recipient can also be a sender of certain content. The information society, the structure of which is based on networking (hence the term network society) functions in the modern reality, which is also based on the network system. “New information techniques are integrating the world into global networks

38 J. Baudrillard, *Consumer society*, op. cit, p. 268.

39 M. Castells, *Network society*, transl. M. Marody, K. Pawluś, J. Stawiński, S. Szymański, PWN, Warsaw 2007, pp. 20 and 21.

40 M. Castells, op. cit. p. 31.

41 E. Bendyk, *The power of networks. Manuel Castells*, Politics Science, 16.01.2010, www.polityka.pl.

42 M. Castells, op. cit. p. 468.

of instrumentality.”⁴³ As a result of technological evolution, significant changes have taken place: the economy has become an information economy, a global economy, and businesses have also become networked.

The author also stresses that the network society is a capitalist society, where capitalism has become structural, global and linked to networked financial flows. “Networks constitute a new social morphology of our societies, and the proliferation of networked logics is fundamentally changing the functioning and outcomes in the processes of production, experience, power and culture. (...) This networked logic induces a social conditioning of a higher order than that faced by the specific social interests expressed by networks: the power of flows is more powerful than the flows of power. The presence or absence of a network and the dynamics of each network in relation to others are key sources of domination and change in our society: a society that we can therefore call networked, characterized by the predominance of social morphology over social action.”⁴⁴

It is extremely important that the changes that are taking place in the era of modern globalization affect all spheres of social life, political, economic and cultural. “(...) network societies, processes of social transformation go beyond the sphere of social and technical relations of production, they also deeply affect culture and power (...) At a deeper level, the material foundations of society, space and time are being transformed, organized around the space of flows and timeless time.”⁴⁵

Thus, the network society, if viewed from a broader historical perspective, is primarily a qualitative change in human experience. “Due to the convergence of historical evolution and technological change, we have entered a purely cultural pattern of social interaction and social organization. This is why information is a key component of our social organization, while the flow of messages and images between networks forms the basic thread of our social structure. (...) This is the beginning of a new existence and indeed the beginning of a new era, the Information Age, marked by the autonomy of culture in relation to the material base of our existence.”⁴⁶

The name of the most prominent futurologist of the turn of the century was earned by sociologist Alvin Toffler, author of the work “The Third Wave.” He considers the history of humanity in the context of three successive technological waves. At the same time, he points out that many “seemingly unrelated facts or trends are interdependent. They actually make up a phenomenon of much broader significance, which is the death of the industrial age and the birth of a new civilization.”⁴⁷. The

43 Ibid., p. 37.

44 Ibid, p. 467.

45 Ibid, p. 476.

46 Ibid, p. 474.

47 A. Toffler, *Trzecia fala*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1997, p. 24.

first wave called agrarian, where the emergence of civilization was associated with the development of agriculture, the spread of sedentary lifestyles, the economy was decentralized. The second wave - industrial - appeared at the turn of the seventh and eighteenth centuries and lasted until the twentieth century. It was associated with the development of industry, the invention of printing, the steam engine, the development of industrialism, the advent of electricity, but also new means of transportation and mass communication. In the end, it was characterized by processes of standardization and uniformity. The third wave - taking place today is directly related to the emergence of new technologies and their dissemination. Thanks to them, the processes of communication have entered the level of limitlessness⁴⁸. Toffler pointed out that all technological waves overlap, and the processes of globalization prove that we are in the early stages of the third wave. Changes within the coming technological waves are unpredictable and cumulative, that is, they involve transformations in all spheres of life. The three technological waves were analyzed by Toffler in terms of the technosphere (divided into energy, production and distribution systems), the sociosphere and the infosphere, that is, they included studies of changes within technology, society and the communication system⁴⁹.

Post-industrial civilization derived from the third wave is characterized by a search for diversified sources of renewable energy, a shift away from mass culture to diversified means of information exchange. Mass production will be replaced by series of products dedicated to specific customers and modern communication systems will reduce the role of legacy transportation. All this will intensify social differentiation, but at the same time raise the level of tolerance for these differences. Computers and modern means of communication will make information and knowledge the basic raw material. Modern technologies and means of communication will create a transnational network of dependencies and contacts, which will not be insignificant for the modern state. Changes within political institutions toward greater representativeness of minorities and communities will prove necessary to accommodate increasing social diversity. The continued smooth functioning of democratic systems should therefore be based on the introduction of a system of semi-direct democracy, which is a combination of a representative system and the ability to represent oneself. A. Toffler also stresses that the changes resulting from the third wave will also cause a process of delegation of decisionmaking powers of the centers of power. Emerging problems and conflicts will cease to be solvable by individual governments, so there will be a need to act skillfully locally and globally at the same time, and for this the creation of supranational institutions is needed⁵⁰. "The creation of new political

48 J. Polowczyk, *The Third Wave, or How Alvin Toffler Predicted the Mohair Berets*, Politics Essentials of the Intelligencer, 19.04.2007, p. 1, www.polityka.pl.

49 More in: A. Toffler, *Trzecia fala*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1997.

50 J. Polowczyk, *The Third Wave, or How Alvin Toffler Predicted the Mohair Berets*, Politics Essen-

structures for a third-wave civilization will not occur as a result of a single violent upheaval, but will be the result of a thousand innovations and disputes that will be resolved on many levels, in many places and over many decades.”⁵¹ Transnational corporations by their activities openly contribute to the acceleration of globalization processes and changes resulting from the third wave of A. Toffler. States are interested in their own development, modernization of their economies, raising the level of competitiveness and independent implementation of policies in every sphere. Transnational corporations, on the other hand, are interested in the possibility of effective expansion and maximization of profits. However, it should be noted that the functioning of transnational corporations and states is carried out in a closely interconnected manner, under legally defined rules, providing the opportunity to achieve the set coherent and convergent goals independently set by both entities.

The above-mentioned convergence of goals makes the vision of the future proclaimed by Ulrich Beck in his work “Power and Counterpower” on cosmopolitan realism seem not impossible, although the author himself subjects the proposed concept to harsh criticism and tries to describe the present as a stage preceding the era of cosmopolitan realism. U. Beck treats globalization, including the activities of transnational corporations, as a process of historical transformation, changing the previous understanding of the world in national and international terms⁵². Interstate relations with transnational corporations take place at the transnational level, and the reality should be characterized by cosmopolitan realism, which will become a field - a space for decisions made on a global scale. Beck proves that in the era of global development, but also global problems and crises, this cosmopolitan outlook will save states from collapse. He describes this as a *policy of golden handcuffs* “involving the building of a dense network of transnational dependencies, leads to the recovery of national independence, however the ad hoc distribution of profits in an extremely mobile world economy might shape up.”⁵³. Thus, the policy of golden handcuffs ultimately leads paradoxically to the recovery of independence and freedom of action by states. In the age of globalization, conducting national policy at the national level no longer seems possible, as a broader view - transnational - is needed. However, the author stipulates that he does not take the cosmopolitan approach literally. He tries to make the vision of the whole world as one homeland, negating all political-cultural and territorial divisions, more realistic by the development trends occurring in reality as part of the globalization process. He stipulates that cosmopolitanism takes into account cultural and civilizational differences and fully accepts them, and does not try to abolish them. At the same time, he argues that the modern process of globalization, which gives a sense of transna-

tials of the *Intelligencer*, 19.04.2007, p. 3, www.polityka.pl.

51 A. Toffler, *op. cit.* p. 507.

52 U. Beck, *Władza i przeciwwładza*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warsaw 2005, p. 11.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

tionality to everyday phenomena, challenges, problems and threats, inevitably tends in the end precisely to the cosmopolitanization of the world, where the conviction of the need for mutual transnational cooperation for the sake of one's own and the common good becomes widespread. "The global power space functions on the principle of a selffulfilling prediction of the cosmopolitization of the world. (...) It is this transnational aspect of every issue that makes it necessary to cooperate across borders to solve one's own problems."⁵⁴ The consequence may be that democracy will recede into the background in the face of global challenges and threats. Still, democratic states will determine development trends. A cosmopolitan regime, in order to fully emerge, must be preceded by significant voluntary reforms made within the framework of the current reality, e.g.: strengthening organizations of a transnational nature and establishing new ones that efficiently regulate the activities of transnational corporations, states and other participants in international relations; advancing the democratization of states where globalization processes are occurring smoothly; reforming the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, but also the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Group of Eight (G-8) countries; promoting human rights policies on a global scale. All these reforms are to seek to find a transnational level of communication and decision-making⁵⁵. The question arises whether the creation of a global civil parliament would surely be a good place to resolve transnational issues?

Reality shows that the system of cosmopolitan realism in the near future has no *raison d'être*, but it is an actual and real trend in the development processes of the world. The main challenge of today is to skillfully identify those areas of state activity that can operate at the national level and those that should operate at the supranational level, and thus seek to strengthen cooperation with other countries. In this cooperation, the already existing network structures may prove helpful.

In the modern world, where the interdependence between participants in international relations is growing stronger, contacts and communications based on network structures represent an opportunity for effective and intensive development. Network structures have an impact on the process of government and state policy. As I mentioned earlier, networks are an alternative to traditional hierarchical power. According to network analysis, the state stands in a central position in the network and, despite its changing role, is still an important political actor, as it mediates and enables cooperation between all participants in international relations. Thus, in performing its existing functions, the state takes into account the supranational level of decision-making, which is made possible by a communication system based on network structures⁵⁶.

54 Ibid, pp. 354 and 361.

55 Ibid, pp. 377-380.

56 A. Rothert, *op.cit.*, p.18.

By treating politics as an emergent political complexity characterized by a dynamic system with the ability to adapt quickly and create new power structures, an analysis can be made of how changes in the organization of the political system resulting from network processes will affect its development. "If one looks at politics in structural terms, that is, as a network of connections and interactions, then global relations form a complex system of diverse networks and flows."⁵⁷ They, in turn, are part of the open, interconnected and interdependent networks that make up the system of global interdependencies and relationships. Otherwise known as emergent global complexity, it encompasses various actors: states, nations, diasporas, regions, international organizations, transnational institutions, global conferences, social movements and nongovernmental organizations. In this arrangement, states are in a central position and attempt to control activities on their territory. However, globalization has caused the scope of state control to change and become increasingly difficult to define and limit. As a result of the changes associated with globalization and the activities of transnational corporations in the non-economic sphere, the state has begun to play the role of regulator and supervisor in the legal, economic and social spheres. As a result, the understanding of the concept of state sovereignty has also changed. "Emergent complexity operates with the logic of evolving self-organizing networks. In other words, increasingly complex social and political structures are developing, coupled with the growing importance of networked forms of organization."⁵⁸ The end result is that state sovereignty is nowadays associated with the independence of skillfully operating and functioning within increasingly emerging global network structures. This leads to a process of dispersal of governance mechanisms towards a new network government, based on cooperation between various state institutions, states themselves and organizations, including transnational corporations as well. That is, states within the structure of a network government cooperate with networks of national and transnational actors with diverse interests and goals. Such an interlocking network of connections leads to an increase in interdependence among the above entities. The question is whether this will also lead to new global political mechanisms in the future? Globalization has shifted the center of gravity of national and international decision-making from a state structure to a network structure. The decision-making center has become a multi-level (state, regional and transnational levels) set of networks involving all participants in international relations, operating on a multi-sectoral basis. In such an arrangement, sovereignty can be treated as participation in a specific position in a network of distributed power, enabling better realization of individual and collective goals of governance⁵⁹. At the same time, it should be noted that global political networks nowadays perform a function that

57 Ibid., p. 162.

58 Ibid, p. 166.

59 Ibid, p. 173.

complements traditional governance mechanisms. With their characteristics such as interdependence, flexibility, openness and complementarity, they support governance mechanisms at the state, regional international and transnational levels. Thus, network systems result in the dispersion of the system of governance on a global scale, while supporting and complementing all political processes, still accepting the dominant role of the state as initiator of activities, controller and supervisor in relation to the activities of transnational corporations and the globalization process.

Understanding modernity, therefore, requires a thorough analysis of the phenomena occurring within it. Drawing conclusions is not easy and carries the risk of posing only theoretical development models. Still, such initiatives are necessary to identify new goals and risks for the near future.

The changes that are taking place in the era of globalization and have a direct impact on the condition of the modern state concern several basic aspects that should be distinguished: the diffusion of power among other participants in international relations; the evolution of the functions of the state that follows and the change in the understanding of state sovereignty. All this leads to the formation of a new system of interests in the global system and, consequently, to a new understanding of international security issues. Also related to this is the development of a new system for enforcing universal standards and norms of international law and addressing the democratic deficit. The challenge becomes the development of a system of global governance in the future, which does not yet seem feasible as of today, but may prove to be a valid solution in the future. In all of the above aspects, the modern state is still a fundamental participant in international relations. Despite the growing power of transnational corporations, it is the states that are still complicit in setting development directions and trends and, most importantly, have the ability to monitor the globalization process.

SUMMARY

Transnational corporations are playing an increasingly important role in the global economy, and their activities are having an increasing impact on international security⁶⁰. This impact can be both positive and negative. Positive aspects include the fact that TNCs can stimulate economic development in developing countries through investment, job creation and technology transfer. TNCs can also drive innovation and increase productivity, which leads to a higher standard of living. TNCs can also promote international cooperation and trade, which can build trust and reduce tensions. Negative aspects, on the other hand, include the fact that TNCs can be involved

60 P. Frankowski, *The role of non-state actors in shaping global security*, in *International Security after the Cold War*, ed. R. Zieba, pp. 257-259.

in worker exploitation, exacerbate social inequality and contribute to environmental degradation. TNCs have the effect of increasing competition for natural resources such as water, oil and minerals, which can lead to conflict and geopolitical tensions. TNCs can also exploit legal loopholes to avoid paying taxes and hide their business practices, weakening governments and making it difficult to control their operations. And most significantly, powerful TNCs can undermine the power of nation-states and limit their ability to control their own economies and policies.

The impact of TNCs on international security is complex and multidimensional. It is important to carefully analyze both the potential benefits and risks of TNC activities in order to develop appropriate regulations and controls to ensure sustainability and security for all.

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