IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

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Abstract. Despite of the fact that creation of critical infrastructure was a result of globalization processes there are very few references to globalization while talking about it. The fight against present-day international terrorism caused by globalization leaded to recognition of infrastructure parts as strategic for every state. The necessity to select certain parts of from general national infrastructure and organize a system security for it became obvious. Thus it was recognized as "critical infrastructure" and the crisis management system based on national administration was created to protect it.

Focusing attention on combating the effects of international terrorism and improved technical methods and necessary means there is little said about the globalization with the respect to critical infrastructure. The issues concerning the causes of modern terrorism, particularly that flowing from the world of Islam, are not taken under consideration. Thus, oftentimes protection of national territory is treated with multiple understatements and use of military force outside country's own territory is the result of interest international corporate capital.

Bearing in mind that globalization has seriously affected the functioning of many social structures providing the security of nations – including state officials, religious denominations (churches), basic security institutions, country security institutions, it is not surprising that it has also impact on the functioning of critical infrastructure in the countries affected by globalization.

In general, globalization significantly attacks tradition and culture of nations, also, supporting free movement of capital between countries, growing corporate ties, it deprives the authorities of nation states and their institutions responsible for controlling economic aspect of society. This way, it excludes them from the very important sphere of national security management. Thus, it creates a situation when the more flexible states structures can easier adjust to the globalization processes and continue to operate yet facing progressive loss of their importance, while those operating in a way well-established for centuries – fall or take a radical countermeasures.

It is remarkable, that despite of problems caused by globalization the states (or rather their authorities) are able with less social effort to adapt to the conditions imposed on them from outside by force. While those of them whose structures are not very flexible (often heavily anchored in tradition – usually a conservative background or highly hierarchical leadership more tribal than national or state based¹) have great difficulty in finding a place for themselves in these challenging circumstances related to globalization. As a rule, they seek to maintain the status quo provided by more radical (often proven in the past) behaviors of their supporters.

One of examples is active armed resistance in irregular activities² involving special operations in addition to actions taken by special operations troops, partisan activities and acts of terrorism used by the militarily weaker and much poorer states that do not have access to sophisticated warfare technologies.

Today, globalization has been criticized by representatives of all cultures, however the Islamic world is the strongest opponent. Wizards of globalization's success see its genesis in the overall penetration of corporate and capital market institutions and the free market itself. All of aforementioned clearly strike the tribal structure of many Islamic countries. The tribes, limited by their territorial scopes, struggling with the low level of economic development, have no chance against the corporate agendas. Often, the main addressee of the benefits derived from globalization is central government representatives that made a deal with corporations. This is particularly detrimental to the religious leaders who like the vast majority of nation do not participate in globalization profits division.

In the globalization era, many of the corporations have much larger capital at their disposal than some of the countries. Such companies have become kind of economic "superpowers" – superior to the countries³. They may seek to establish a law giving the basis to create their own armed formations, which – so far – is only a privilege of countries. Actually, this is just a matter of legitimization of factual state of affairs, since influential leaders undertook military actions in interest and at request of corporations, *de facto* lending possession of military force to guard the corporate interests, for example, under "defend the national interest" slogan.

¹ Tribal leaders affiliated with the Islamic religious hierarchies have stronger control over social relations than state leadership. That condition is typical in case of many Islamic countries and many Arab countries is a result of centuries-old tradition.

² Irregular actions – "a form of armed fighting involving the avoidance of frontal clashes with overwhelming forces of the enemy, striking weak points of his battle groups (organizational structures) using active in a large territory subunits skillfully taking advantage of defensive qualities of the area. Irregular actions can have the tactical, operational and strategic scale. (...) They are not an endeavor that is immediate or heroic, instead they can be described as highly sophisticated in the ways and means of armed action, marked by cold calculation, cunning and shrewdness of conduct aimed to cause the greatest possible loss among enemy forces while minimizing own in order to preserve its combat ability as long as possible". R. Jakubczak, *Territorial Defense of the Third Republic. Strategy, operational art, tactics*, Warsaw 2003, p. 85 and 88.

³ R. Jakubczak, M. Koziński, W. Jakubczak, *Globalizacja a terytorium narodowe*, Słupsk 2008, p. 51.

Globalization, as a corporate civilization, is a process in which one wants to impose corporate⁴ management style on the world. This raises an objection, mainly due to global and regional degradation of the current national values. Consequently, we face conditions where is no place for the traditional division of the time of peace and the time of war thanks to the controlled permanent crisis⁵ generated by the corporations that is slowly becoming the fact on a global scale.

As mentioned above, the national economy intensified by permanent crisis is more efficient than one operating without major risks. It also allows avoiding expensive losses while maintaining a high level of return on investment. By this purpose, normal international economic competition was replaced by its extreme form – controlled permanent crisis – operating on the war and peace border. Such a crisis is not accidental and out-of-control, on the contrary – it is very much under the control of global financial players⁶ involved in this process with the silent consent of the governments. Representatives of government frequently referring to the need for secrecy in this regard in order to prevent the flow of economic data is not just an excuse but a necessity, since the data obtained by the public could lead to the fall of many governments and thus loss of influence by political parties.

Thus the question arises: is globalization a state of continuous rise of the global crisis which in turn may lead to another world war? There are signs that this scenario might become truth one day. Local and sector crises leading to global crisis can be compared to the rocks accumulating tension for long time to suddenly release the accumulated potential in the form of earthquakes. In social aspect war represents such a global crisis, i.e. the crisis of the thirties in the USA and Germany ended with the WWII. This resulted from the fact that during that difficult time vast majority of workplaces were offered in defense industry sector. Aftermath was painful – the products had to be used somehow, war loot was to cover all the expenses related to production cost. There is no certainty that a world war, which occurrence over the next decade cannot be excluded, will be the consequence of today's financial crisis. Cleverly stimulated and calmed down reactions causing the global crisis might for a short time prevent the world from the war but in long term might also result in a sudden escalation of much greater range. Thus, it appears that long-term global economic crisis is even an expected,

⁴ Corporate style in this case means that all processes in the world are to be managed by the rules of the free market.

⁵ R. Jakubczak, W. Jakubczak, *Globalizacja a bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, (in) *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego w erze globalizacji*, R. Jakubczak, J. Marczak, K. Gąsiorek, W. Jakubczak, Warsaw 2008, p. 87.

⁶ It is proven by example given by Goldman Sachs – a multinational financial corporation that admitted to carry out Polish currency speculation. How ambiguous is the fact that former Polish prime minister was an adviser in Goldman Sachs?

remotely controlled and stimulated by processes of globalization, aimed to make the wealthy richer at the expense of poorer part of society.

Therefore, permanent crisis caused by globalization becomes the undeclared war between rich and poor. Its contemporary manifestation is legally legitimated phenomena of social potential expressed in means of payment insidiously taken away from poorer to wealthier part of society⁷. This results in less and less clear division of functioning of the world community, between peace and war periods since within the state of permanent crisis the boundaries between them become blurred. The crisis is common between the hegemonic superpower countries that have always competing against one another during the wars as political corporations.

Corporations get inspirations from aggressive practices of empires due to the fact they are so functionally congruent and directly supported by them – however with one condition – so that each of empire supports their corporations. Thus, we face some kind of symbiosis resulting in an empire using corporation in the name of globalization to economically exploit a country in case it cannot do it through armed conquest of territory. There is a reason why some corporations acquire the same power like empires. It happened as a result of some countries having transformed themselves to imperial powers using corporations to drain markets in other countries. It is astonishing that the victims oftentimes naively flatter institutions of globalization describing themselves as modern and open-minded instead of admitting that their national interest is being sold. For these nations there will be an enormous price to pay for such an exceptional economic naivety.

Sometimes the financial power of corporations is so significant that even superpower governments have to reckon with it. However, this is only an external impression of conflicts that do not exist factually since generally the same centers of finance nominate people to the boards of both financial corporations and governments.

Other countries does not have the aforementioned preferred position and their citizens are the targeted by multinational corporations – they are recognized as inexpensive labor and potential market. A good example is approach of some financial institutions of "old" European Union countries towards Polish currency – *złoty* (PLN) (the Danish Bank – Danske Bank⁸) and the Polish strategic ally – the United States

⁷ War is nothing new in the history of mankind since each stage of the "functional novelties" in the socio-economic and political life ended with the war (in XX century on a global scale) in order to replace old ideas with new. The aforementioned phenomena is caused by human tendency to act irrationally and forget about the conclusions of the past assessments, also they are attracted by and thus relatively often experience tragedies, including wars.

^{8 &}quot;Tonight we observed nice increase of EUR value, quickly aiming to 4,90 PLN – our target" – message sent by a Danske Bank to its clients. Danish bank has been presenting very pessimistic forecasts for PLN this year. Danish also tried to spoil Polish currency. http://gospodarka.gazeta.pl/gospodarka/1,33181,6303704_Dz_Dunczycy_tez_psuli_zlotowke.html, 2009-02-21 08:33.

(Bank of Goldman Sachs⁹). In addition, Poland – a NATO ally fighting against terrorism worldwide – is considered by NATO members financial institutions (including the U.S. and Denmark) as a country created for "allied" economic exploitation.

Facing this situation, many countries found it impossible to defense themselves against corporations – not being able to create their own border to protect flow of finance and human resources. As a result there are more frequent crises having more intensive effects caused by corporate-like organization where confidential corporate agreements are still real.

Countries that represent and defend the interests of transnational corporations have long been adapted to guarantee their safety including the military aspect. The outcome is the defense system always ready to operate in constant crisis¹⁰ environment. In order to realize an effective military policy in the sphere of military security, a long-term plan is to involve professional specialized military units with limited numbers of personnel provided with the best command systems capable to precisely attack and destroy.

This approach is followed by conviction that soldiers recruited in conscription shall have more limited access to most effective weapons than professional soldiers.

The principle is to recruit for military professionals trustworthy individuals that will prove their skills in military operations. After completing duties as professional or contract soldiers or they can be recruited to work within the structures of companies cooperating with the army (security, intelligence, sabotage, etc.) and special services.

This way, experienced and acquired for long-standing service soldier is useful almost till the end of his life. A country put its trust in him so he can participate in the military operations officially aimed to guarantee the peace or fight terrorism but in fact protecting the interests of multinational companies. That explains why giving up on mass army based on conscription by countries focused on protecting international activities of corporations. This kind of army is much less likely to send its soldiers to operate outside of the national territory in order to secure multinationals interests.

As a rule, the best is to use of to professional army in intervention against countries that resist economical and political impacts of globalization processes. Professional soldiers depend of the contracts and are motivated mainly by their remuneration or possibility to have their contracts renewed what keep them interested

⁹ "On Thursday Goldman Sachs (one of the biggest investment banks) announced the end of speculation game aimed at weakening of Polish currency. (...) American bank admitted on Thursday that it had earned 8% on Middle European currencies." (in) *Goldman Sachs już nie szkodzi złotemu*, http://www.tvp.info/news.html?directory=2788&news=884606, 2009-02-21, 08:33.

¹⁰ "We are at a critical time in the history (...). We face a ruthless enemy intent on destroying our way of life and an uncertain future." Gen. Peter Pace words, the President of the U.S. Chiefs of Staff http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/feb/15/politics.usa1.

in not betraying the secrets of conquest and new-colonial operation way of these formations. Moreover, experience with the work of ex-soldiers for the Western countries occupation forces support proves that exceptionally large percentage of them eventually die on duty. That eliminates the problems with their pensions or revealing disturbing information that might raise a public opinion concern about the true nature of "peacekeeping" or "stabilization" operations undertaken in the name of democracy promotion and protection.

In the process of globalization, giving up on the possibility to create a mass army based on conscription creates a very dangerous situation allowing government to use the military forces against the citizens in case they disagree to support a system focused on protection of corporation interest.

The professional nature of the armed forces and created by them defense readiness result from functional needs of corporations and their constant conflict with competitors, countries and society. Corporations, ever since they were created, fight against their competitors in a subtle and cost-effective ways. The main priorities are economic efficiency and effectiveness.

The only military formations that can meet requirements set by corporations are small specialized 100% professional units capable of immediate and precise strikes anywhere in the world. The creation of such forces by the governments would guarantee the fulfillment of multinational plans. The objects of their attack are the strategic centers of countries resisting the processes of globalization¹¹.

The responsibility for keeping under control citizens showing their opposition and disapproval also remains on the side of national authorities since the corporations "pay taxes" (if they pay them at all) for that.

In such situation military strategy plays a big role protecting the interests of capital standing behind transnational corporations. The centers of global interest in controlling the crises with help of armed forces assumed that regular actions of mass army over large areas with millions of troops are not the most efficient mean. They would be too expensive and therefore not justified to execute. Instead, formations consisting of military personnel and ad hoc involving civilians, small yet operationally effective, specialized in precise armed action are recognized as a perfect to meet the multinational companies' expectations. The U.S. operation in Iraq states a very good example of aforementioned.

Many stakeholders having the initiative in the globalization process considers as perfectly logical the fact that directions of armed forces restructuring should focus on creating mobile units ready to intervene in any place where corporate interests are endangered. However, it has not been officially admitted, as this could cause unwanted public protests. Thus, the question arises: in case of international conflict

¹¹ Among others – Iran, North Korea, the Talibans.

who is to defend the society when the central authorities are focused on defending corporations?

Unfortunately, people too often forget that "one of the most important tasks performed by the state authorities is to ensure security in international relations. Security is also an essential condition for the existence of the nation, the internal stability of the country and the development and prosperity of its society"¹².

In the context of corporate expectations supported by the government the desire to create professional army it is understandable. Ideal goal would be 100% professionalization so it can be easily used against anyone including representatives of their own nation society. Relying on reserve forces mass army based on conscription. In case a dispute dangerous for the government and corporation arises in a country affected by the globalization – the mass army reserves might make a quick military response towards the society impossible.

From the perspective of global corporation presented above it is easy to understand the necessity of identifying the challenge of fighting global terrorism to increase it and making important for societies. The terrorism as an irregular activity is related to the need for protection and defense of numerous objects that are called a critical infrastructure due to their strategic importance for the normal operation of the country.

A general opening of countries for the free flow of raw materials, finance resources, ideas and the people not only allows corporation to unlimitedly drainage the developing economies but also gives the terrorist possibility to access and disrupt or destruct thousands of infrastructures objects in highly developed countries. With the respect to the range of possible terrorist attack it is necessary to set priorities which of these objects are classified as critical structure and thus protected and defended first.

Can we evaluate the aforementioned decision as correct? It is difficult to clearly judge, especially bearing in mind that not classified objects might be of big importance for local or regional community. Recognition of objects included in the critical infrastructure is from the start burdened with political decisions.

Taking under consideration the range of the problem, in particular the number classified objects important for the normal operation of the country, results in thesis that classification and further actions may brings very little success if any at all. Confirming arguments for the aforementioned statement are highly visible examples – the tragedy of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, regular terrorist attacks in Russia, attacks in Madrid, London, Bombay, Bali or the number of cases in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

¹² R. Szeremietiew, Uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski w kontekście międzynarodowych operacji pokojowych, (in) Działania Polskiego Kontyngentu Wojskowego w Iraku (opracowanie zbiorowe), Słupsk 2009, p. 9.

In Poland (in accordance with the current law of 26 April 2007 on crisis management, art. 3 pt 2) the concept of critical infrastructure shall be understood as "systems including functionally interconnected objects that aforementioned systems consist of, including buildings, facilities, installations, services critical for safety of the country and its citizens and services securing the operation of institutions, public and private sector. Critical infrastructure includes:

- energy and fuel supply;
- communications and IT networks;
- financial system;
- provision of food and water;
- health safety system;
- transport and communication;
- rescue system;
- systems securing continuity in public administration business operation;

– infrastructure supporting production, storage and use of chemical and radioactive substances, including hazardous substances pipelines^{"13}.

The aforementioned approach to the issue¹⁴ is wider than the one focused on the aspect of anti-terrorism, however, the whole problem was caused by international terrorism as a consequence of the globalization development. Currently, most common assumption is "critical infrastructure plays a key role in the normal operation of the country and the life of its citizens. As a result of events caused by natural forces or human activities, critical infrastructure may be destroyed or damaged and its performance disrupted so the lives and property of citizens are endangered. At the

- transport infrastructure (roads, bridges, railways, airports, seaports);
- construction (including construction special);
- water supply and sanitation;
- energy (electricity grids, gas and liquid fuels pipelines);
- communication (telecommunications, post);
- IT (administration, infrastructure control, economy);
- banking and finance".

¹³ "The rescue system (...) in Poland aspires to become one of the major systems operating in the country", R. Kalinowski, *Ratownictwo i ochrona ludności w świetle założeń strategii bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP* (in) *O bezpieczeństwie narodowym w Polsce*, ed. by M. Koziński, Slupsk 2008, p. 38.

¹⁴ The initial approach to critical infrastructure in Poland (before the Act of 26 April 2007 on crisis management), it was understood it as: "(...) the key elements of the national economy which damage or destruction would have a negative impact on the normal operation of the country – threatening state security or economy. The critical infrastructure consists of systems securing normal operation of the country as listed:

⁻ road, rail, water and air transport;

Raised in the book R. Piwowarczyk, Osłona infrastruktury transportu Polski w ramach obowiązków państwa-gospodarza, doctoral thesis, Warsaw 2006, p. 165.

same time, such events have a negative impact on the country economic development. Thus, the protection of critical infrastructure is one of the priorities of Poland.

The essence of tasks related to critical infrastructure is not only about ensuring protection against threats, but also to minimize or remove potential damage or interruption in its operation without causing additional losses for the citizens and the country economy"¹⁵.

Bringing new challenges globalization can also have positive influence over the critical infrastructure i.e. exchange of the technologies and services aimed to protect it, international cooperation in this field.

The most important is to remember about the national interest. In today global world it is not possible for a country to operate without having the multinational companies present on its territory. Therefore it shall do everything to combine both – national interest with the aims of the multinationals. It shall invest in R&D in order to build a competitive economy and good infrastructure.

If a governments decided to move towards professionalization of the army it shall not give up on the mass army and combine the two in order to witness the synergy of the two components. The core of the army consisted of professional personnel and numerous reserve forces from the conscription. It shall also form strong territorial defense forces that are extremely important in process of maintaining and protecting critical infrastructure.

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¹⁵ According to the Polish Government Center of Security (RCB). In: http://rcb.gov.pl/infrastruktura/, 02.05.2010.