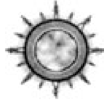

After Geopolitics? From the Geopolitical Social to Geoeconomics

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Abstract: This paper makes two central arguments. First, the popular language of geopolitics needs to be understood as historically emerging from and helping create a "geopolitical social", which both crosses and crafts traditional borders of internal and external to the national state. Second, we suggest that geoeconomic social forms are gradually supplanting this geopolitical social. After establishing the geopolitical social associated with traditional geopolitics, from Ratzel to Bismarck, we examine the erosion of geopolitical calculation and the rise of the geoeconomic. We trace emerging geoeconomic social forms in three domains: the reframing of territorial security to accommodate supranational flows; the recasting of social forms of security through the market; and the reframing of the state as geoeconomic agent. Neither an exercise in "critical geopolitics" nor an endorsement of Luttwakian style geoeconomics, this paper assumes no straightforward historical succession from geopolitical to geoeconomic logics, but argues that geoeconomics is nonetheless crucial to the spatial reconfiguration of contemporary political geography.

Keywords: geopolitics, geoeconomics, security, the social, Ratzel, the state

> If you want to think outside the box, you want to know how the box was made (US Lieutenant Colonel Poncho Diaz-Pons, cited in Bauman 1997).

> States do not have the strength or qualities they project, but nor are they easily re-imagined (Carroll-Burke 2002:79–80).

The language of geopolitics is everywhere. In news magazines, weblogs, radio commentaries, reports from military and security agencies, and in debates among professional geographers, geopolitical diagnoses and descriptions are recrudescent. Especially since the "war on terrorism" began to challenge flat-earth globalization ideologies at the turn of the twenty-first century, governmental, academic and popular attempts to steer and comprehend conflict, strategy and socio-spatial struggle invariably resort to the descriptor "geopolitical" to comprehend

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geographies of power and security. But could this proliferation of geopolitical discourse be a symptom of the denouement of geopolitical spatiality rather than a sign of its vitality? Could this be a moment when geopolitics is "dead but dominant", to adapt Habermas's depiction of modernism? In this paper we point toward an affirmative answer to these questions. We suggest that despite the current popularity of geopolitics as a means of representing and contesting contemporary conflict and violence, new ways of knowing the changing political geographic present are necessary. Geopolitics was never only about the state's external relations, but rather, we argue, involved a more encompassing "geopolitical social" that both crosses and crafts the distinction between inside and outside national state borders. This geopolitical social—the assemblage of territory, economy and social forms that was both a foundation and effect of modern geopolitics– is currently recast by an emerging geography of economy and security that might best be captured as geoeconomics with its own attendant social forms.

As simultaneously ideology and technology of state power, modern geopolitics arose as part of the specific historical and geographical assemblage of modern nation-state making and the rise of capitalism. Geopolitical calculation can certainly be identified in many times and places, from classical Athens to the Mayans of Central America, dynastic China to the Roman Empire, but the generalized practice and pursuit of a formal "science" of geopolitics, presuming its own authority in relation to military, social and economic strategy, is a post-Enlightenment European invention. Geopolitics embodies a range of assumptions that entwine political power to the territorially demarcated system of national states, and it reads national cultures, societies and economies as more or less aligned to those territorial divisions of the world. But the outward projection of national power simultaneously implied the constitution of an inside, and the emergence of national societies thereby involved the making of a geopolitical social.

Critical geopolitics began as an attempt to deconstruct geopolitical discourses, usefully revealing the web of assumptions connecting state power, nationalist ambition, "race" superiority and masculinist privilege in modern geopolitics (Dalby 1991; Ó Tuathail 1996). To this we could add class assumption. More recently *feminist* geopolitics (Dowler and Sharp 2001; Hyndman, 2004; Secor 2001) has furthered the specifically gendered aspect of this critique, while *postcolonial* geopolitics seeks to decentre the point of access away from the centers and assumptions of global power, even when these are shared by radical critics (Slater 2004). While the deconstructionism of early critical geopolitics in the 1990s was generally tied to the analysis of specific historical texts and perspectives, the reconstructive impulse of critical geopolitics has the paradoxical effect of affirming the universality of geopolitical discourse precisely in order to qualify it as critical, feminist,

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postcolonial, neoliberal and so forth (see also Roberts et al 2003). More generally, geopolitics tends toward a problematic synonymity with political geography, and its universalization, critical or otherwise, has the effect of severing geopolitics from its historical articulation. Hence Sparke's (2007:340) position that "geopolitics and geoeconomics" do not "describe distinct geostrategic *periods*", à la Luttwak, but "are better understood as names for distinct geostrategic *discourses*" (emphasis in the original; see also Coleman 2005). While "periods" is indeed a blunt conception of time–space, Sparke's claim begs rather than answers the question of the historically and geographically specific life of geopolitics as practice and discourse.

The historical genesis of geopolitics is crucial to understanding the potential for alternatives, and our insistence on an historical perspective is vital to the path we attempt to navigate here. This in no way amounts to a blanket rejection of critical geopolitics, but it does suggest a central premise, namely that the historical ontologies of modern geopolitical practice remain a crucial field for inquiry which, ironically, may be lost in the proliferation of critical geopolitical discourses. How is one to allay the lingering doubt that insofar as geopolitics was implicated from birth in the strategies, practices and discourses of emerging nationalist and capitalist state territoriality, "critical geopolitics" may actually be an oxymoron? Once the central role of the national state, class and racist assumptions, masculinist gaze and metropolitan positioning are stripped away, what is left that is specifically "geopolitical"? If the language of "geopolitics" is unmoored from its nationalist and statist practice how can we conceptualize alternative, emergent political geographies?

The purpose of this paper is neither to refine critical geopolitics nor to pioneer an anti-geopolitics but to try to conceptualize contemporary shifts in the spatialization of political, economic and social power that lead beyond geopolitics. We trace the emergence of a political–geographic logic of economy, security and power somewhat at variance with that proposed by geopolitics. We begin historically with a reconnoiter of the nativity of geopolitics in the project of nation-state making and the conjoined project of building "the geopolitical social". We move to the contemporary recasting of traditional geopolitical logics and practices, focusing on the transformative effects of decolonization and US imperial ambition: the questioning of state power, so-called economic globalization, the sudden transparency of the engrained ideological separation between military (external) and police (internal) assertions of social security, the reconfiguration of border space, the severing of longstanding connections between citizenship and soldiering, and the creative destruction of national conceptions of social security. Taken together, these recent shifts challenge geopolitical conceptions and may better be captured today by a "geo-economic" conception of space, power and security, which sees geopolitical forms

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recalibrated by market logics. We suggest that geoeconomics *recasts rather than simply replaces* geopolitical calculation. In keeping with these shifts we argue that critical investigations of "security"—national, social or otherwise—cannot inhabit the categories (police vs military, inside vs outside, etc) that even a non-state-centric geopolitical discourse might presume. A geoeconomic conception of security underlines conflicts between the logics of territorial states and global economic flows, the proliferation of non-state and private actors entangled in security, and the recasting of citizenship and social forms. In all of this, as will become clear, we do not assume a simple historical succession from geopolitical to geoeconomic logics, nor do we subscribe to a Luttwakian geoeconomics. Rather, we see geoeconomic spatiality as crucial to the ongoing transformation of political geography.

The "Geopolitical Social" and Nation-State Making

> Thanks to the establishment of this State monopoly [on violence] and to the fact that war was now, so to speak, a practice that functioned only at the outer limits of the State, it tended to become the technical and professional prerogative of a carefully defined and controlled military apparatus. This led to something that did not exist as such in the Middle Ages: the army as institution (Foucault 1997:49).

There is no mystery about the genesis of modern geopolitics in the experience of national-state making. Centrally concerned with defining and defending European state territoriality, geopolitics arose in the nineteenth century as the science of state power and security vis à vis other states and territories, operating in relation to war "at the outer limits of the state" (see also Foucault 2007:305).[1] Such a science was obviously premised on the existence of borders between states; in short, the unprecedented establishment of a system of national states. This had the effect of banishing questions of a state's "internal" security to other intellectual and administrative portfolios, much as the division between military and police effected a division between "external" and "internal" responsibility for use of violent force in pursuit of social order. Rigorously observing this distinction between external and internal, modern geopoliticians thus presumed developments which they helped to assemble.

From the start, geopolitics was much more than an arm of foreign policy and international relations; it was part and parcel to the making of national social order. The notion of the "geopolitical social" draws attention to the largely displaced recognition that the "birth" of modern western society occurred through the same practices, discourses—and importantly, *the acts of violence*—that allowed for the assemblage of national territory: geopolitics was as much a project of the making

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of "national society" as of national territory. This is nowhere clearer than in the national stereotyping of peoples, a practice which helped consolidate national society "at home" and simultaneously prepared the ideological and practical grounds for war. The making of the modern territorial state—at once a process of assembling the specific capitalisms of national economies and the logics and authority of state security, and of establishing national population with its racialized, classed and gendered ordering—is simultaneously the making of the geopolitical social. The geopolitical social, like national territoriality, has its genesis in and through war. To tease out these connections we want to briefly highlight some common threads in Ratzel, Clausewitz, Darwin and Bismarck, all figures whose work is deeply entwined in making the modern geopolitical social.

There may be no better way to begin exploring the geopolitical social than through the work of Friedrich Ratzel, who more than anyone formalized this new science of and for the territorial state. Ratzel's political geography was centrally a technology of state power and imperial expansion. For Ratzel, states were organic entities, the organized expression of the place-specific peoples they ruled—an expression of their Geist (spirit)—and state power was intimately linked to the extent of territory and size of population a state controlled. Generalizing, however obliquely, from the nineteenth-century experience of national state-making and European imperial expansion, Ratzel argued that strong states expanded territorially while weak ones contracted, the latter unable to defend their borders from stronger neighbours or invaders. Naturally avaricious, the Ratzelian state sought its rightful *Lebensraum*. However arcane this idea might seem today—even repulsive in the wake of Nazi geopolitics—the organic state represented a considerable conceptual democratization compared with the absolutist state it succeeded. But Ratzel's was a constitutive project; he did not take the state for granted. Franco Farinelli (2000) has made the vital point that Ratzel's *Politische Geographie* (and the work leading up to it) provided an unprecedented independent identity to "critical bourgeois thinking" about the state and territory. More than any of his predecessors, Ratzel broke free from the kinds of state geographies of power that marked the fading aristocratic regimes of the nineteenth century. As Farinelli puts it, unlike the earlier "state geographers" Ratzel did not "seek to negate the political function of geographic knowledge", but attempted, rather, "to adapt this function to the new requirements of bourgeois organization that coincided tout court with those of the state" (2000:953).

Much as Ratzel's political geography came in the service of building the modern capitalist state, he was equally concerned with the social relations that, in his estimation, gave the state both possibility and coherence. It was precisely his concern with people and place, embodied

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in his "anthropogeography", that filtered into Nazi geopolitics, and it is there that one needs to look for a more replete sense of the "social" of his geopolitics. But Ratzel also based himself in a practical history of wars leading to the achievement of national statehood, and no one cast a longer shadow than the proto-geopolitician par excellence, Karl von Clausewitz. Writing in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Clausewitz was a key figure in recasting politics and war through a national imaginary. He is best known for his then-controversial proclamations on the political nature of war—"war is the continuation of policy [politics] by other means" (1976:7). Clausewitz seems not to recognize any clear national state agency—his opposing armies are not nationally defined—indeed he celebrates the eighteenth-century accomplishment whereby "[i]nternal relations had almost everywhere settled down into a monarchial form . . . and the Cabinet had become a complete unity, acting for the State in all its external relations" (1976:380). Yet his continuity of politics and war presumes a clear distinction between military and political rules of engagement and spaces of jurisdiction. As a number of scholars now suggest, Clausewitz's legacy was thus less in establishing continuity between war and politics, than in contributing to their *geographic distinction*; he exteriorizes war to the sovereign nation state. War was effectively "expelled from the internal national social field and reserved only for the external conflicts between states" (Hardt and Negri 2004:6; see also Foucault 1997:48).

Clausewitz was writing at a time when European nation states were solidifying their claims, as Weber famously put it a century later, to a monopoly over legitimate violence, and he contributed to that process. Civil war, then rampant in the violent crucible of national state formation and colonial oppression, was increasingly cast as an exception to the "legitimate" wars of the modern capitalist world. The new political geography, hard won through a succession of bloody wars, was taking shape as a map of national states with increasingly fixed borders demarcating inside from outside, constituting population, and determining laws of commerce and labour, regulating the movement of people and goods across these same borders, and not coincidentally promising "social" security both internally and from outside states. This was exemplified in the separation of military forces devoted to war abroad and police forces responsible for domestic security. The "withdrawal of the military from direct participation in the internal affairs of state involved not the decline of war but a concentration of military power "pointing outwards" towards other states in the nation-state system" (Giddens 1985:192). And while this separation was never absolute or even fully actual, particularly in the global South and for colonized populations within national territories, it nevertheless became a crucial tenet of national law and central authority in European

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states. As Charles Tilly has argued, concerning the emergence of bourgeois national states, "European governments reduced their reliance on indirect rule" in large part by "encouraging the creation of police forces that were subordinate to the government rather than to individual patrons, distinct from war-making forces, and therefore less useful as the tools of dissident magnates" (Tilly 1985:175).

There is another side to Clausewitz's formative influence on geopolitics and the geopolitical social, pivoting on Darwin. "What Darwin accomplished for Biology generally Clausewitz did for the Life-History of Nations nearly half a century before him", opines Col. F N Maude in his 1908 introduction to Clausewitz's *On War*, "for both have proved the existence of the same law in each case, viz., 'The survival of the fittest'" (Clausewitz 1976). Clausewitz and Darwin saw competitive struggle as the driving force of their social and natural worlds, with states and species respectively the agents of change. The backdrop of competitive capitalism was powerful, and indeed Darwin's debt to Malthus's competitive theory of market and population is well known. Ratzel's debt to Darwin is also well documented. Trained in zoology, Ratzel not only published a book on Darwin but came to invest his nation state with a broadly Darwinian organicism and teleological drive for growth. Ratzel's concept of "Lebensraum" placed "Darwinian natural selection in a spatial or environmental context" (Smith 1980:53). Ratzel's geopolitics therefore sutured two already entwined traditions into a more robust assemblage. Importantly, Clausewitz and Ratzel both asserted the political nature of their respective fields—war and geography—while formally restricting politics to the sovereign state, thus achieving a common though surreptitious nationalization.

Crucial though not explicit in the assemblage of the geopolitical social was the making of national society as well as national economy. Following the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, authority and expertise in the science of war were increasingly contained in the externally oriented professional military, and yet domestic politics were saturated with the concerns of war. Citizenship was broadly invested with promises of peace, democracy, justice, equality and freedom but at the same time carried the duty of military service, positing the defense of the nation as the core obligation of citizenship (Cohen 1985; Mann 1988). The national duty of defense that replaced other systems of raising an army, such as kinship allegiance, mercenary payments, enslavement and manorial levy shaped a masculine model of modern liberal citizenship, while women were assigned to reproduce as "mothers of the nation" (Yuval–Davis 1997). The propertied male "individual" got to vote for all this, while unpropertied males became the soldier citizens who served in order to repay "society" for their dependence (Carter 1998; Cowen 2006). While purging war from the space of the nation may have served to nationalize political *imaginaries* of struggle, trenchant inequalities

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nonetheless organized whatever national unity came to appear (cf Buck-Morss 2000).

Dijkink (2005:114) argues that "nationalism brought a revolution in warfare by turning the ordinary citizen into an accomplice". Mass warfare also made ordinary people into national citizens, and here Bismarck plays a central role. Ratzel was 27 years old in 1871 when Otto von Bismarck solidified the German state following the Franco-Prussian war. Questing to mobilize and unify the support of a population, divided by class, culture, history and region, Bismarck devised what might now be thought of as biopolitical technologies of social "security". In the 1880s he implemented the first state-run national social insurance programs, allowing the state to realize its "true vocation" as "society's cement" (Donzelot 1988:398). Social insurance helped to cultivate allegiance to the modern state and effectively "called for the end to provincialism (and thus the end of localism)" (Kirwin 1996:205) as the polymorphous German empire transformed into the new German Reich. Military pensions in particular were a means of harnessing loyalty to the German state. If soldiers were "protected from injury, given pensions, and their families looked after", Kirwin explains, "they would be more willing to give totally to the war effort". Bismarck's social security for soldiers was gradually extended to the civilian population, and in this way, European states not only assembled militaries and territories, but they also began assembling populations.

If non-European battles never counted in Clausewitz's military geography, it was otherwise for Ratzel, more than half a century later, who sought to order state-making at the global, not simply European, scale. Avowedly imperialist, Ratzel's racism was environmental more than biological (cf Basin 1987). Inferior races deserved to be crowded off the earth by Europeans not because of their race per se but because of their irrational use of the land (Ratzel 1969; see also Livingstone 1992): imperialism represented quite a legitimate spatial struggle for existence. Thus Ratzel enthusiastically involved himself both in the German colonial advocacy movement of his day, founding the *Kolonialverein* (colonial society) in the 1870s, and in state solidification at home: he presided over the Pan-German league in the 1890s. His chair at the Technical University of Munich after 1880s owed to Bismarck's strategic expansion of geography in German universities as part of the simultaneous technics of empire and state-building. Himself blurring the jurisdictions and forms of violence on which geopolitics is premised, Ratzel is a crucial figure in the making of the geopolitical social. It took Bismarck to put this nexus of domestic cum foreign geopolitical calculation into practice. Bismarck the general and Bismarck the social reformer was also Bismarck the economic nationalist who instituted a spate of reforms in the area of protective legislation, limits to women's and children's labour, maximum working hours, and so forth. The social

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reformer at home *was* the imperialist abroad; Woodrow Wilson in the US would cut a similar figure.

National territoriality as arbitrated by geopolitics was a linchpin in the broader assemblage of population, state security and political economy in the nineteenth century. Powerful connections between geography, "security", and economy persist today, although in radically changing form. More specifically, while territorial borders then represented a solution to security projects, today they have become a key problem; accordingly, state and population security that were both premised on this national geography are also being recast.

Geopolitics in Question

> Terrorism may not respect borders, but neither do states in pursuit of border control. The result is a trend toward the decline of geo-political borders as the limit of state jurisdiction or assertion of power over noncitizens (Macklin 2001:386).

If geopolitics emerged as a technology and ideology in the creation of global political, economic and cultural geography organized by national states, the erosion of geopolitics also lies in the transformation of that global system. Today, the separation between "internal" (domestic) and "external" (foreign) security that bounded geopolitical forms in western states is giving way. The division between police and military jurisdiction—itself only exceptionally adhered to—is nevertheless even more blurred as paramilitary police units proliferate, military forces are more frequently deployed domestically, police tactics and technologies are militarized, military strategy is corporatized, the UN expands as an international police force, and wars justified in the name of regime change morph into "police actions" (Andreas and Price 2001; Desch 2001; Kraska 2001; Tiron 2005). Organized human violence is also rescaled and explicitly targets cities from Fallujah to Mumbai, New York and London (Graham 2004). These urban geographies of organized violence are not only aimed "abroad" but also inflict racialized military violence "at home"; as part of the US "Military Operations in Urban Terrain" (MOUT) program, the military conducts terrorizing training exercises in US cities, particularly in African–American neighbourhoods (Robert 1999). The border between war and crime is made more porous, and "special forces" increasingly operate in what security experts now call "the seam between war and crime" (Goss 2006). The US security state coins new concepts, such as "irregular warfare", and they launch initiatives like *Military Assistance to Civil Authorities* and *Defense Support to Civil Authorities.* Private military corporations proliferate—130,000 corporate mercenaries worked in Iraq 2007—as do subnational and supranational forces. Simultaneously

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cause and effect, these shifts further dissemble any territorial divide (governed by national borders) between different forms of violence and security.

In practice, friends and enemies of the state were never solely identified along national state lines, but resurgent racial profiling, the sudden discovery of homegrown terrorists (the vast majority from previously colonized countries), and the mass deportation and exclusion of largely Middle Eastern citizens from Europe and North America laid the corner stones for a system of "anational" surveillance on a wholly new scale (Bhandar 2004; Campbell 2005; Shapiro and Alker 1996). MI5 makes no apology for tracking more than 1600 racially profiled "suspects" on British soil. Detainments, secret prisons and "security certificates" leave mainly Muslim and Arab men without any legal standing, as does the recent suspension of habeas corpus in the US. The criminalization of migration, the filtration of border control practices into local jurisdictions and diverse institutions, and the export of US borders to ports and airports around the world further expand the national border from a one-dimensional line into a two-dimensional "seam".

There are precedents for this aggravated securitization of daily life right in the "heartland" of democracy: settler societies built "homelands" through the mass murder of indigenous peoples, and many continue to deploy military force in ongoing land claim disputes: "red scares" rendered communists, pacifists, anarchists, labour unionists enemies within; in the 1960s in the US the FBI pursued low-intensity warfare against the Black Panthers, the Communist League, the American Indian Movement and the Weathermen Underground (who organized around the claim that we must "bring the war home"). What marks the present is neither the severity of domestic repression nor its novelty, nor the fact that the exceptional threatens to become permanent, but perhaps that it may be increasingly general. These changes are woven into a broader recasting of the form and meaning of territorial state boundaries, such that traditional geopolitical spatialities are now in question. The geopolitical social of the Ratzelian world is increasingly unrecognizable today and its consequent regime of interstate geopolitical calculation finds itself more and more estranged from the vicissitudes of global power.

An inventory of all the complex transformations that constitute the political geographies of security "after geopolitics" is impossible here. Instead we investigate some key domains of conflict where national territoriality has become the challenge rather than the resolution to insecurity. These struggles are not in any simple sense waged by military forces, and they actively challenge geopolitical boundaries rather than presume or defend them. First, we investigate the shifting spatiality of border security in order to highlight the eclipse of geopolitical territoriality, and second, we examine the changing nexus of military

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service and citizenship, which highlights the recasting of geopolitical "society". Third, we explore how "security" is increasingly defined by conflicts between geopolitical territorial logics and geoeconomic market logics, which assume a different practice and vision of inter/national space. Most importantly, the imperial power of market rationalities challenges the bordering of national territoriality, and so too the geographical mapping of population and state security. These shifts in no way amount to a "militarization of society". Our conception of the geopolitical social suggests precisely that the modern social has long been intimately entwined in warfare. As Louise Amoore (this issue) argues we are seeing "neither a militarization of society, nor even a commercialization of security", but rather, transformation at the nexus of security and the social in unprecedented ways that exhaust established categories. Nevertheless, as the next section tries to map out, geoeconomic social forms increasingly supplant the geopolitical social.

Recasting Territorial Security

> Shipping containers are the "Trojan horse" of the 21st century (Former US Customs and Border Patrol Commissioner, Robert Bonner).

Border security and control are quintessentially geopolitical concerns, and the drive to control movement across national borders and assert sovereignty at the borderline has intensified dramatically since 2001. The so-called "war on terror" has reinvigorated an already powerful and longstanding obsession with territorial perimeter security in the US (Coleman 2005). Billions of dollars have been invested in highly geopolitical technologies such as fencing, cameras, motion sensors and border guards. A metal wall 1100 km long is being built for the US–Mexican border; the US Border Patrol has swelled from 4000 agents in the early 1990s, to 9000 in 2001 and will reach 17,819 by 2008, surpassing the FBI as the largest federal law enforcement agency (Stolberg et al 2007). A spate of new surveillance practices and biometric technologies has been introduced at US airports that aim to both control immediate access and track subsequent border crossings through the collection of massive population data sets. Yet a simple focus on the *amount* of security misses crucial questions regarding its *shifting forms* (Collier and Lakoff 2007). In fact, officials are managing a new kind of crisis at the border, not simply issues of injustice, detentions and incarcerations that concern so many activists and scholars today. Rather, the crisis is the *impossibility of the geopolitical border* given the geoeconomic reframing of insecurity.

The imperatives of national security and global trade are in many ways conflicting projects, and they are colliding first and foremost in container

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seaports. Globalized production systems rely on the efficient movement of goods across national borders, the smoothing of space as if the borders did not exist, while national security initiatives demand closure and control. Today, more than 90% of global trade occurs through ports. Public attention has focused on the vulnerabilities of airports and land borders, yet it is in the ports where many key struggles over "security" and "economy" are being waged (Cowen 2007a). The concern over port security has certainly intensified in the US security apparatus and among politicians, yet the task of securing the millions of containers that cross US borders every year is impossible without a major reconfiguration of global supply chains. Transnational corporations that rely on shipping efficiency lobby hard to protect the status quo; Wal-Mart, the world's largest retailer and the largest importer to the US, has been a vigilant opponent of port securitization (AFL-CIO 2006).

While conflicts over port security are increasingly intense and visible today, the recent history of technoscience in the field of logistics suggests how efforts to solve geopolitical problems spawned new geoeconomic forms. The rise of global production in the post World War II period built on the invention of social and industrial technologies within the military. Inventions like the shipping container and "just-in-time" production techniques were supposed to solve the logistical challenges of the national military, and yet they also underwrote major economic transformations that have rendered national-scale geopolitics increasingly outmoded. During the occupation of Japan after World War II, the US equipped Japanese workers, engineers and corporations with the skills and standards to meet American inventory requirements (Reifer 2004:24; Spencer 1967:33), including the standardization of parts, "continuous improvement", intensified time-motion studies, and quality control. With the Korean War, US military procurement refined these innovations, combining "the advantages of larger firms with a host of dependent subcontractors and subsidiaries" and effectively inventing "just-in-time" (JIT) production and delivery systems (Reifer 2004:24). These in turn created new forms of flexibility and efficiency in production systems and helped to reconfigure their geographies. But for JIT to become a globalized system, inputs and commodities had to be coordinated and transported through space. Supply chains could be disarticulated and dispersed, so long as inventory control was immediate. With the "revolution" in logistics, firms could exploit low-cost labour across space in highly coordinated ways, and connect to consumer markets through innovations in transportation systems (Reifer 2004:20). The computer satellite and telecommunications networks that made this coordination possible were developed by the Pentagon's system of industrial planning. Today Wal-Mart owns the largest private satellite system in the world and is the global leader in logistics.

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The invention of shipping containers was critical in enabling all this movement. In fact, the container, with its military genesis, has been celebrated as the single most important invention in the globalization of production and trade (Levinson 2006). "Invented during the Second World War as an efficient way of moving military equipment up to the front line without tying down too many soldiers for loading and unloading ships, the container has become indispensable to world commerce" reports *The Economist* (2002). Containerization radically reduced the time of loading and unloading ships, reduced port labour costs, and enabled tremendous cost savings for manufacturers now able to reduce inventories to a bare minimum. With the US military's use of containers to manage supply chains to the Vietnam War, container shipping became firmly and globally entrenched (Levinson 2006:8, 178).

When the geopolitical system of nation states has to confront a globalization of its own making, the resulting geographical conflict is stark. In the words of Admiral James Loy, head of the Coast Guard: to "sustain prosperity, we open the gates. To ensure security, we close the gates. We clearly need to get beyond the metaphor of an opened or closed gate" (quoted in *The Economist* 2002). Today Homeland Security officials grapple with this crisis of the national border in a globalized economy. They are working to develop new forms of border control that support these contradictory spatialities, effectively reconfiguring the geographic location of the national border as well as the legal and social technologies for governing workers, migrants, citizens and commodities. One "main thrust" of post-9/11 "layered security" thinking is that America should "extend [the US] zone of security outward so that American borders are the last line of defense, not the first" (Homeland Security 2005). This is precisely the goal of the Container Security Initiative (CSI), which installs US border patrols at ports around the world. In effect, the national borders of the US are extended to Singapore and Vancouver, Sydney and Honduras. US geopolitical power is earned via global geoeconomic extension.

This strategy of displacing and expanding the space of border control is complemented by a second approach, also articulated in the 2006 Port Security Act, of securing threats "at home". A program known as the Transportation Workers Identity Credential (TWIC) creates a zone around US ports where a wide range of labour and privacy rights are suspended in favour of exceptional security measures that target port workers. The Act requires more than 1.2 million port and ancillary workers, such as truckers, to acquire biometric identification cards, issued only after invasive background checks on immigration status, terrorist watchlists and criminal records. Not only is suspected crime thereby targeted interchangeably with terrorism, but the fear of terrorism is mobilized to rewrite state criminal law covering a wide range of

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activities well beyond questions of national security. TWIC expands existing limits on state surveillance and undoes labour protections: the "*attempt* to commit a crime involving a transportation security incident", and "*dishonesty*, fraud, or misrepresentation, including identity fraud", count as offences foreclosing security clearance. The TWIC program supplants job security insofar as a worker who cannot attain clearance cannot be employed in the port. Not just for the unions, for whom it is a threat to collective agreements and labour rights, but for corporate employers, concerned with blockages in the commodity supply chain, the TWIC program therefore recasts and sharpens rather than resolves the critical contradiction of borders in a global economy. For example, undocumented migrants may comprise as many as half the truckers servicing ports, and should they be banned as a result of such mandatory biometric and background checks, ports would come to a standstill (Supply Chain Management 2006).

Contemporary port security provides one glimpse into the ways powerful present-day geoeconomic relations are not blunted or suspended so much as channelled and recast at the behest of national territorial power. As such, we can see a reconfiguring of national territoriality in complex ways that do not necessarily realign national political power with national economic interests. In the name of security, new threads of the geoeconomic social are woven. Not only is the material space of the border relocated and reworked by contemporary security policy, but labour and social rights are simultaneously recast in dramatic ways through this re-spatialization.

Reterritorializing Social Security

> You know, education, if you make the most of it, if you study hard and do your homework, and you make an effort to be smart, uh, you can do well. If you don't, you get stuck in Iraq (John Kerry 2006).

US-led reactions to the events of 9/11 have intensified nationalism and emboldened the bordering of citizenship. This began with the events themselves, which while intensely local and at the same time global events, were quickly and forcefully nationalized as a pretext for war (Smith 2001). Americans suddenly loved a New York City that so many disdained just the day before; the global/local span of the geopolitical social was rarely more evident. In a globalized world, national borders were sealed with instantaneous speed, surveillance of formal citizenship status and nationality intensified; and a raft of new laws and policies criminalizing undocumented people are now in place (Ridgley 2008). Such a reassertion of national borders is itself increasingly global, stretching well beyond the United States, and seems to fly in the face of the rescaling of citizenship that gingerly accompanied economic

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globalization in the 1990s. This suggests a certain remapping of security onto national space and a resurgent relevance to geopolitical conceptions of citizenship. The re-bordering of citizenship—escalating scrutiny of undocumented people or the TWIC port security program—is not without contradiction, however. Even as it takes greater responsibility for policing these borders, the US military, facing a severe recruitment crisis, increasingly relies on recruiting "aliens" into its ranks. Non-citizens become a security threat in the ports but a security solution on the battlefield.

A largely unremarked thread connects the major non-state terrorist attacks against the United States since the late 1990s. Timothy McVeigh (the Oklahoma bomber), the 2001 anthrax terrorist (still not officially apprehended), John Allen Muhammad (the 2002 Washington DC sniper who killed 10 people) and Osama bin Laden (of 9/11 fame) were all trained, or otherwise supported at one time or another, by the US military. This is more than a rhetorical point. It gives one indication of the stark social reach of the US military, but far more importantly it highlights the contradictory nature of a nominally US global military apparatus which, were it an independent nation, would constitute the 13th largest economy in the world just behind South Korea and India and ahead of Australia, the Netherlands and Brazil. That military service, which provides another vista on the social reach of the military, may be especially revealing as regards the transformation of citizenship and social security today is hardly accidental insofar as military service was also central to nation-state formation. The marketization of citizenship, and military service in particular, reveals the inconspicuous yet definitive ways that geoeconomic calculation is recasting this crucial domain of government.

It is now routinely observed that sub-state, non-state and supranational groups are the new agents of war and that few wars today fit the modern form of nation state against nation state. Equally important, although less widely discussed, is the unravelling of the national model of citizenship and service at the centre of geopolitical forms of state and population security. The disentangling of citizenship from military service over the past few decades has in fact generated one of the most profound challenges to US imperial power (Carter and Glastris 2005). This challenge to US power of recruiting and retaining adequate voluntary forces comes, furthermore, from "within". Proposed military solutions to this dilemma, faced not just by the US but by many advanced capitalist states with voluntary forces, are exacerbating rather than mediating the bifurcation of citizenship and national service. Market models of military service and recruitment supplanted conscription, which ended in the US in 1973, amidst the ashes of the Vietnam War (even France, where the "Levee en Masse" that defined modern militaries took place more than 200 years ago, terminated the practice

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in 2001). As an alternative to unemployment, military service effectively enacted an "economic draft", while the reconnection and expansion of entitlement-based social rights attached to military service filled some of the vacuum left by a gutted welfare state—"military workfare" (Cowen 2007b, 2008).

Military service migrates ever closer to mercenary work, at a time when security services are increasingly privatized. Today's military outsources unprecedented amounts of security and war work to private corporations and mercenary contractors (Scahill 2007), a process that both reflects and reproduces global class difference. On the one hand they draw elite combatants from special units and the officer classes of "public" militaries—particularly those of the US, the UK and South Africa. On the other hand, private military corporations such as Haliburton recruit support workers—cooks and cleaners, for example—from the global South, especially Bangladesh, the Phillipines, India and Sri Lanka. Thus an estimated 130,000 mercenaries, in all jobs from cooks to janitors, bodyguards to jailors, support 150,000 US troops in Iraq. This privatization exposes an ethico-political dilemma for contracting states, as the profit-making business of killing is wrenched loose from its patriotic script. Politically, the legitimate use of violence has proliferated to include the corporation.

Citizenship status itself is no longer a requirement for ("public") military service in the US, and other states are following suit. Rather, soldiering is now a means of attaining citizenship, even posthumously, for the tens of thousands desperate to attain formal political status in the advanced capitalist core. In 2005, an estimated 35,000 non-citizens carried guns for the US military. Combined, these shifts have cut the cords between national political duty and military service and have institutionalized highly classed and racialized geographies of sacrifice both globally and domestically. Today's US army is largely southern, recruited from the inner city (disproportionately African–American and Latino/Latina) or the rural periphery (predominantly white). It militarizes entire regions of the country where poor workers, wealthy military corporations, and politicians, alike, create and feed on the spoils of a permanent war economy (cf Melman 1974). In the process they shield elites, professionals and their offspring from the duty of defense. The electoral politics of red states and blue states are tinted accordingly.

The origins of this marketized nexus between military service and social security can be traced back several decades, specifically to an ascendant neoliberalism. Even as social security for soldiers blossomed in a postwar system of social welfare, right-wing theorist Friedrich von Hayek (1944) opposed the tide of welfare statism, arguing that the extension of economic security throughout the entire population was the equivalent of elevating the military barracks to the model for society. The success of latter-day neoliberals, such as Milton Friedman who

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adamantly opposed the military draft, can be measured by the fact that the geopolitical social of the old world is giving way to a geoeconomic social in which the draft is replaced by the drafting of poor foreign workers.

Geoeconomic Space

> Geo-economics . . . is shorthand for a complex notion: the intersection of economics and finance with global political and security considerations. Simply put, geo-economics links the "big picture" with the practical realm of markets (Kaufman 2004).

Often credited with coining the term "geoeconomics" in his influential 1990 article, "From geopolitics to geoeconomics", Edward Luttwak argues that geopolitics represents an increasingly relict logic of global interchange. It is superseded in the era of globalization by a global economic logic that transcends geopolitical calculation, even if the system of national states remains intact and powerful. For Luttwak globalization represents the natural evolution of markets into larger and more powerful entities, and this increasingly occludes the power of propinquity and territory per se. States have to renovate their modus operandi accordingly, from a territorial to an economic register.

This Luttwakian vision of "geoeconomics", while intriguing, relies on three problematic assumptions. First, the transition to a globalized geoeconomic world is not a matter of some natural evolution in economic affairs, but a case of active assembly, albeit fomented by very real scalar shifts in economic relations. Second, the geographical unevenness and radical incompleteness of this geoeconomic transition becomes clear when, in addition to finance and trade, one considers the constitutive globalization of production, and when the territorial implications of geoeconomic power are viewed at multiple scales. Third, geoeconomic calculation announced itself much earlier than the 1990s. Geoeconomics was central to postwar neoliberal critiques of Keynesianism, on the one hand, and to postwar critiques of imperialism in the 1960s and 1970s, on the other (Amin 1974; Emmanuel 1972). From the latter came a broader 1980s economic geography critique of capitalist restructuring at the global scale. The term itself seems to have been first used not by Luttwak but by French economic geographer Jacques Boudeville (1966) who conceived 1960s liberal growth pole theory in terms of "geoeconomics", which he posited as an explicit alternative to geopolitics. This third historical critique is picked up here.

If the linkage between Luttwakian conservatism, global capitalist policymaking and the origins of geoeconomics is now firmly entrenched, however problematic, the historical corrective suggested here is of more than trivial etymological importance. Decolonization movements

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struggling against emerging US economic power arguably represent the crucial fulcrum on which this history pivots. The earliest decolonization movements of the modern capitalist era were in the Americas where, between the 1770s and 1810s and from North America to Haiti and Mexico to Chile, colonial societies throughout the Americas rejected the European imperium of Lisbon, London, Paris and Madrid. Far from breaking with the territorial logics that accompanied nation-state building, these new American republics contributed centrally to a geopolitical map of modern capitalism. It was otherwise during the next wave of decolonization, the long twentieth-century march of postcolonial struggle and aspiration through Europe (Ireland), Asia and Africa. Asserting claims to self-determination precisely as the US began to challenge European (especially British) hegemony, this new wave of postcolonial movements certainly embodied a national liberation ethos, but it also embraced a powerful collective impulse, represented in pan-Africanism and pan-Arabism, for example, that derived as much from cultural self assertion against divide-and-conquer colonialism as from economic defensiveness against an unforgiving global capitalism.

If decolonization broke the geopolitical grip of the European powers it also paradoxically opened the sluice gates to US dominance through the global marketplace; imperial geoeconomics evolved hand in hand with the postcolonial. For the US leadership in the late nineteenth century the path to international power was effectively blocked insofar as few parcels of the globe remained unclaimed either by free-standing republics or European colonial states, and the prospect of fighting not only the local inhabitants but also European powers was unappetizing. In the crucible of alternatives, framed by unprecedented levels of capital accumulation requiring ever more and larger investment outlets, the US capitalist class became increasingly convinced that global ambition could be satisfied not by territorial acquisition, 1898 notwithstanding, but by economic power in and over the market. An earlier adumbration of geoeconomic power came with the pre-World War I Open Door trade policy and evolving plans for postwar reconstruction in the Woodrow Wilson administration. This ambition met with failure, as much under the weight of its own contradictions as a result of opposition, but was resuscitated in flintier form with Franklin Roosevelt's "New World Order" and the Bretton Woods institutions. This second chance was itself wrecked on the shoals of the Cold War. Luttwak's recognition of geoeconomics in 1990 actually represents his uptake of a third pass at a US-centered geoeconomic globalism in place of a geopolitical world (Smith 2003).

The face of geoeconomics today is multifaceted. As regards financial power, the recrudescent Bretton Woods institutions have morphed into enforcers of a US-centered globalization; the IMF and World Bank, in particular, have ceased to be the instruments of economic reconstruction

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they were initially envisioned to be and are instead instruments of financial and ideological policing of erstwhile colonial economies. The World Trade Organization has catapulted onto the global stage, again with the clear agenda of protecting the trade privileges of the most powerful economies while opening the rest to wanton "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003; Perelman 2000). Whatever else it implies, geoeconomics has come to provide a new disciplining architecture replacing the geopolitical mechanisms of colonial administration. The European Union struggles to reframe its political persona in the wake and image of its expanded economic prowess, while global and regional trade agreements and trading blocks, from NAFTA to CAFTA, MERCUSOR to ASEAN establish new trading geographies. A Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) was proposed (and defeated) that would have allowed international corporations to dictate to nation states and labour the global conditions of investment. In the name of "transparency" (but actually to facilitate US corporate and state access to global financial practices and markets) successive US administrations have cajoled to have corrupt US accounting practices (responsible for such corporate scandals as Enron and WorldCom and the bankruptcy of the global accounting firm, Arthur Anderson) accepted as the global standard. Nature is rendered an "accumulation strategy", in which nature banking is the order of the day (Katz 1998), while the marketization of environmental problems substitutes the cause for the solution, thus hastening the production of nature "all the way down" (Smith 2007).

The willed filtration of geoeconomic logic into the gamut of social institutions and mentalities follows apace. Ideologically, a US Congressional leader declares free trade to be the most basic of human rights, while human rights discourse itself, most notably the rights of women (cf Tickner 2002), becomes the public rationale for faith-based wars over economic power. The language of globalization renders the universalization of capitalist social relations natural and inevitable, a result without an alternative, while the elixir of private property, self-interest, free markets and the naturalness of competition is recast as neoliberalism. The greatest workers' opposition in the world today comes from Chinese workers—some 74,000 "mass incidents, or demonstrations and riots" in 2004 alone, according to the Chinese government (French 2005)—protesting the imposition of "market reforms" into a social economy where they are anything but natural. And in an unprecedented development, a long-simmering anti-globalization movement bursts into the headlines in Seattle in 1999 with the WTO, IMF, G-8 and the Davos economic forum—squarely in their sights.

The modern capitalist state over the last century has become increasingly embroiled in the national economy. Welfare states have fed basic consumption, while national governments subsidize the productive

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economy in various ways: the tax system, state-owned transportation and utilities, mortgage subsidies, public sector employment, the military budget (O'Connor 1973). Some elements of the state have traditionally operated in the private economy, for example the media, but the crisis of the Keynesian state has brought a certain privatization of previously public functions, resulting in a far more multidimensional rooting of the neoliberal state in the global economy. The point here is not simply the privatization of everything public, from water to roads. Far more trenchant is the privatization of the state itself. In the acid of geoeconomic calculation, the state becomes an entrepreneur in its own right, a player in the market first and foremost rather than a regulator of the market's "excesses". The market today *has* no excesses, we might even conclude, insofar as the market's rules establish the social rules—the market is its own excess. Capitalist calculation therefore pioneers what Randy Martin (2002) calls the "financialization of daily life", colonizing more deeply than ever the political as much as the social. Corporate accountancy models and a concern for the bottom line are imported into the heart of the state while those served are transformed into "clients" and "consumers" of state services. Even in the non-governmental sector of the state, the language of "stakeholders" suggests the faux-equality of big and small players alike, employer and employed, in the market.

Myriad examples could make the point but two will suffice. The US Post Office now classifies itself as a "government-owned corporation" which, like other corporations, holds copyrights and trademarks, sponsors sports teams and events to enhance logo recognition, and advertises in order to bolster market share against competitors like FedEx and UPS. Dollar corporate performance indicators, benchmarks and product definition now govern state "delivery" of services, and some rural postal delivery is contracted out to private companies. Or there is the Pentagon which not only runs one of the world's largest economies for the stated purpose of protecting the United States, but also runs the world's largest arms bazaar. It operates as a global sales agent for US corporate arms manufacturers. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), which specializes in this role, was originally conceived as a means of regulating foreign arms sales and ensuring that US arms were only sold to "friendlies", but today it operates as energetic promoter of US corporate interests. Its "Strategic Plan, 2006–2011" stresses its "commitment to support our Foreign Military Sales stakeholders", and the agency measures its performance in terms of the volume of corporate arms sales abroad, which totalled a market-leading $21 billion for the fiscal year 2005–2006 (Defense Security 2006; Wayne 2006). Peppering the world with arms for profit, the DSCA is the real life M&M Enterprises, Joseph Heller's fictional army corporation in *Catch 22* which, during an earlier moment of geoeconomic ascendancy,

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World War II, sold weapons to the enemy for the eminently rational reason that it could make windfall profits.

Needless to say, as a territorial expression of power, geopolitical calculation is not extinguished by this rise of geoeconomics, but it is significantly circumscribed and reworked. This may seem like a difficult argument to sustain when the media brings daily helpings of evidence that the US is steadily losing the wars it started in Afghanistan and Iraq. The daily logic of these wars has everything to do with geopolitics and military geography, but viewed with a wider lens, Iraq may be a market war par excellence. Hundreds of corporations, employing as many as 130,000 mercenary war labourers ("private contractors" in polite neoliberalese) have feasted at the trough of more than $864 billion of state funds committed to destruction and failed reconstruction. The calculus fomenting the Iraq War had little if anything to do with terrorism but represented an attempt to grasp, finally, a successful endgame to the third chance at a US-powered geoeconomic globalism. Iraq's oil certainly figured into the equation, but as the subsequent threat to Iran and saber-rattling against Syria (which has virtually no oil) suggest, the Iraq War was fuelled by a far greater ambition than simply a grab for oil (Smith 2005), and it was sustained as a vehicle for "disaster capitalism" (Klein 2007).

Where geopolitics can be understood as a means of acquiring territory towards a goal of accumulating wealth, geoeconomics reverses the procedure, aiming directly at the accumulation of wealth through market control. The acquisition or control of territory is not at all irrelevant but is a tactical option rather than a strategic necessity. To be sure, geopolitical calculation is always available when deemed necessary. Insofar as there is a historical succession of sorts from geopolitical to geoeconomic logics of geographical power, therefore, this in no way represents a one-dimensional, irreversible, evolutionary necessity. The rise of geoeconomic calculation is highly uneven temporally as well as spatially, it is episodic, and it can never fully supplant geopolitics. Edward Luttwak's influential version of geoeconomics may be the primary exemplar of this contradiction redux. On the one hand he aspires to global free trade in which all economic barriers to capital are torn down, yet on the other he insists on powerful, political prerogatives of the US state to preserve US economic power in the global economy. This same contradiction dissolved Woodrow Wilson's efforts at what he called a "global Monroe Doctrine" and later Roosevelt's New World Order in which, as Orwell put it at the time, all are equal but some are more equal than others. It is increasingly conceivable that whatever institutional and ideological residues remain, the Iraq War, economic crisis and the selective hardening of the national boundaries around the United States since 2001 will mark the denouement of this latest recrudescence of geoeconomic over geopolitical power.

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Towards a Geoeconomic Social?

As market calculation supplants the geopolitical logic of state territoriality, the historical assemblage of state and social security in and through national space—the "geopolitical social"—increasingly dissolves. Geoeconomics is ineluctably central to political geography at multiple scales today. While we have highlighted questions of maritime border security on the one hand, wherein the national border is expanded from a line to a "seam", and on the other, the disentangling of social entitlement and military service, it should be apparent that this reworked nexus of geoeconomic reasoning and social forms operates at multiple scales. Port security, for instance, works through the biometric surveillance of workers' bodies, the enclosure of local port spaces, the reworking of national labour law and citizenship rights, and the extension of the US border across global space. Likewise, revamped military citizenship, draws on global as much as local labour markets, transforms the gendered and racialized contours of warring bodies, while at the same time individualizing social and economic risk. We dwell on the geoeconomic challenge to national territoriality precisely because of the historical vitality of this scalar assemblage as a metric for calibrating economic exchange, social subjects, and national societies with the warring state.

The rise of geoeconomics does not necessarily mean that boundaries and territories become less important, but their strict national articulation may. As the militarized US–Mexico border suggests, or the new seam of southern Europe stretching from North Africa across the Mediterranean, boundaries blurred for the sake of state security may simultaneously be sharpened. Nevertheless, whatever their social precision as regards migration, these borders no longer map so thoroughly the boundaries of economy or society. That the violence of border recasting finds its most vivid expression amidst wars that happen in specific places (Iraq, Palestine/Israel, Afghanistan) yet is also amorphously global (the war on terrorism) is precisely the point of the emerging calibration of geoeconomics and the social.

Political geographies of security are certainly not forged in a social vacuum excluding all but state and corporate power. From the American and Haitian revolutions to the Paris Commune, social and political outcomes were shaped by many movements and social groups who did not come to rule the resulting geopolitical social. The same applies to Russia in 1917. Similarly today, we might ask what kinds of geoeconomic social worlds are in the works, and to whose claims and what demands do they respond? Rather than the outright "death of the social" (Rose 1996) we see the transformation and proliferation of new social forms (cf Brodie 2008), but with an eclipse of the particular social that we have conceptualized as geopolitical. If the territorial wars that assembled the modern state were at the centre of the geopolitical social,

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then we see private and public accumulation through imperial violence at the core of geoconomic social forms. In place of state welfarism, market power and prerogative increasingly governs the social, while an environmentalized discourse of "sustainability" and the endemic threat of disaster organize new fields of capital accumulation (Klein 2007; Smith 2007). Yet emergent threads of the geoeconomic social are also forged by other sources of social power. Immigrant rights movements are a superb example. Specifically, sanctuary movements that make claims for the rights of undocumented people—*les sans papier*—reject the national bounding of society, demanding instead new socio-spatial forms of belonging and citizenship that connect local places globally (Ridgley 2008). The new geography of military recruitment in the US is challenged by counter-recruitment campaigns emerging powerfully out of communities of colour which organize with Canadian activists demanding the right of settlement by soldiers who have refused to fight in an illegal war. In the EU, Australia and the NAFTA countries, labour unions, whose decline in many places is integral to the decline of the geopolitical social, now expend unprecedented effort on international campaigns including undocumented peoples' rights.

Then there is the anti-globalization movement. Emerging in the 1990s, this loosely defined movement recognized more than most political movements the power of emerging geoeconomic calculation. Targeting global and international economic bodies, this movement refused to take the national state as its preferred target, the repression of Seattle, Quebec and Genoa notwithstanding, a stance which actually paralyzed it in the months following September 11, 2001. By February 2003, however, as the connections between global economic ambition and war became difficult to deny, this evolving movement was a central force in turning out an estimated 23 million people around the world against the imminent US war. Today it has morphed and regrouped in various interconnected directions—a global anti-capitalist movement, the global social justice movement, a global environmental movement, and the world social forum (Gautney 2006). To what extent these various social movements sculpt emergent geoeconomic social forms depends on how well they organize, on the creativity of their claims, the interests they organize around, and on how well supported they are. In that sense, the shape of the geoeconomic social is probably still a radically open question, especially with the onslaught of global economic crisis.

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Endnote

[1] It is worth noting here that in these lectures from 1977 to 1978, Foucault's focus shifts and expands somewhat from biopower to security.

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