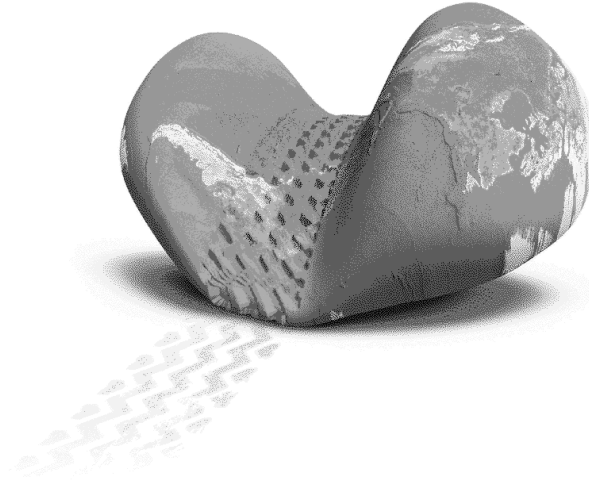


## GEOG 4712 Political Geography



**WHAT WAS THAT BUMP?**

Lecture 11: Whatever Happened to Globalization?

## outline

- 1) After 'empire'?
- 2) Geostrategic claims
- 3) American endgame
- 4) Globalization prelude
- 5) Geopolitical codes
- 6) Doktor Barnett...
- 7) ...His prescriptions...
- 8) ...and critics
- 9) Neoliberal geopolitics
- 10) *New Imperialism*



# Geostrategic lexicon

Reproduced from O Tuathail, 1998

Discourse	Key intellectuals	Dominant lexicon
Imperialist Geopolitics	Alfred Mahan Friedrich Ratzel Halford Mackinder Karl Haushofer Nicholas Spykman	Seapower <i>Lebensraum</i> Landpower/Heartland Landpower/Heartland Rimlands
Cold War Geopolitics	George Kennan Soviet and Western political and military leaders	Containment First/Second/Third World Western vs. Eastern bloc
New world order geopolitics	Mikhail Gorbachev Francis Fukuyama Edward Luttwak George H.W. Bush Leaders of G8, IMF, WTO Samuel Huntington	New political thinking, <i>glasnost</i> The end of history Statist geo-economics US-led new world order Neoliberalism Clash of civilizations
Environmental geopolitics	World Commission on Environment and Development Al Gore Robert Kaplan Thomas Homer-Dixon	Sustainable development  Strategic environmental initiative Coming anarchy Environmental scarcity

## Endgame?

### *Moments in US Global Expansion*

- 1) 1898-1918
  - Paternalistic 'Monroe Doctrine as doctrine of the free world'
  - Economic power divorced from territorial control?
- 2) 1941-1945
  - 'New American Century' that 'goes beyond geography'
  - How to organize UN/Bretton Woods along ideological lines?
- 3) 1989/91-2001/03?
  - Mid-East Interests: oil, Israel, former colonial interests (UK, France)
  - Will 'Middle Eastern' globalism emerge?

# Prelude to Globalization

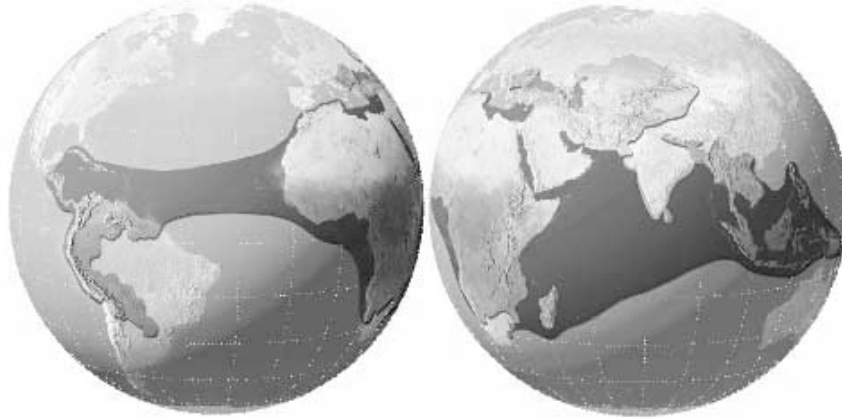
How to come to terms with diverse (de/re)-territorializations and re-scalings of economic processes governing or dominating the global system?

# Geopolitical codes, redux?

AMERICAN FOREIGN-POLICY PARADIGMS AND GEOPOLITICAL CODES IN THE LATE 1990s

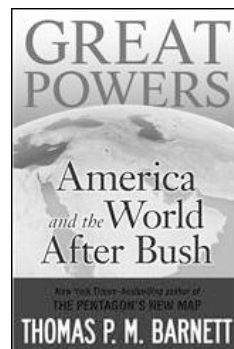
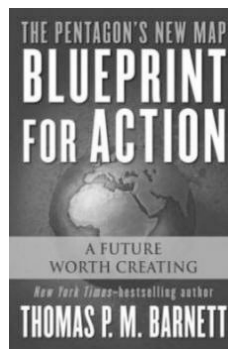
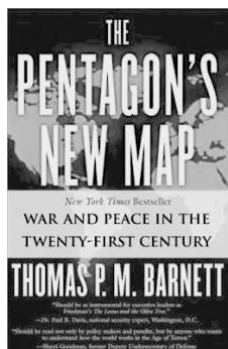
Paradigm	Geopolitical Code	Policy
1. 'Noblesse oblige'	Global reach with countries differentiated by need; idealist; for example, JFK's inaugural address	Promote US principles (democracy and the market); US military power and money
2. 'US first'	Identification of 'rogue' states; anti-globalisation; isolationist; for example, Buchananism	Highly differentiated world with big commitments to a few key allies
3. 'Declinist'	Shared effort with allies; careful selection of commitments; US as ' <i>primus inter pares</i> '; for example, Clinton	Withdraw troops; local allies pay; consult and enlarge the engagement; for example, Bosnia and Kosovo
4. 'Contingency'	USA as global balancing wheel; no geopolitical code; every situation requires an 'ad hoc' response	Respond to crisis after it develops; for example, Somalia or Kosovo
5. 'Eagle triumphant'	Globalist; force without diplomacy; world still dangerous; cold-war-style geopolitics; Pentagon view most important	'Be prepared'; continued high military expenditure
6. 'World of regions'	Identify key regions; regionalist view; focus on places that are important to US welfare, money, allies and troops	Focus on western and central Europe; Middle East; North East Asia
7. 'Anti-imperialism'	Focus on future power emergence; exceptionalism; Russia as a threat; for example, NATO strategists	Continue containment of Russia and China; expand NATO

## Barnett's crystal balls



- 1) Disconnect defines danger
- 2) Where and why has globalization taken root?

## Barnett's prescriptions



- 1) Shrink vs. mind 'the gap'
- 2) Consider the 'security rule'
- 3) Plug the 'leaky container'
- 4) Integrate and avoid 'forced reconnection'
- 5) Join 'us/US' and prosper: 'enlightened globalization'

## Barnett's critics

- 1) Language: techno-jargon + 'sys-admin' hyper-babble
- 2) Terminology: 'globalization'?
- 3) Spatiality: binary but with 'seams'
- 4) Philosophy: American security is good for you
- 5) Legality: 'Rule-sets' + double standards
- 6) Geo-graphy: flat, Cartesian, contiguous
- 7) Masculinity: seminal, strategic gaze
- 8) History: connection vs. containment
- 9) Connectivity: network integration vs. bloody failure
- 10) Simplicity: "And then there's AIDS" !!?

## Neoliberalism vs. neoconservatism

'neoconservatives have now

"Neoconservatives have now ripped away from globalization the veil under which neoliberals hid the new imperialism."

(R. Rubin, 2004: *The Guardian*)

which neoliberals hid the new imperialism"governmentality.

## Neoliberal Geopolitics

(Roberts, Secor, Sparke)

1) *Definition:*

geopolitical vision connected to ideas of liberal idealism, free markets, openness, global economic integration ... and linked to an extreme American unilateralism

2) *Aim:*

highlight how neoliberal geopolitics of war planners illustrate contradictory dependency on enforced re-regulation + regime change

3) *Architecture:*

structural adjustment policies, fiscal austerity measures, military intervention and occupation

## *'New' Imperialism?*



## Conclusions

- 1) Multiple imperialisms possible
- 2) Variable hegemonies still contested
- 3) Personal securities and liberties re-scaled
- 4) Spatial fixes and economic crises demand geographic approaches
- 5) Globalization is geographic
- 6) Thomas Barnett = Chief Futurist