

Contents

Acknowledgements	xi
Foreword	xiii
<i>Bob Jessop</i>	
Introduction	1
Organisation of the book	7

Part One: Periods of Theorising Conflict in the Modern State System

Introduction to Part One	11
I. Critical-Liberal, Marxist and Neo-Weberian Approaches	13
II. Power Politics and (Neo-)Realism within the Field of International Relations	25
III. Deficits and Desiderata for Future Research	29
1. Neorealism and power politics	30
2. Critical approaches	31
3. Preliminary summary	34

Part Two: A GPE Framework for Explaining Geopolitics

IV. Foundations for Analysing Capitalism	39
1. Analyses of the capitalist mode of production	39
1.1 Commodity production: Mutual dependence and competition	42
1.2 Commodity, money, capital: Exploitation and accumulation brought on by competition	43
2. Structural features of capitalism	44
2.1 Critical social forms	44

2.2	Four features of capitalism	48
2.2.1	Wage labour relations – the vertical axis of capitalist social conflicts	48
2.2.2	Relations of competition – the horizontal axis of capitalist social conflicts	50
2.2.2.1	Excursus: Negri's underestimation of competition	53
2.2.3	Money relations	55
2.2.4	The individuation of the political and the plurality of individual states	57
2.2.4.1	Structural interdependence and 'the interest of states in themselves'	59
2.2.4.2	The plurality of individual states	61
V.	Capitalism as a Globally Fragmented System Across Space and Time	63
1.	Combined and uneven development, relations of space and time, and the 'international'	64
1.1	The need for a global analytical perspective	64
1.2	Combined and uneven development and the level of the international and the inter-societal	66
1.3	A spatial economy of contemporary capitalism	71
2.	The dynamic of the global economic process of accumulation	77
2.1	The inter- and transnationalisation of individual capitals, the world market/world economy, and the tendency towards crisis	77
3.	The dynamic of the international state system	81
3.1	Multi-statehood as a structural characteristic of capitalism in space and time	81
3.2	International political institutions: the 'rights of the strong' and 'second-order condensations'	86
4.	Considerations on various forms of competition	95
4.1	The dynamic of precapitalist imperialisms	95
4.2	Geopolitical and economic competition	99
4.3	Market competition, arms races and forms of geopolitical-military conflicts	109
4.3.1	The role of the arms economy and the 'military-industrial complex'	113
VI.	Historical Phases of the World Order and the Periodisation of Socio-Economic and Geopolitical Power Relations	115
1.	Structural features, phases and constellations	116
1.1	Excursus: On the relationship between structure and agency	119
2.	Hegemonic and non-hegemonic phases of world order	120

3. Phases of socio-economic development	125
3.1 The rhythms of accumulation in the global economy	125
3.1.1 Dominant and late-developing economies	130
3.2 The inter- and transnationalisation of trade, investments, and production	131
3.2.1 The internationalisation and macro-regionalisation of commodity trade and commodity sales	132
3.2.2 The inter- and transnationalisation of investments and production	133
3.2.3 On the inter- and transnationalisation of corporations	136
3.2.3.1 Interim conclusion	140
3.2.4 Transnationalisation of classes?	140
3.2.5 Using the EU as an example of macro-regional integration of power élites	145
3.2.5.1 'Internal bourgeoisies'?	146
3.3 Periodising money and currency relations	148
3.3.1 The contemporary, non-hegemonic currency system	152
4. Phases of statehood	155
4.1 The politicisation of the economic, the economisation of the political: The ever-changing relations between the political and economic	155
4.1.1 Contemporary market-liberal statism	160
4.2 Phases of hard and soft geopolitics	164
4.2.1 Excursus: The economic effects of the geopolitical arms race during the Cold War	169
4.3 The structure of capitalist state competition and the Soviet Union	173
4.3.1 The pressures of capital accumulation in the Eastern bloc	177
4.3.2 Soviet geopolitics	182
4.3.3 The East-West conflict: Consequences for theory building, consequences for US politics	186

Part Three: Market-Liberal Statism: Contemporary Geopolitical Phenomena

Introduction to Part Three	191
VII. The Balance between Soft and Hard Geopolitics	193
1. 'Democratic wars'	201
2. Excursus: International law within fragmented capitalism	203

VIII. Geopolitical and Economic Competitive Relations	209
1. The aspirations and realities of US empire	209
2. The EU and the US: A conflict-laden partnership	214
3. China and the US: A new cold war?	220
3.1 State-permeated capitalist development	221
3.2 The integration of Chinese capitalism into a fragile world system ...	226
3.2.1 Currency disputes	228
3.3 China, international political institutions, and East Asian regionalisation	230
Summary	235
References	243
Index	269