Managing the World

The state system has not disappeared

State sovereignty has changed as a result of "globalization"

Many issues are now "transborder" and require collective action by states

But incentives to cooperate and collaborate are sometimes weak

Non-state actors are becoming more important

Individuals, groups, corporations, networks, etc. modify state sovereignty

Non-state actors are involved in collective efforts in pursuit of values & interests

Struggle among various social forces complicate efforts
What is *globalization* and what has it wrought?

Compresssion of space and time

Easier to move long distances and to learn about far away events

Increased and acceleration of flows

Growing movement of people, goods, capital, pollution across societies

Destruction of old practices and customs

“Churn” eliminates some ways of life and forces adaptation to new ones

Changes in social orders and their regulation

Management of political economy by separate states no longer feasible
Evolution of global management

Origins in the Bretton Woods regimes and U.S. military assistance to allies

Cold War containment was both an economic and military project

U.S. economy became both an engine of global growth and controller of reserve currency

Systemic “regulation”* became necessary to stabilize the American political economy

*Regulation as used here comes from French regulation theory

It includes rules, laws, customs, but has to do with managing society

It is something like the “regulator” on a turbine or a boiler—keeps it going at a specific speed.
The end of the Cold War upset the old system

- Allies had to adapt to new configurations, e.g., German unification
- Regulatory mechanisms remained largely the same as before
- These were not designed to deal with “states of emergency”
- Old enemies sought inclusion in the U.S. managed system
- Capitalism and markets were seen as the way of achieving inclusion
- End of clientilism and new means of accumulation destabilized social orders

9/11/01
9/11 was a failure of the old regulatory system

Global neo-liberalism relies on individual self-discipline and civil behavior

But it also fosters atomization and individual action, including uncivil acts

Attacks on western interests were initially strikes against U.S. Muslim client states

Al Qaeda is a bourgeois social movement; attackers were educated, middle class

Globalization without discipline and force is open to attack
Shift from the UN Republic to US Imperium

Attempts to construct a multilateral system of discipline during the 1990s ("New World Order") did not succeed

This failure is partly a result of U.S. domestic politics

"Great Powers" were unsure of their interests

Clinton policy of "enlargement" assumed a high-degree of systemic self-regulation by states

Few people anticipated that organized groups might attack the global system
Purpose of U.S. military power also at issue

- Why have such a massive military if there are no competitors?
  - Defense cutbacks and rationalization
  - Greater sharing of costs and responsibilities
  - Multilateral condominium to manage economy & security

- Rationalize a large military as a means of suppressing “rising powers”
  - New military missions and redesign of forces
  - Protection of global interests and hot pursuit of rogues and others
  - Unilateral management of economy & security