

# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>A word on the structure of the book</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvii
1. Personal, Political and Intellectual Influences	1
Politics in the classroom and the politics of class	1
A sociological perspective on world order	5
Disciplinary neo-liberalism and the end of history	8
<b>Part I: Social and International Theory</b>	
2. Epistemology, Ontology and the Critique of Political Economy	15
Epistemology and politics	15
Differences between Gramscian and positivist IR and IPE	17
The critique of political economy: four arguments	20
Beyond vulgar Marxism and the orthodox discourses	37
3. Transnational Historical Materialism and World Order	41
The limits of the possible and socio-historical time	41
Event, conjuncture and <i>longue durée</i> in bourgeois state formation	44
Twentieth century change and relations of force	49
Passive revolution and absence of hegemony: restructuring in the former East Bloc	52
The new world order: between hegemony and passive revolution	55
Historical blocs and International Relations	57
4. Hegemony, Culture and Imperialism	61
Cultural resistance after the Chilean coup, 1973	62
The Chilean question and global politics	64
<b>Part II: The Political Economy of World Order</b>	
5. US Hegemony in the 1980s: Limits and Prospects	73
Theories of hegemonic decline and the conventional wisdom	73

	A critique of the conventional wisdom	78
	Decline or continuity?	82
	US hegemony and transnational capitalism	84
	Towards a more liberal and transnational hegemony	89
6.	The Power of Capital: Direct and Structural (with <i>David Law</i> )	93
	Historic blocs and social structures of accumulation	93
	States, markets and the power of capital	96
	The direct power of capital	99
	The structural power of capital	102
	The power of capital: limits and contradictions	108
7.	Globalization, Market Civilization and Disciplinary Neo-Liberalism	116
	Introduction	117
	Analysing power and knowledge in the global political economy	120
	The meaning of 'globalization'	123
	'Disciplinary' neo-liberalism	130
	New constitutionalism and global governance	131
	Panopticism and the coercive face of the neo-liberal state	135
	Neo-liberal contradictions and the movement of history	138
8.	The Geopolitics of the Asian Crisis	143
	Crisis, danger and opportunity	143
	The 'usual suspects' and the imposition of neo-liberalism	144
	Mystification and the East Asian model	146
	The restructuring of East Asia and the new geopolitics of capital	148
	Conclusion	151
 <b>Part III: Global Transformation and Political Agency</b>		
9.	Globalizing Elites in the Emerging World Order	159
	Global disintegration/integration and world order	159
	Perspectives, classes and elites	167
	Globalizing elites and social stratification	169
	Globalism, territorialism and the USA	173
	Concluding reflections	179
10.	Surveillance Power in Global Capitalism	181
	Panoptic power	182

American informational capitalism and world power	187
Expanded reproduction of capital and social order	190
Production and social reproduction	196
US social order/disorder: enclavization and incarceration	198
Homeland security	200
'Future Image Architecture': monitoring enemies and friends	202
Conclusion	207
11. The Post-modern Prince	211
Why the WTO talks failed	212
The contradictions of neo-liberal globalization and the Seattle protests	214
Toward a post-modern Prince?	217
<i>Bibliography</i>	223
<i>Index</i>	228