

Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis

Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis. How can these conditions be understood in terms of their internal relationship to capture capital's connection to the states-system of uneven and combined development, social reproduction, and the contradictions facing humanity within world-ecology?

This book assesses the forces of social struggle shaping the past and present of the global political economy from the perspective of historical materialism. Based on the philosophy of internal relations, the character of capital is understood in such a way that the ties between the relations of production, state-civil society and conditions of class struggle can be realised. Conceiving the internal relationship of Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis as a struggle-driven process is a major contribution of this book, providing a novel intervention on debates within theories of 'the international'. Through a set of conceptual reflections, on agency and structure and the role of discourses embedded in the economy, class struggle is established as our point of departure. This involves analysing historical and contemporary themes on the expansion of capitalism through uneven and combined development (Global Capitalism), the role of the state and geopolitics (Global War) and conditions of exploitation and resistance (Global Crisis). The conceptual reflections and thematic considerations raised earlier in this book are then extended in a series of empirical interventions. These include a focus on the 'rising powers' of the BRICS (Global Capitalism), conditions of the 'new imperialism' (Global War) and the financial crisis since the 2007–8 Great Recession (Global Crisis). As a result of honing in on the internal relations of Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis the final major contribution of this book is to deliver a radically open-ended dialectical consideration of ruptures of resistance within the global political economy.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47910-3 — Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis
Andreas Bieler, Adam David Morton
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Andreas Bieler is Professor of Political Economy and Fellow of the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice (cssgj) in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham. He is the author of *Globalisation and Enlargement of the European Union* (2000) and *The Struggle for a Social Europe* (2006), as well as co-editor of *Free Trade and Transnational Labour* (2015) and *Chinese Labour in the Global Economy* (2017). He maintains a blog on trade unions and global restructuring at <http://andreasbieler.blogspot.co.uk>.

Adam David Morton is Professor of Political Economy in the Department of Political Economy at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Unravelling Gramsci* (2007) and *Revolution and State in Modern Mexico* (2011), which was awarded the 2012 Book Prize of the British International Studies Association (BISA) International Political Economy Group (IPEG). He edits the blog *Progress in Political Economy* (PPE) that was awarded the 2016 International Studies Association (ISA) Online Media Caucus Award for the Best Blog (Group) and the 2017 International Studies Association (ISA) Online Media Caucus Award for Special Achievement in International Studies Online Media: <http://ppesydney.net/>.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47910-3 — Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis
Andreas Bieler , Adam David Morton
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis

Andreas Bieler

University of Nottingham

Adam David Morton

University of Sydney



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-108-47910-3 — Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis
 Andreas Bieler, Adam David Morton
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
 New Delhi – 110025, India
 79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108479103
 DOI: 10.1017/9781108596381

© Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bieler, Andreas, 1967– author. | Morton, Adam David, 1971– author.
 Title: Global capitalism, global war, global crisis / Andreas Bieler, Adam Morton.
 Description: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
 Identifiers: LCCN 2017057575 | ISBN 9781108479103 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108452632 (paperback)
 Subjects: LCSH: Economic policy. | Economic development. | Geopolitics. | Global Financial Crisis, 2008–2009.
 Classification: LCC HD87 .B54 2018 | DDC 337–dc23
 LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017057575>

ISBN 978-1-108-47910-3 Hardback
 ISBN 978-1-108-45263-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

1. A Necessarily Historical Materialist Moment; 2. The Centrality of Class Struggle; 3. The Material Structure of Ideology; 4. Capitalist Expansion, Uneven and Combined Development and Passive Revolution; 5. The Geopolitics of Global Capitalism; 6. Exploitation and Resistance; 7. Global Capitalism and Rising Powers; 8. Global War and the New Imperialism; 9. Global Crisis and Trouble in the Eurozone; 10. Ruptures in and beyond Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47910-3 — Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis
Andreas Bieler , Adam David Morton
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

For our families

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Figures</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
1 A Necessarily Historical Materialist Moment	3
Part I Conceptual Reflections	25
2 The Centrality of Class Struggle	27
3 The Material Structure of Ideology	51
Part II Thematic Considerations	77
4 Capitalist Expansion, Uneven and Combined Development and Passive Revolution	79
5 The Geopolitics of Global Capitalism	107
6 Exploitation and Resistance	131
Part III Empirical Interventions	157
7 Global Capitalism and Rising Powers	159
8 Global War and the New Imperialism	189
9 Global Crisis and Trouble in the Eurozone	217

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47910-3 — Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis
Andreas Bieler , Adam David Morton
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

viii	Contents	
	Conclusion	247
10	Ruptures in and beyond Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis	249
	<i>Bibliography</i>	276
	<i>Index</i>	316

Tables

8.1 The Iraq War in figures	<i>page</i> 204
9.1 GDP growth rates, 1993 to 2013	223

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47910-3 — Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis
Andreas Bieler , Adam David Morton
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Figures

10.1 The internal relations of Global Capitalism,
Global War, Global Crisis

page 251

Acknowledgements

Producing a book on relationality produces its own relationality. For Marx, the threads of the inner connection of the production process under capitalism get more and more lost, so that the relations of production give the appearance of independence from one another and value ossifies into its independent forms. For us, it is important to recover the threads of the inner connection not just of capital but also of our own production process with this book, in order to trace the rich totality of its many determinations and relations. The following are the dialectical ties that stretch across conditions of space as well as changes over time, forming a cluster of our own internal relations.

The origin story of this book stretches back to the British International Studies Association (BISA) annual conference that was held in Durham in December 1996. As we were graduate students at the time, it was the first conference presentation for Andreas and the first conference attendance for Adam during which we began chatting over coffee about shared theoretical and political interests. Since then, more than twenty-one years of friendship have flourished based on academic and activist collaboration. This has developed through joint work on conference papers and their conversion into journal articles, book chapters and edited volumes. It has also entailed combined participation in some of the major fora of protest and resistance over that same time period, whether that be within the European Social Forum, the World Social Forum or in the movement against the Iraq War, as well as through our teamwork within the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice (cssgj) at the University of Nottingham, setting up events in the form of conferences and seminars, establishing and maintaining the Marxism Reading Group or jointly supervising PhD students.

Despite posing the question of a joint monograph over this time period, it was only really in the Sydney spring of September 2014 that the basis of the present book emerged more clearly following a two-week workshop to bring the formal proposal together. Thereafter, work on this book started in earnest and resulted in a three-year period of intense collaborative

xii Acknowledgements

labour with the manuscript being finalised, again in Sydney, this time in the ‘winter’ of July 2017. From Nottingham to Sydney, then, this book owes a massive debt to a rich totality of determinations and relations beyond just us.

To start, we want especially to thank Chris Hesketh and Cemal Burak Tansel for delivering comments on the whole draft manuscript and rising to the provocation of delivering ‘what you really think’ amidst juggling their own priorities. A special mention and thank you is also in order to Colin Wight, whose mentoring and advice was intrinsic to the successful realisation of this book. From the shores of Ceredigion at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth to the shores of New South Wales at the University of Sydney his counsel has been crucial. We are equally grateful to Jenny Chan, Elaine Hui, Hongyi Lai, Chun-Yi Lee and Stefan Schmalz for their comments on Chapter 7 and to Roland Erne and Jamie Jordan for their feedback on Chapter 9. Furthermore, we are grateful to Matthew Ryan for his outstanding assistance in organising the compilation of the Bibliography as well as Jokubas Salyga and Kayhan Valadbaygi for the preparation of the Index.

We are indebted to John Haslam at Cambridge University Press for maintaining his interest in this book, giving us important support at the right times and especially for judiciously handling the review process. His patient assistance was intrinsic in bringing this book to fruition. Equally, thanks are due to the reviewers of the manuscript who gave overwhelmingly positive and constructively critical feedback when others may well have reached for the hatchet.

In terms of our teaching, the thoughts and conditions expressed in this book have been developed through both joint and individual delivery of a number of modules or units. These have notably included, at the master’s level, (M14022) Theories and Concepts in International Relations and, at the undergraduate level, (M12089) IPE and Global Development at the University of Nottingham. Courses delivered within the Department of Political Economy at the University of Sydney have included the second-year unit (ECOP2613) The Political Economy of Global Capitalism and, especially, at the fourth-year honours level, (ECOP4001) Analytic Foundations of Historical Materialism. We want to thank all our students – past, present and future – for their engagement. There is no lip service paid to our conviction that mutual benefits arise from teaching and research, which are experienced reciprocally by teachers and students.

Over the years we have greatly benefited from discussions with a large number of colleagues. These considerations too have had a vital impact on the writing of this volume. Here, we want to thank our joint and

Acknowledgements

xiii

individual PhD students, the participants in both the Marxism Reading Group (at the University of Nottingham) and the Past & Present Reading Group (at the University of Sydney), as well as colleagues Pinar Bilgin, Werner Bonefeld, Ian Bruff, Gareth Bryant, Tony Burns, Damien Cahill, Ron Chilcote, Joe Collins, Robert W. Cox, Neil Davidson, Bill Dunn, Randall Germain, Stephen Gill, Barry Gills, Jan Willem Goudriaan, Penny Griffin, Sandra Halperin, Shahar Hameiri, Steve Hobden, Ben Holland, Elizabeth Humphrys, Peter Ives, Bob Jessop, Martijn Konings, Rob Lambert, Ingemar Lindberg, Jim Mittelman, Cerwyn Moore, Alf Nilsen, Robert O'Brien, Bertell Ollman, Gerardo Otero, Karin Pampallis, Roy Pedersen, Hugo Radice, Sébastien Rioux, William Robinson, David Ruccio, Mark Rupert, Ariel Salleh, Graham M. Smith, Susanne Soederberg, Frank Stilwell, Marcus Taylor, Tad Tietze, Simon Tormey, Jacqui True, Asbjørn Wahl and Eddie Webster. For Andreas, colleagues from the Transnational Labour Project in Oslo, including Roland Erne, Darragh Golden, Idar Helle, Knut Kjeldstadli, Tiago Matos and Sabina Stan, are greatly appreciated for their support. For Adam, the ongoing debates with Erik Olin Wright on the philosophy of internal relations, while hosted at the A. E. Havens Center for Social Justice as a visiting scholar in the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, were highly valued. Similarly, the freedom to write this book while hosted by Kim Förster as a visiting scholar at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) in Montreal when undertaking new research in June 2017 was extremely cherished.

Of course, despite all the advice and assistance from all of these colleagues, full and final responsibility for any remaining errors or omissions in this book is ours alone.

Abbreviations

ACFTU	All-China Federation of Trade Unions
AIFM	alternative investment fund manager
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
CTA	Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina (Argentine Workers' Central Union)
ECB	European Central Bank
ECI	European Citizens' Initiative
EFSF	European Financial Stability Facility
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EPSU	European Federation of Public Service Unions
ESF	European Social Forum
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDI	foreign direct investment
GFC	global financial crisis
GVC	global value chain
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	international political economy
IR	international relations
LAWAS	Latin American Workers' Association
MIC	military-industrial-academic complex
NGO	non-governmental organisation
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORHA	Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance
PAH	Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages)
PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement

PRD	Pearl River Delta
SEWA	Self-Employed Women’s Association
SGP	Stability and Growth Pact
SIGTUR	Southern Initiative on Globalisation and Trade Union Rights
SOE	state-owned enterprise
TC	textile and clothing
TCC	transnational capitalist class
TMSA	Transformational Model of Social Activity
TNC	transnational corporation
TNS	transnational state
TSCG	Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the EMU
TTIP	Treaty on Trade and Investment Partnership
TVE	township and village enterprises
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VOC	Varieties of Capitalism
WTO	World Trade Organization