Closing the Neoliberal Gap: Risk and Regulation in the Long War of Securitization

John Morrissey

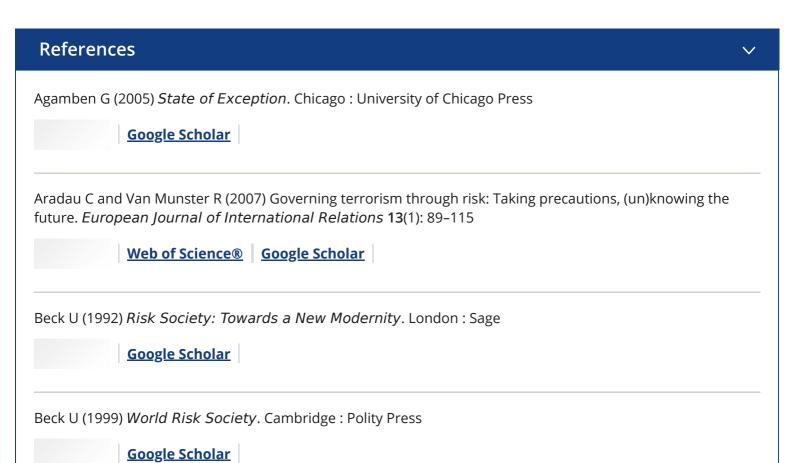
First published: 30 November 2010

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00823.x

Citations: 24

Abstract

Abstract: When US military commanders refer today to the "long war", they could more instructively refer to the "long war of securitization", involving both practices of war and reconstruction that have always been based on a therapeutic logic of preemption and an endgame of protection from global economic risk. Since the early 1980s, the centrepiece of US foreign policy has been the securitization of the Persian Gulf region, with the newly created United States Central Command (CENTCOM) given the task of effecting a grand strategy that has subsequently been consistently based on two interrelated tactics: first, the discursive identification and positing of the Persian Gulf as a precarious yet pivotal geoeconomic space, essential to US and global economic health; and second, the enactment of a dual military–economic securitization strategy to secure, patrol and regulate designated "vital interests" in the region. With the rhetorical power of "risk management" perhaps more palpable today than ever, this paper reflects on the neoliberal discourses of "risk" and "regulation" that sustain a "long war" in which the perennial potentiality of a volatile global political economy necessitates securitization by US military force.



Beck U (2009) World at Risk. Cambridge: Polity Press **Google Scholar** Bernstein P (1996) Against the Gods: The Remarkable Story of Risk. New York: John Wiley and Sons **Google Scholar** Binford Peay III J H (1995) The five pillars of peace in the Central Region. Joint Force Quarterly 9: 32–39 **Google Scholar** Boudeville J-R (1966) *Problems of Regional Economic Planning*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press **Google Scholar** Bougen P (2003) Catastrophe risk. Economy and Society 32(2): 253–274 Web of Science® Google Scholar Braun B (2008) Securing nature. Doctoral Faculty paper, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 7 May, http://www.gc.cuny.edu/about_gc/365_Fifth/2008May/braun.htm (last accessed 8 June 2008) **Google Scholar** Buzan B and Wæver O (2003) Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press **Google Scholar** Buzan B, Wæver O and de Wilde P (1997) Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner **Google Scholar** Campbell D (1992) Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press **Google Scholar** Coleman M (2004) Geopolitics as a social movement: the causal primacy of ideas? *Geopolitics* 9(2): 484–491 **Google Scholar**

Cooper M (2007) Homeland insecurities. Postmodern Culture 18(1), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/postmoder n_culture/v018/18.1.cooper.html (last accessed 9 February 2008) CAS Google Scholar Cooper M (2008) Life as Surplus: Biotechnology and Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press **Google Scholar** Cowen D and Smith N (2009) After geopolitics? From the geopolitical social to geoeconomics. *Antipode* 41(1): 22-48 Web of Science® Google Scholar Cox S H, Petersen H W and Fairchild J R (2000) Economic aspects of securitization of risk. *ASTIN Bulletin* **30**(1): 157-193 **Google Scholar** Dalby S (1991) Critical geopolitics: Difference, discourse, and dissent. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 9(3): 261-283 Web of Science® Google Scholar Dalby S (2007) Regions, strategies and empire in the global war on terror. Geopolitics 12(4): 586-606 Web of Science® Google Scholar Dalby S (2009) Interview by Leonhardt van Efferink, Exploring Geopolitics, http://www.exploringgeopolitics.o rg/Interview_Dalby_Simon_Geopolitical_Passport.html (last accessed 29 September 2009) **Google Scholar** Dean M (1999) Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society. London: Sage Web of Science® Google Scholar Dillon M (2008) Underwriting security. Security Dialogue 39(2-3): 309-322 Web of Science® Google Scholar Dodge T (2003) Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied. New York: Columbia

University Press

Google Scholar

Dodge T (2009) Grand ambitions and far-reaching failures: The United States in Iraq. In D Ryan and P Kiely (eds) America and Iraq: Policy-Making, Intervention and Regional Politics (pp 92–102). New York: Routledge **Google Scholar** Dowler L and Sharp J (2001) A feminist geopolitics? Space and Polity 5(3): 165–176 **Google Scholar** Epstein J M (1981) Soviet vulnerabilities in Iran and the RDF deterrent. *International Security* 6(2): 126–158 Web of Science® Google Scholar Flint C (ed) (2005) The Geography of War and Peace: From Death Camps to Diplomats. Oxford: Oxford **University Press Google Scholar** Foucault M (1979) On governmentality. Ideology and Consciousness 6: 5-22 **Google Scholar** Foucault M (1991) Governmentality. In G Burchell, C Gordon and P Miller (eds) The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality (pp 87–104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press **Google Scholar** Foucault M (2007) Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978 (trans G Burchell; ed M Senellart). London: Palgrave Macmillan Web of Science® Google Scholar Friedman T L (2005) The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux **Google Scholar** Gamlen E J (1993) United States strategic policy toward the Middle East: Central Command and the reflagging of Kuwait's tankers. In H Amirahmadi (ed) The United States and the Middle East: A Search for New Perspectives (pp 213–249). Albany: State University of New York **Google Scholar**

Gardner L C and Young M B (eds) (2007) Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam. New York: The New Press

Giddens A (1999) Risk and responsibility. Modern Law Review 62(1): 1-10 **Google Scholar** Gregory D (2004) The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq. Oxford: Blackwell **Google Scholar** Gregory D (2006) The black flag: Guantánamo Bay and the space of exception. Geografiska Annaler B 88(4): 405-427 Web of Science® Google Scholar Gregory D and Pred A (eds) (2007) Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror and Political Violence. New York: Routledge **Google Scholar** Hajjar S G (2002) U.S. Military Presence in the Gulf: Challenges and Prospects. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College **Google Scholar** Hannah M (2006) Torture and the ticking bomb: the war on terrorism as a geographical imagination of power/knowledge. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 96(3): 622-641 Web of Science® | Google Scholar Hardt M and Negri A (2000) Empire. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press Web of Science® Google Scholar Harvey D (2003) The New Imperialism. Oxford: Oxford University Press **Google Scholar** Heng Y-K (2006) War as Risk Management: Strategy and Conflict in an Age of Globalised Risks. New York : Routledge **Google Scholar** Henry R (2006) Transforming the U.S. Global Defense Posture. Naval War College Review 59(2): 12–28

Hyndman J (2007) The securitization of fear in post-tsunami Sri Lanka. *Annals of the Association of American* Geographers **97**(2): 361–372 Web of Science® Google Scholar Joint Force Quarterly Forum (2000) An interview with Anthony C. Zinni: Challenges in the Central Region. Joint Force Quarterly 24: 26-31 **Google Scholar** Kagan R (2008) The Return of History and the End of Dreams. New York: Alfred A. Knopf **Google Scholar** Kaplan R D (2009) The revenge of geography. *Foreign Policy* May/June, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/c ms.php?story_id=4862 (last accessed 6 May 2009) **Google Scholar** Kearns G (2006) Naturalising empire: Echoes of Mackinder for the next American century? *Geopolitics* 11(1): 74-98 **Google Scholar** Kearns G (2009) Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder. Oxford: Oxford University **Press Google Scholar** Klare M T (2002) Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict. New York: Owl Books **Google Scholar** Klare M T (2004) Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Dependency on Imported Petroleum. New York: Owl Books **Google Scholar** Klare M T (2007) Beyond the age of petroleum. *The Nation* 12 November: 17–22 **Google Scholar** Klein B S (1988) Hegemony and strategic culture: American power projection and alliance defense politics.

Review of International Studies 14(2): 133-148

Klein B S (1989) The textual strategies of the military: Or, have you read any good defence manuals lately? In J Der Derian and M J Shapiro (eds) *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (pp 97–112). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books

Google Scholar

Klein B S (1994) *Strategic Studies and World Order: The Global Politics of Deterrence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Google Scholar

Klein N (2007) The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism. New York: Metropolitan Books

Google Scholar

Knights M (2006) *Troubled Waters: Future U.S. Security Assistance in the Persian Gulf.* Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Google Scholar

Layne C and Thayer B A (2007) American Empire: A Debate. New York: Routledge

Google Scholar

Lesser I O (1991) Oil, the Persian Gulf, and Grand Strategy: Contemporary Issues in Historical Perspective. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation

Google Scholar

Lin Y and Cox S H (2008) Securitization of catastrophe mortality risks. *Insurance: Mathematics and Economics* **42**(2): 628–637

Web of Science® Google Scholar

Little D (2002) American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

Google Scholar

Lubeck P, Watts M J and Lipschutz R (2007) Convergent Interests: U.S. Energy Security and the "Securing" of Nigerian Democracy (International Policy Report: Nigeria). Washington DC: Center for International Policy

Lupton D (1999) Risk. New York: Routledge

PubMed | Web of Science® | Google Scholar

Luttwak E N (1990) From geopolitics to geo-economics: Logic of conflict, grammar of commerce. *The National Interest* **20**: 17–23

Google Scholar

Martin R (2007) *An Empire of Indifference: American War and the Financial Logic of Risk Management*. Durham: Duke University Press

Google Scholar

Morrissey J (2009a) Lessons in American Geopolitik: Kaplan and the return of spatial absolutism. *Human Geography* **2**(2): 36–39

Google Scholar

Morrissey J (2009b) The geoeconomic pivot of the global war on terror: US Central Command and the war in Iraq. In D Ryan and P Kiely (eds) *America and Iraq: Policy-Making, Intervention and Regional Politics* (pp 103–122). New York: Routledge

Google Scholar

Morrissey J (forthcoming a) Architects of empire: The military–strategic studies complex and the scripting of US national security. *Antipode* **43**(2) (in press)

Google Scholar

Morrissey J (forthcoming b) Liberal lawfare and biopolitics: US juridical warfare in the war on terror. *Geopolitics* **16**(2) (in press)

Google Scholar

Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq (2009) http://www.mnstci.iraq.centcom.mil (last accessed 11 February 2009)

Google Scholar

Mythen G and Walklate S (eds) (2006) *Beyond the Risk Society: Critical Reflections on Risk and Human Security*. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Nally D (2008) "That coming storm": The Irish Poor Law, colonial biopolitics and the Great Irish Famine. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **98**(3): 714–741

Web of Science® Google Scholar

O'Hanlon M (2008) *Unfinished Business: U.S. Overseas Military Presence in the 21st Century*. Washington , DC : Center for a New American Security

Google Scholar

O'Malley P (1999) Governmentality and the risk society. *Economy and Society* 28(1): 138–148

Web of Science® Google Scholar

O'Malley P (2004) Risk, Uncertainty and Government. London: Glasshouse Press

Google Scholar

O'Malley P (ed) (2006) Governing Risks. Aldershot : Ashgate

Google Scholar

Ó Tuathail G (1994) Problematising geopolitics: Survey, statesmanship and strategy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **19**: 259–272

Web of Science® Google Scholar

Ó Tuathail G (1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Google Scholar

Ó Tuathail G (2003) "Just out looking for a fight": American affect and the invasion of Iraq. *Antipode* **35**(5): 856–870

Web of Science® Google Scholar

Overseas Basing Commission (2005) *Commission on Review of the Overseas Military Facility Structure of the United States Report to the President and Congress*. Arlington , VA : Commission on Review of Overseas Military Facility Structure of the United States

Google Scholar

Painter D (1986) Oil and the American Century: The Political Economy of U.S. Foreign Oil Policy, 1941–1954. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press

Google Scholar Pelletiere S C and Johnson II D V (1992) Oil and the New World System: CENTCOM rethinks its Mission. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College **Google Scholar** PR Newswire (2003) Raytheon-developed deployable headquarters now operating in Qatar. Raytheon news release, 3 February, http://www.prnewswire.com/micro/RTN5 (last accessed 14 April 2005) **Google Scholar** Reveron D S and Gavin M D (2004) America's viceroys. In D S Reveron (ed.) America's Viceroys: The Military and U.S. Foreign Policy (pp 1–15). New York: Palgrave Macmillan Web of Science® Google Scholar Robbins J S (2004) U.S. Central Command: Where history is made. In D S Reveron (ed) *America's Viceroys: The* Military and U.S. Foreign Policy (pp 163–184). New York: Palgrave Macmillan Web of Science® Google Scholar Roberts S, Secor A and Sparke M (2003) Neoliberal geopolitics. *Antipode* **35**(5): 886–897 Web of Science® Google Scholar Ryan D (2007) Frustrated Empire: US Foreign Policy, 9/11 to Iraq. London: Pluto Press **Google Scholar**

Scahill J (2007) Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army. New York: Nation Books

Google Scholar

Sidaway J (1998) What is in a Gulf? From the 'arc of crisis' to the Gulf War. In G Ó Tuathail and S Dalby (eds) *Rethinking Geopolitics* (pp 224–239). London: Routledge

Google Scholar

Simmons J and Manuel C (2003) *Closing the Gaps: A Strategy for Gaining the Initiative in the War on Terror*. Monterey, CA: Center for Terrorism and Irregular Warfare, Naval Postgraduate School

Sparke M (2007) Geopolitical fears, geoeconomic hopes, and the responsibilities of Geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97(2): 338–349

Web of Science® Google Scholar

Thayer B A (2003) *The Pax Americana and the Middle East: U.S. Grand Strategic Interests in the Region after September 11*. Bar-llan University: The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies

Google Scholar

The White House (2007) President Bush Address to the Nation. press release, 13 September

Google Scholar

US Africa Command (2009a) *Command Brief*. Kelley Barracks , Stuttgart , Germany : US Africa Command Public Affairs Office

Google Scholar

US Africa Command (2009b) *Posture Statement*. Kelley Barracks , Stuttgart , Germany : US Africa Command Public Affairs Office

Google Scholar

US Central Command (1995) *Posture Statement*. MacDill Air Force Base , FL : Office of the Commander-in-Chief

Google Scholar

US Central Command (1997) Shaping U.S. Central Command for the 21st Century, *Strategic Plan II*, 1997–1999. MacDill Air Force Base, FL: Office of the Commander-in-Chief

Google Scholar

US Central Command (1999) *Shaping the Central Region for the 21st Century*. MacDill Air Force Base , FL : Office of the Commander-in-Chief

Google Scholar

US Central Command (2001) *Sub-Regional Strategy: Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula*, http://www.centcom.mil/subregional_strat/arab_region.htm (last accessed 22 March 2001)

Google Scholar

US Central Command (2009) *Our Mission*, http://www.centcom.mil/en/about-centcom/our-mission (last accessed 22 March 2009)

Google Scholar US Central Command CINC General Anthony C Zinni (1998) Statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the Posture of United States Central Command. 3 March **Google Scholar** US Central Command CINC General Anthony C Zinni (1999) Statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the Posture of United States Central Command, 13 April **Google Scholar** US Central Command CINC General Anthony C Zinni (2000) Statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the Posture of United States Central Command, 29 February **Google Scholar** US Central Command CINC General James H Binford Peay III (1997) Promoting peace and stability in the Central Region. Report to the House Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on National Security, 17 March **Google Scholar** US Central Command Director of Logistics Major General Brian Geehan (2006) Current operations in the long war. Conference paper, National Defense Transportation Association Forum and Expo, Memphis, TN, 23-27 September **Google Scholar** US Department of Defense (2004a) Bush announces global posture changes over next decade. News article, 16 August, http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=25515 (last accessed 9 July 2008) **Google Scholar** US Department of Defense (2004b) Strengthening U.S. Global Defense Posture. Washington, DC: Department of Defense **Google Scholar** US Department of Defense (2005) The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America. Washington, DC: Department of Defense

US Department of Defense (2006) *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*. Washington, DC: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Google Scholar

US Department of Defense (2007) U.S. Africa Command. Briefing slide, 7 February, http://www.defenselink.mi l/dodcmsshare/briefingslide/295/070207-D-6570C-001.pdf (last accessed 9 February 2008)

Google Scholar

US Department of Defense (2008) National Defense Strategy. Washington, DC: Department of Defense

Google Scholar

US House Committee on Armed Services (2003) Operation Iraqi Freedom: Operations and Reconstruction. *Hearings before the House Committee on Armed Services*, 4 April, 12 June, 10 July, 25 September, 2, 8, 21 and 29 October

Google Scholar

US National Security Council (2002) *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington , DC : The White House

Google Scholar

US National Security Council (2006) *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington , DC : The White House

Google Scholar

US President Jimmy Carter (1980) *State of the Union Address 1980*. Atlanta , GA : Jimmy Carter Library and Museum, http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml (last accessed 12 April 2008)

Google Scholar

US Secretary of Defense William J Perry (1995) Working with Gulf allies to contain Iraq and Iran. Speech, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 18 May, http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=909 (last accessed 12 February 2008)

Google Scholar

Williams M (2007) *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security.* London: Routledge

Google Scholar

Woodward R (2005) From Military Geography to militarism's geographies: Disciplinary engagements with the geographies of militarism and military activities. *Progress in Human Geography* **29**(6): 718–740

Web of Science® Google Scholar

Wrage S D (2004) US combatant commander: The man in the middle. In D S Reveron (ed) *America's Viceroys: The Military and U.S. Foreign Policy* (pp 185–202). New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Web of Science® Google Scholar

Young M B (2009) Lost in the desert: Lawrence and the theory and practice of counterinsurgency. In D Ryan and P Kiely (eds) *America and Iraq: Policy-Making, Intervention and Regional Politics Since 1958* (pp 76–91). New York: Routledge

Google Scholar

Citing Literature



Download PDF

ABOUT WILEY ONLINE LIBRARY

Privacy Policy

Terms of Use

About Cookies

Manage Cookies

Accessibility

Wiley Research DE&I Statement and Publishing Policies

Developing World Access

HELP & SUPPORT

Contact Us
Training and Support
DMCA & Reporting Piracy

OPPORTUNITIES

Subscription Agents
Advertisers & Corporate Partners

CONNECT WITH WILEY

The Wiley Network
Wiley Press Room

Copyright © 1999-2025 John Wiley & Sons, Inc or related companies. All rights reserved, including rights for text and data mining and training of artificial intelligence technologies or similar technologies.

