

Book Reviews

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Militarized Global Apartheid by Catherine Besteman, Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 2020. 204 pp.
\$24.95. ISBN: 9781478011507

Militarized Global Apartheid by Catherine Besteman examines issues of geopolitics and security. The argument is that countries in the global north are using what the author calls ‘militarized global apartheid techniques’ to limit the mobility of people from the global south as they experience the catastrophic effects of climate change and related conflicts. Besteman argues militarized global apartheid is a security imperialism that is less about plundering the resources of countries outside of the global north and more about protecting the resources that global north countries have hoarded based on previous waves of imperialism.

This militarized global apartheid is also a racialized security imperialism, as the persons of the global south fleeing conflict and climate catastrophe tend to be racialized persons. The acts of security that militarized global apartheid entails, such as border walls, forms of surveillance, various patrols, and policing activities, target racialized bodies and intercept racialized persons. For Besteman, the constructions of race and racialized hierarchies created during the original decades of colonialism and used in previous waves of imperialism remain intact. However, the practices they are now justifying are in some ways reversed. Instead of using race and racialized hierarchies to justify colonial and imperial resource accumulation and occupation of territories, race now becomes a fixture in security efforts to wall off and police the boundaries of the global north countries. Typically, the techniques of apartheid happen in a regional setting, perhaps on a scale as large as a country, and it involves the segmentation of that space into racialized zones, which creates segregated cities, towns, and workplaces. Now, these elements of segregation and separation appear on a much grander stage and a much larger scale. The author points to the case of the operation of apartheid in South Africa and how militarized global apartheid is now using some of the same techniques.

The first chapter on belonging shows how immigration policies are used to create and then enforce imagined communities. What the author Besteman shows is the racialized ideas behind these citizenship policies and laws, and the idea of heritage as it is baked into imagined communities creates an ideological formation that then can justify some of the spatial and security techniques global apartheid requires. In chapter 2, the author demonstrates the world still is full of examples of plunder. The extraction of wealth and resources from the global south by countries and companies in the global north is now more targeted. Economic interventions in the global south are often accompanied by military interventions and vice versa. The surgical forms of plunder undertaken by the countries in the global north today require military backing and violence. A corporate-state symbiosis of countries and corporations from the global north is required to continue the corporate capitalist plunder of territories in the global south. The author explores how a number of

examples of land and capital capture by agencies from the global north have required not just corporate incursion, but military interventions that disrupt local populations and brutalize indigenous people. The maneuvers are always surgical, not unlike military extractions. Yet there is no need for metaphor, as the military is often part of plunder in the 21st century.

In chapter 3, Besteman goes on to suggest that instead of investing in the local communities where companies from the global north accumulate resources and wealth, what we see instead is containment. We see efforts to constrain the movement of persons displaced by corporate interventions or climate change, and we see security and military initiatives being used to create these containment strategies. The author argues, therefore, that the act of sovereignty by countries from the global north is not happening at their borders. Besteman contends sovereignty is not geopolitically contained within countries, but that the act of sovereignty and practices of security can be undertaken far from the border of said country. Besteman argues these acts of sovereignty are creating thicker borders for displaced persons seeking safety. Attempts to find livable conditions are impeded by the bordering practices in the sovereign extensions of global north countries. The author refers to this as the offshoring of borders. Law plays a key role insofar as the creation of so-called illegal immigration operates to capture people evading or escaping oppressive conditions. The laws are also strengthened by an apparatus of agencies that undertake immigration detention and deportation. It follows that those countries in the global north have invested in detention and deportation as a mechanism to regulate flows of people seeking refuge. This creates a system of governance that shows disregard for human life, dignity, and basic rights. The aspects of militarized global apartheid that are most ostentatious are the border walls popping up in various countries. However, the hourly detention and deportation of immigrants and migrants from the global south in the global north is the chilling reality of this global apartheid system.

In chapter 4, the author argues countries in the global north must allow some persons fleeing persecution, climate catastrophes, poverty, and conflict into their countries. Besteman shows the logic of this immigration system is building a deportable labor force of precarious persons who will not erode the power structure of global north societies and whose labor can be exploited. Global north countries can maximize the wealth of their imagined national community while minimizing the goods and resources able to be consumed by immigrating and migrating persons. Besteman shows the global militarized apartheid regime is somewhat porous. It has some openings in it, but only for already marginalized positions. These forms of marginality and precarity are barely survivable and reveal how countries in the global north are marshaling resources for the benefit of their own imagined heritage citizens to the detriment of the lives of those immigrating.

In chapter 5, Besteman argues that this economic and political system is becoming increasingly militarized through border security by walls, smart technologies, and increased spending on national security and border security and through the translation of sovereignty into security imperialism. There are many places where such walls and marine corridors are all too apparent, from the southern edge of the United States to the Mediterranean dividing the global north in Europe and the global south in Northern Africa, to Israel and Palestine and elsewhere. The author shows how many countries are investing in so-called 'smart borders' and surveillance technologies, as well as collaborating to create a unified set of barriers. For persons trying to flee conflict and climate change in the global south, this feeds the business of security and the military industrial complex, which then goes on to protect forms of surgical plunder, which are always accompanied by military force. Security empires do not end at the designated boundaries of their borders but extend wherever the operations of their corporations go.

In the final chapter, the author argues militarized global apartheid is not socially or environmentally sustainable and instead glosses over the sources of the global catastrophes we are facing. The first problem is the hoarding of resources by the upper classes, and as long as that economic system

prevails, most of the people of the world will live in poverty, especially in the global south. The other characteristic of these catastrophes is human-driven climate change, which is heating up the earth, and the reason why many people must flee their home territories.

For Besteman, securitizing our borders, extending sovereignty, and surgically removing resources from the global south serve the function of sustaining lavish lifestyles in the global north. However, in the cases of both militarized global apartheid and policing, these security measures are not addressing the issues that create such human suffering. Besteman argues it is necessary for people in the global north to contest these regimes as people in the global north are apartheid's beneficiaries, and our standard of living is what creates precariousness in the global south. The author argues that if citizens of the global north really do care about migrants and refugees as well as the Earth, they must do much more to confront their governments about their operation of this global apartheid system.

Scholars from political science to sociology, anthropology to criminology, and beyond should want to read this book. The author traces out how techniques of apartheid are being used in a scaled-up manner. The author also shows how imperial and colonial forms of resource extraction continue in the 21st century. Besteman does not have much hope we will change and argues the only way to have a chance at a better future is to struggle against militarized global apartheid regimes and to see the connections between our economic practices, our geopolitical practices, and the suffering of so many people.

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Neoliberal Transformations of the Italian State: Understanding the Roots of the Crises by Adriano Cozzolino, Lanham, MD/London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021. 216 pp. \$110.00 (hardback). ISBN: 9781786614735

Despite the abundance of studies on neoliberalism, a systematic book-length study in English of its instantiation in Italy has been unavailable until recently. This gap in the literature has hitherto left unchallenged the prevailing view in mainstream European and Italian studies, which praises the shift from the First to the so-called Second Republic in Italy – that is, the transition of the 1990s, without any major constitutional change, from a political system based on the centrality of Parliament, strong political parties and a proportional electoral system to one based on the primacy of the executive, charismatic individual leaders and a majoritarian electoral system – as a shift towards greater political stability and governability, achieved with the crucial external support of the European Union. By contrast, Adriano Cozzolino's *Neoliberal Transformations of the Italian State: Understanding the Roots of the Crises* replaces such momentous political and institutional transformations in the broader context of the transformations of the Italian state within the historical unfolding of neoliberal globalisation. Thus, it offers a comprehensive anatomy of the neoliberal transition and concurrent erosion of mass democracy in Italy, filling a gap in neoliberal, European and Italian studies, while also providing an excellent empirically grounded contribution to state theory and the study of state transformations from a Gramscian perspective.

Conceptually, Cozzolino departs from the scholarship on state transformations during the period of neoliberal globalisation (chapter 2), in which he sees three interrelated shortcomings: first, it conceptualises the state as an 'autonomous actor' that is 'abstracted from broader societal relations' (p. 31); second, it under-theorises the state's social embeddedness and reifies a reductionist view