

Message from the Director

Welcome to the first *Newsletter of the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation*. Since securing the funding from the Economic and Social Research Council, the Centre officially came into existence on 1 October, 1997. With a grant of £2 million from the ESRC and support from Warwick we have initial baseline funding of £2.5 million for the first five years. We have also recently secured \$US200,000 from the MacArthur Foundation in the USA as well as 600,000 ECU from the European Commission. We have now occupied a suite of 12 offices in the Social Studies building, held our first conference and made our initial appointments. Short biographies of our full time and associated faculty and some insight into our activities to-date are set out in this *Newsletter* which we will produce twice yearly from now on.

In addition, I would like to take the opportunity in this introduction to set out the initial agenda for the first five years of the Centre's activities. Put simply our aspiration is to become a focal point for the production and dissemination of high quality scholarly and policy relevant research dealing with the study of globalisation and regionalisation.

Faculty will consist of myself as initial director, and three associate-directors, Professors John Whalley and Marcus Miller from the Department of Economics and Professor Ben Lockwood who is half time in CSGR and the Department of Economics. Other senior professors involved in the work of the Centre include Susan Strange (IPE), Wyn Grant (Politics) and Robin Cohen (Sociology). When the initial appointment round is completed there will be, at any one time, 4–6 full time research fellows, plus 4–6 members of Warwick faculty seconded to the Centre from their home departments (Politics and International Studies, Economics, Law and Sociology). CSGR will be supported by an Administrator and Secretarial Staff. In addition, the Centre will host an Annual Visiting Fellowship scheme. VFs will be drawn from scholars and practitioners (from the public and the private sector) working on projects germane to the Centre's research agenda.

The activities of the Centre will be overseen by an Advisory Board chaired by Sir Shridath Ramphal, Chancellor of the University, former Secretary General of the Commonwealth and Chairman of the Commission on Global Governance. Current members of the board are listed in this *Newsletter*.

The Centre already has good links with major research institutions in Europe, Asia and the Americas. In any one year it will run a major international conference plus workshops (in Warwick, London and overseas) on specific aspects of its research agenda. It will publish a regular working paper series and research monographs in the *Warwick Studies in Globalisation Series* to be published by Routledge.

CSGR will provide a venue for new thinking on the relationship between the global and regional dimensions of political economy around, and hopefully ahead of, the contemporary policy debate. The Centre is committed to scholarly excellence but it will also strive to be problem-solving in methodological orientation. The research agenda of the Centre starts from two basic assumptions:

- (i) That 'globalisation' is a contested concept and its long-term applicability is both a theoretical and practical question. Understanding, defining and

explaining globalisation—be it in its economic, political, socio-cultural and historical guises—and where possible, measuring and quantifying it, is to be a central initial intellectual task.

(ii) Notwithstanding the growing research activity around globalisation the ESRC–Warwick Centre will be (to the best of our knowledge) the only purpose designated centre dealing with globalisation and its linkages with regionalisation. Our target community and the audience for our product will be global, rather than simply national. Providing an international site for interaction between scholars and practitioners is a core element of the mission of the Centre.

Three broad categories of activity will inform and underwrite the research programme in the first five years. (i) What is globalisation and does it matter? (ii) How do we measure globalisation and its impacts? (iii) What are its policy implications?

Understandings of globalisation are multi-dimensional—political, economic, cultural, ideological—so our starting point for CSGR sees globalisation in at least two broad ways: (i) as the emergence of a set of sequences and processes that are increasingly unhindered by territorial or jurisdictional barriers and that enhance the spread of trans-border practices in economic, political, cultural and social domains, and (ii) as a discourse of political and economic knowledge offering one view of how to make the post-modern world manageable. For many, globalisation as ‘knowledge’ constitutes a new reality. We feel that this is a proposition that needs to be tested not asserted.

We will ask what kinds of constraints globalisation poses for independent policy initiatives on the part of national policy makers and under what conditions these constraints are enhanced or mitigated. We plan to execute concretely focused studies in a range of areas such as tax policy, regulation, financial markets, environmental policy, telecoms and region-specific and country-specific trade policies. An aspect of this work will be ongoing assessments of the role and evolution of international agencies and how global institutional design may be forced to adapt to changing degrees of global and regional integration.

We are sensitive to the normative nature of many of the questions, especially in research into the counter-tendencies towards, or sites of resistance to, globalisation at regional and local levels that give rise to different understandings of the importance of space and territoriality. If globalisation de-emphasises the importance of land and territory, then regionalisation and localisation, enhances it. The juxtaposition of economic processes with political attitudes towards space and borders represents a nodal point of tension in the late twentieth century. Constraints on social and political actors at these points will determine policy preferences.

Within the context of these broad conceptual aims empirical emphasis will be placed on: (i) particular regional projects in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific; (ii) the enhancement of international institutions, rules and policy competence on questions of trade competition and international finance and investment; (iii) normative questions about governance, sovereignty, democratisation and policy making under constraints of globalisation. Our agenda promises to be exciting, we hope that you will join with

us as we develop. Scholars and practitioners with an interest in globalisation and regionalisation are invited to make contact with us.

The Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR)

The CEPR and the CSGR have formed a strategic alliance. The CEPR will enhance CSGR's disseminating and networking activities. This collaboration is in large part being modelled after the arrangements put in place for the ESRC Global Economic Institutions Programme. The CEPR will undertake the organisation of some international conference activity, the production of the CSGR Newsletter and provide a London location for contact with User Groups via workshops and briefing sessions. Furthermore, the CSGR will have access to CEPR's ongoing research programme and extensive network of contacts. Reciprocally, the relationship will enhance the CEPR's mission to access social science disciplines other than economics.

CSGR staff

Professor Richard Higgott, Director of CSGR (Richard.Higgott@warwick.ac.uk), has been Professor of International Political Economy at the University of Warwick since February 1996. Previous chair level appointments have been held at the University of Manchester and in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University where he was Director of Graduate Studies in Foreign Affairs and Trade. He was a member of the Australian Government's Trade Negotiation Advisory Group during the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations

He is the author/ editor of some 10 books or monographs and 100 or so refereed articles and book chapters in the areas of international politics and development studies. His research interests are in the politics of international economic relations with special reference to the Asia Pacific region. He is editor of *The Pacific Review* and currently finishing a book entitled *The Politics of International Economic Policy Coordination in Pacific Asia*.

Dr. Shaun Breslin (Shaun.Breslin@warwick.ac.uk) came to Warwick as a Senior Research Fellow from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, where he had been a lecturer in Chinese politics and Director of the East Asia Research Centre. His PhD thesis concentrated on the growth of provincial economic autonomy in China – a study which generated a number of articles and chapters as well as a book on China in the 1980s: *Centre-Province Relations in a Reforming Socialist State*. His current research agenda assesses both domestic (the impact of regionalism and globalisation on China) and international (the impact of China on the regional and global economy) consequences of China's re-engagement with the global economy.

In addition to this ongoing research, Shaun is establishing research links with Chinese academics, and is currently drafting a research proposal with colleagues from Renmin University in Beijing for submission to the EU-China Higher Education Cooperation Programme. He is also completing an existing research project on the international

context of Chinese environmental problems. He has published a political biography of *Mao Zedong* (forthcoming Longman 1998) and his primary interests lay in the politics of economic reform in post-Mao China.

Eric Le Borgne (Eric.le-Borgne@warwick.ac.uk) is a Graduate Research Assistant at the CSGR, and a Ph.D. student in the Department of Economics at the University of Warwick. His Ph.D. thesis deals with European Monetary Union and the effects of the Stability and Growth Pact, and on financial crises. Emphasis is put on the “new Political Economy” literature. His Ph.D. supervisors are Professor Marcus Miller and Professor Ben Lockwood, both with the CSGR and the Department of Economics. Eric holds a French “maîtrise” in Economics and Finance from the University of Nantes, and an M.Sc. in Economics from the University of Warwick.

Professor Wyn Grant’s earlier work was focused on government-business relations and economic and industrial policy. He continues to be interested in these areas, but his recent work has focused on environmental policy and agricultural policy with special reference to Europe and North America. He is coordinating a European Commission Framework IV project on social exclusion and climate change reduction policies. He is now starting planning work on a major research project on globalisation and agriculture with Professor William Coleman of McMaster University.

Dr. Christopher W. Hughes (from 1 October, 1998) obtained his BA from the University of Oxford, and holds MA degrees from the University of Rochester, USA, and from the University of Sheffield. He conducted his Ph.D. research in International Relations at the University of Sheffield and the Graduate School of Law and Politics, The University of Tokyo. He has received research scholarships from the Japanese Ministry of Education, The Japan Foundation, the European Union, and the British Academy. Previously he was Research Associate at The Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University. His main research interests are post-Cold War security policy; regionalism and security policy in the Asia-Pacific; Japanese foreign and security policy; Japan-North Korea relations, Japan-EU relations; Japanese radicalism and terrorism. Publications include: ‘The North Korean nuclear crisis and Japanese security,’ *Survival: The IISS Quarterly* (1996); ‘Japan's subregional and defence linkages with ASEANs, South Korea and China in the 1990’s’ and ‘Japanese policy and the North Korean soft-landing’ *The Pacific Review* (1996 and 1998), ‘Japan's Aum Shinrikyo, the changing nature of terrorism and the post-Cold War security agenda,’ *Pacifica Review: Peace, Security and Global Change* (1998); ‘Kitachosen no sofuto randingu ni okeru Nihon no yakuwari’ *Hiroshima Heiwa Kagaku* (1998); ‘Japan's relations with Asia,’ in *The Japan Handbook* (1998); *Japan's Economic Power and Security: Japan and North Korea* (forthcoming, Routledge, 1999).

Professor Ben Lockwood (B.Lockwood@warwick.ac.uk) came to the University of Warwick from a chair at the University of Exeter. He was previously a lecturer at Birkbeck College of the University of London, and a Research Officer at the Department of Applied Economics at the University of Cambridge. He is a CEPR Research Fellow and on the Editorial Board of the *Economic Journal*. His research interests are in the areas of international tax policy coordination, decentralisation and federalism, the growth of the state, and the design of environmental agreements. He

has published widely on these topics in Journals such as the *Journal of Public Economics*, the *Journal of International Economics*, the *Economic Journal*, and others. He is currently engaged in three projects; the first is the construction and analysis of a historical data-set of excise taxes in EU countries, with a focus on cross-border shopping and convergence issues, the second is a project on the design of environmental agreements (joint with Peter Newell and John Whalley, and funded by the MacArthur Foundation), and the third is a project on the growth of the state and globalisation.

Duncan Matthews (D.Matthews@warwick.ac.uk) is a Research Fellow in the CSGR, currently on secondment from the School of Law and the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, where he teaches courses on European Integration and intellectual property law. He is also a Visiting Fellow of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research in London. Duncan has previously held ESRC awards within the Single European Market, Global Environmental Change and Intellectual Property Research Programmes. These research projects have each examined various aspects of corporate behaviour and business strategy in response to changing regulatory frameworks.

Duncan's research agenda in the CSGR builds on these themes of corporate behaviour and business strategy by looking beyond the way that companies comply with regulation. His current research examines the way that international institutions manage the economic aspects of globalisation by setting standards and the way that companies are involved in that process. The research is looking at the extent to which corporate actors determine the outcome of standard-setting negotiations and factors that subsequently influence the implementation of internationally agreed standards. This work is focusing on corporate behaviour in setting standards in European Union trade and environmental policy, and in relation to enforcement of the Trade Related Intellectual Property (TRIPs) Agreement administered by the World Trade Organisation.

Professor Marcus Miller (Marcus.Miller@warwick.ac.uk) is the Director of Graduate Studies at the Department of Economics at the University of Warwick. His previous posts were as a professor at Manchester and lecturer at the London School of Economics. Educated at Oxford (PPE) and Yale University (Ph.D). He is currently the Associate Director of the CSGR, a Research Fellow of the CEPR, a Visiting Fellow at Institute for International Economics in Washington DC, and a Member of Council, Royal Economic Society. He was advisor to the Treasury Committee of the House of Commons (1981), a Houbton Norman Fellow at the Bank of England (1982) and joint director of International Macroeconomics Programme at CEPR (1986/91). Books edited include *Exchange Rate Targets and Currency Bands* (with Paul Krugman) CUP (1992), and recent articles include "Hyperinflation and stabilisation" in *The Economic Journal* and "Debt pricing in industry equilibrium" in *Review of Financial Studies*. Current research interests include the political economy of monetary policy; bankruptcy and debt relief, comparing corporate and sovereign debt; and human capital and industry equilibrium.

Liliana Pop (pored@warwick.ac.uk) is a Graduate Research Assistant whose current research focuses on the political economy of transformation in Eastern Europe, through a study of the privatisation programmes of Romania and Poland. The core dynamic is that of the redefinition of the relationships between the political and the economic, in an attempt to leave behind the communist set-up, where the first predominated over the latter. The process through which the state is divesting itself of property is revealing for a range of relationships that are being negotiated currently and which evolve around the allocation of agency and competence in both spheres, economic and political.

Professor Susan Strange was formerly Montagu Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Professor of International Political Economy at the European University Institute in Florence. She is now a Professor in International Political Economy at Warwick and a Senior Fellow of CSGR. Her most recent work is *The Retreat of the State* (CUP, 1996). She is currently completing a second edition of her book *Casino Capitalism*, to be called *Mad Money*.

Dr. Ted To (T.To@warwick.ac.uk) received his BS in Economics from the University of Delaware in 1987. He then completed his MA in Economics at the University of Pittsburgh in 1990 and his PhD in 1992. His doctoral dissertation is made up of three essays on "Optimal Trade Policies in Oligopolistic Industries when Market Share Matters." Upon finishing his PhD, he has worked at the CentER for Economic Research in the Netherlands, the US International Trade Commission in Washington DC and the University of St Andrews in Scotland. He recently joined the CSGR as a Senior Research Fellow. His areas of research interest include International Trade Policy, Labour Economics and Industrial Organisation and his publications include articles in *Canadian Journal of Economics*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Industrial Economics* and *Journal of International Economics*. At the CSGR, he will continue his work in Trade Policy and will also integrate his work in Labour Economics into an international setting. In addition, he is helping to organise this year's Warwick Summer Research Workshop on Globalisation.

Professor John Whalley (J.Whalley@warwick.ac.uk) currently holds appointments in the Economics Departments at Warwick and at Western Ontario in Canada. He is a Fellow of the Econometric Society and also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He is a Research Associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research (Cambridge, Mass) and also joint managing Editor of the trade policy Journal *The World Economy*. He is best known for his work on the applications of general equilibrium analysis to the areas of taxation and trade, but has also worked on trade negotiations and global environmental policy.

For the CSGR he is coordinating a new project with EU support on Globalization and Social Exclusion. This project will try to better understand the links between globalization and labour market behaviour. The project will also involve the Centre For European Policy Studies in Brussels, The Kiel Institute of World Economics, The National Institute of Economic and Social Research London, and The University of Minho, Portugal.

CSGR Secondments

Professor Robin Cohen is a member of the Department of Sociology at Warwick. His latest book *Global diasporas: an introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997) forms part of a 17-vol. Series on the world's diasporas, which he is editing. With the support of the CSGR, he is writing a large textbook titled *Global Sociology* to be published by Macmillan in 1999. Together with Shirin Rai he convened a CSGR conference on *Global Social Movements in International Social Institutions* which took place in March, 1998. He continues to work on international migration flows in Africa, Asia and Europe.

Professor Martin Cripps has general research interests in dynamic economic models with incomplete information and learning. He is currently working on repeated games of incomplete information, on experimentation, herding behaviour and on reputation within markets. His CSGR research is on dynamic models of the income distribution and network externalities. Recent work on models of the income distribution has shown that income-inequality can persist within economies when there are imperfections in the credit markets. That is, poor individuals cannot obtain credit and consequently cannot improve their position using technology. As capital markets become global rather than local, the ability of an individual in any one economy to borrow changes. He will investigate how the "deepening" of capital markets in this way affects the distribution of income within and across countries.

Dr. Dennis Leech is a Senior Lecturer in Economics at University of Warwick. He did his BA and MA at Manchester University and his doctorate by published work at Warwick (Title: "Studies in Company Ownership and Control"). His work has been published in leading journals including *Econometrica*, *The Economic Journal*, *Journal of Industrial Economics*, *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, *Management Science*, *Public Choice*, *Oxford Economic Papers*, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, and others. He has done innovative work on the role of shareholders in corporate governance and the separation of company ownership and control; this has led to an interest in the analysis of power relations in a wider range of governance systems which use weighted majority voting. He has recently spent a period of study leave developing improved computer algorithms for analysing a priori power relations in weighted voting bodies. He is applying these improved methods to various contexts including the Bretton Woods institutions and the ownership control of British and Spanish companies. He has spent the Spring term of 1998 on secondment to the CSGR completing the work on the IMF.

Dr. Shirin Rai has worked extensively on issues of gender and international development, as well as on the politics of contemporary China. Her publications include, *Resistance and Reaction: University Politics in Post-Mao China* (1991), *Women in the Face of Change: Eastern Europe, Soviet Union and China* eds. (1992), *Women and the State: International Perspectives* eds. (1996), and *Chinese Politics and Society: An Introduction* co-authored, (1996). Her current research interests are in democratisation and debates about gender and democratic accountability, gender and political representation, and empowerment. At the CSGR she is involved in three

specific, though related projects. The first, with Professor Robin Cohen of the Sociology Department, is on 'Global Social Movements and International Social Institutions.' In March, a conference on this theme explored the dynamic between the local, the national and the international in the context of specific struggles and movements and international policy initiatives and responses. The second project, with Prof. Jane Parpart of Dalhousie University, Canada, is entitled 'Rethinking Empowerment: Gendered Perspectives.' A workshop was held on this theme in February bringing together feminist scholars of international relations. Both these projects will result in edited volumes. Finally, she is on a project 'Making Alliances Across Boundaries: The Local and the Global in Gender Politics' based on research on the Indian women's movements and the struggles around the issue of gender representation in political institutions.

Dr. Jennifer C. Smith has degrees from Cambridge (Ph.D., M.Phil.) and Oxford (B.A.). She joined Department of Economics, University of Warwick, January 1996. She has previously worked in Structural Economic Analysis Division, Bank of England (1991–95). She is currently seconded to CSGR, January–March 1998 to work on project "Globalisation, Volatility and Investment" with Dr. Jeremy Smith (also in the Economics Department). Project duration: January 1998–December 1999. Her research interests include applied macroeconomics, in particular the impact of globalisation of the capital market on investment and real interest rates, focusing on the role of volatility in asset prices including exchange rates and stock markets. In general, interests include panel data, time series and non-parametric techniques for the analysis of macroeconomic data, and non-linearities in macroeconomic relationships. Also interested in the costs of inflation and in wage determination.

Professor Jonathan Thomas worked as a research officer at the Department of Applied Economics and as a lecturer at Bristol University before moving to Warwick, where he has been since 1985. He is currently Professor of Economics. He has worked on the theory of long-term contracts in the absence of explicit enforcement mechanisms and in the presence of asymmetric information, and more recently, on reputation models in repeated games.

He is on secondment to CSGR during the Spring term of 1998, working on game theoretic analyses of International Public Law and international agreements. The focus of this research is on whether international legal conventions and agreements can lead to outcomes beyond those that can be sustained from a standard noncooperative viewpoint. Given that such conventions and agreements depend for their enforcement upon the willingness of sovereign countries to impose prescribed sanctions, their primary role may be to aid coordination on a particular noncooperative equilibrium, rather than to create new possibilities. In collaboration with Carlo Perroni (Department of Economics) and Ben Lockwood, he is looking at whether international agreements can create a temporary commitment to a course of action which would permit more cooperation to be achieved than would be possible in a purely noncooperative model. A subsidiary question is whether this approach also leads to gradualism in cooperation.

Recent Research related activities/seminars of CSGR staff

Professor Richard Higgott has delivered the following papers: ‘Globalisation, Regionalisation and Identity Building in East Asia: Lessons from the Recent Economic Crisis,’ at the Logics to Globalisation Conference, National University of Singapore, December 11–12, 1997; revised versions of this paper have also been presented at the Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Free University of Brussels (13 March 1998) and at the Carnegie Endowment for Peace and Security, Washington DC (17 March 1998) and with Simon Reich “Globalisation and Sites of Conflict: Towards Definition and Taxonomy,” US International Studies Association Conference, Minneapolis, 20 March 1998. He has also given research seminars to the Politics Department at the University of Nottingham; the Department of International Relations at St Andrews University, the Scottish Branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Edinburgh, the Geography Department at the University of Oxford.

Dr. Shaun Breslin presented “Feeling the Ripples: The Financial Crises in East Asia and Economic Reform in the PR China” Assessing the Asian Financial Crisis, University of Manchester, April 1998 and “Asian Investment in China: Understanding ‘Region’ From a Political Economy Perspective” Asian Investment in Asia, INSEAD Euro-Asia Centre, Fontainebleau, Feb 1998. He has also given two policy oriented talks at the Royal College of Military Science in Shrivenham in January, and to an FCO sponsored diplomats training course in Birmingham in March.

Dr. Dennis Leech gave a paper entitled, “Power relations in the International Monetary Fund: a study using voting power indices to investigate some formal properties of the system of weighted voting,” at the conference Non-state Actors and Authority in the Global System, University of Warwick, October–November 1997.

Professor Ben Lockwood presented a paper at the Warwick Public Finance Weekend at the University of Essex “Distributive Politics and the Benefits of Decentralisation,” 27–28 February. He has also presented papers at the Royal Economic Society at the University of Warwick in March, and the University of St. Andrews and Edinburgh in April.

Duncan Matthews gave a presentation on 6th March at the Department of Trade and Industry in London to an audience of business managers and policy advisors.

Dr. Ted To has recently presented papers at the 1998 North American Meetings of the Econometric Society (3–5 January), Queen Mary and Westfield College (12 March) and the 1998 Royal Economic Society (31 March–3 April).

Forthcoming CSGR and Warwick globalisation activities

Warwick Summer Research Workshop on Globalisation (13–25 July)

The Department of Economics at Warwick runs an annual summer workshop during which internationally renowned economists from around the World are invited to

participate and collaborate on research projects. This year, to mark the opening of the CSGR, the topic of the workshop will be globalisation.

For details, see our web site at:

<http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CSGR/conferences.html#Conferences>

GATT/ WTO 50th ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE

**SCARMAN HOUSE, UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
17-18th JULY 1998**

The University of Warwick's ESRC Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation will host a Conference in honour of the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the GATT in 1946. The conference will gather major contributors to research and scholarship on the GATT for two days of forward-looking prospective discussion as to where the Trading System might be headed.

Paper Givers include:

Jagdish Bhagwati (Columbia University), David Greenaway (University of Nottingham), Patrick Low (Director of Research, WTO), Arvind Panagariya (University of Maryland), Andre Sapir (Free University of Brussels), Bob Staiger (University of Wisconsin), Stefan Tangermann (University of Goettingen), Diana Tussie (FLACSO), Dean Spinanger (Keil Institute of World Economics), John Whalley (University of Warwick), Yang Yongzheng (Australian National University)

Further information can be obtained from the Conference Administrator:

E-mail: csgr@warwick.ac.uk

Tel: +44 (0)1203 572533

Fax: +44 (0)1203 572548

Web Site: <http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CSGR/conferences.html#Conferences>

World Capital Markets and Financial Crises (24–25 July)

In light of recent developments in East Asia, the ESRC's Global Economic Institutions programme, with the organisational support from the CEPR will hold a conference on "World Capital Markets and Financial Crises" at the University of Warwick. This is a follow-up to last year's highly topical Cambridge/Bank of England conference on "The Origins and Management of Financial Crises."

Attendance is by invitation only but information can be obtained at the conference Website:

<http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CSGR/conferences.html#Conferences>

Recent CSGR sponsored and related conferences

The Inaugural Conference

The Centre held its inaugural conference entitled *Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System*. The conference attracted over 150 delegates from 20 countries making it one of the largest international gatherings of scholars and practitioners held in the UK that has attempted to deal with issues in the contemporary global and economic orders.

Sessions at the conference dealt with the state of contemporary inter-governmental institutions such as the WTO, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and regional regimes including the EU, NAFTA and APEC. Papers were also read on the impact of non-governmental organisations on the international humanitarian environmental, aid and economic development agendas and those agencies involved in international cooperative regulatory processes. Several papers also examined the difficulties of regulating some of the more unsavoury aspects of transnational activity in the late twentieth century such as drug cartels, money laundering and mafias.

The keynote address was given by Andrew Crockett the General Manager of the Bank of International Settlements. Delegates from the disciplines of economics, law, political science, international relations and sociology included, amongst others, major overseas scholars such as Saskia Sassen (Columbia University), Benjamin J Cohen (University of California at Santa Barbara), Matt Slaughter (Dartmouth), Harold James (Princeton) Simon Reich (Pittsburgh), Stephen Gill (York-Ontario), Harvey Feigenbaum (George Washington), Kim Nossal (McMaster), Helge Hveem (Oslo), Yves Dezalay (CNRS-Paris), Jan Aart Scholte (IISS, the Hague), Virginia Harfleur (Maryland), Genevieve Libonati (Free University, Berlin), David Levi Faur (Amsterdam) Karsten Ronnit (Konstanz), Maria Isabek Studar (ITAM, Mexico).

UK based academics included Andrew Wyatt Walter (LSE), Susan Strange and John Whalley (Warwick) Phil Cerny and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe (Leeds), David Vines (Balliol), Marc Williams and Robert O'Brien (Sussex) Nick Rengger (St Andrews). In addition delegates and paper givers included senior figures from the policy community and the NGO world such as Anne Florini (the Carnegie Endowment), Peter Brod (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), Steve Harris (OECD), Tom Whiston (Science Policy Research Unit). Members of the CSGR Advisory Committee present included Jim Rollo (FCO), Charles Oman (OECD) John Beath (ESRC) Lord Wallace of Soltaire and Cho Kong (Shell).

Globalisation versus Regionalisation: New Trends in World Politics (10–11 December 1997)

Over 100 postgraduate students from universities in the UK and on the Continent attended this postgraduate conference of 12 panels with papers on the neo-liberal world financial order, the myth of globalisation, the options of South Africa in the era of globalisation and many more topics. The parameters of the debate were set by the two keynote speakers. Professor Phil Cerny (Leeds University) maintained in his lecture 'Globalising the Political, Politicising the Global,' that globalisation, in which economic and technological factors were important drivers, had led to a structural

change of the international state-system. In the new multi-layered system, additional centres of power had emerged below and above the state. This would not, however, imply that globalisation was characterised by an inevitable spread of liberalisation. Instead, politics could assert itself over market forces and various different future developments were conceivable. On the other hand, Dr. Grahame Thompson (Open University), denied in his presentation ‘What is “New” about Globalisation: Trends and Responses for National Policies,’ that these changes were significant enough to warrant a total reconceptualisation of our thinking about the international economic system. The international economy had changed, but it would still be states which had the opportunity to tame them and counter socially negative neo-liberal policies.

Social Movements and Social Institutions in a Global Age (19–22 March 1998)

The conference explored the ways in which social movements are successful in ‘out-reaching’ from the local to the international space because of new understandings of the global arena. Papers addressed the issues arising from a changed perception of the global space both at the level international institutions that are recognising the limitations of the power of the national states, as well as at the level of grassroots social movements. They analysed how these are able to approach, make alliances with, and lobby international movements and institutions without having to go through state machinery at the national level. Agenda setting, policy initiatives, regulation of policy and policy outcomes were discussed. Emphasis was placed on how the actors come into the public arena with differentiated resources, via various access points, with different expectations. How does this new relationship between international social movements and international social institutions work? What are the tensions that result from this shift in focus from the nation-state to social movements? The conference addressed these questions through theoretical and empirical contributions of the participants in six specific areas – human rights, labour rights, women’s rights, peace movements, the green movement, and religious movements.

Overseas speakers included: José Casanova (New School for Social Research), Paul Havemann (Waikato), Paul Lubeck (California) and Beverly Silver (Johns Hopkins). UK based speakers included: Sarah Ashwin (LSE), Upendra Baxi (Warwick), Jim Beckford (Warwick), Christine Chinkin (LSE), Cynthia Cockburn (City University), Rebecca Johnson (The Acronym Institute), John Mattausch (Royal Holloway), Ronaldo Munck (Liverpool), Peter Newell (Warwick), Linda Shaw (Manchester), Barbara Stapleton (Independent Television Producer), Steven Yearly (York) and Peter Willetts (City University).

Visit of the Chairman of the ESRC

The Chairman of the ESRC, Mr. Bruce Smith and Christine McCulloch, Head of the Politics Economics and Geography Group at the ESRC, visited the CSGR on 4 February 1998 for discussions with staff about their initial research in the CSGR. Dr. McCulloch commended the Centre on the success of the visit.

Recent Visitors to the CSGR

Masaki Ichikawa, the Institute of International Policy Studies, Tokyo. Attended an economics workshop on “Aspects of the East Asia crisis.”

Professor Makoto Iokibe, Kobe University, President of the Japanese Political Studies Association.

Dr. Yeon Ho Lee, Centre for East West Studies, Yonsei University Seoul.

Professor Ian MacAllister, Director, Research school of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

Dr. Henk Overbeek, Research Centre for International Political Economy, University of Amsterdam.

Professor Jane Parpart, University of Dalhousie, Canada.

Professor V. Spike Petersen, Department of Political Science, Arizona University

Dr. Jan Jindy Pettman, Director, Centre for Womens Studies, Australian National University.

Professor Simon Reich, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh.

Dr. Martin Rhodes, Deputy Director, Robert Schumann Centre for European Politics, European University Institute, Florence.

Professor Timothy Shaw, University of Dalhousie, Canada.

Professor Ray Riezman, Department of Economics, The University of Iowa.

Professor Davis Bobrow, Graduate school of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh and immediate past president of the International Studies Association will be a visiting fellow in the CSGR working on Tripolarity and Globalisation: US Responses to the Asia Europe (ASEM) process.

Recent CSGR Seminars

Professor Jane Parpart, 20 January, 1998, Dalhousie University, Canada, “The ‘Man’ Question in International Relations: Global and Regional Implications.”

Professor Tim Shaw, 27 January, 1998, Dalhousie University, Canada, “Regional Development and Peacekeeping Nexus in Africa: Perspectives from Western Uganda.”

Duncan Matthews, 17 February, University of Warwick, “TRIPS, Enforcement and Corporate Interests.”

Professor Robin Cohen, 24 February, 1998, University of Warwick, "Sociology and Globology."

Professor Peter Lloyd, 16 March, 1998, University of Melbourne, "Harmonising National Competition Policies When Markets are Global."

Dr. Chris Underhill, 7 April, 1998, Intermediate Technology, "The changing nature of NGO work in the context of globalisation."

Dr. Jonathan Haskell, 21 April, 1998, Queen Mary and Westfield College, "Does the Sector Bias of Skill-biased Technological Change Explain Changing Wage Inequality?"

Professor Ray Reizman, 23 April, 1998, University of Iowa, "Understanding the Welfare Implications of Preferential Trade Agreements."

Professor Keith Cowling, 28 April, 1998, University of Warwick, "Transnational Investment and Economic Policy."

Future CSGR seminars

Dr. Dennis Leech, 12 May, 1998, University of Warwick, "Power Relations in the IMF."

Professor Davis Bobrow, University of Pittsburgh, DATE AND TOPIC TO BE ANNOUNCED.

Dr. Jennifer Smith, 9 June, 1998, University of Warwick, TO BE ANNOUNCED.

Professor Martin Cripps, 23 June, 1998, University of Warwick, TO BE ANNOUNCED.

CSGR discussion papers:

98/01 – Richard Higgott and Simon Reich, "Globalisation and Sites of Conflict: Towards Definition and Taxonomy"

Summary: 'Globalisation' is rapidly replacing the 'Cold War' as the most overused and under-specified explanation for a variety of events in international relations. For some, it represents a natural, indeed inexorable, progression towards a 'borderless world' signalling the end of the modern international state system as we know it. Analysis is underwritten by faith in, and exhortation to, the future. For others, the concept is overstated and its benign influences are exaggerated. Indeed, globalisation is dangerous and perhaps even non-existent as a phenomenon. Furthermore, its invocation generates fear and resistance. This difference in interpretation has given rise to a dispute between those who see the emergence of a number of salient alternative authority structures, especially in the corporate world, that compete (increasingly successfully) with states in determining the direction of the global political economy (globalisers or globalists) and

those who still see the states as the principal actors in global political and economic orders (internationalists) with security issues as still paramount.

It is more accurate (albeit less parsimonious for theorising) to see state and non-state authority existing in a much more contingent, interactive and dynamic manner. We identify four definitions of globalisation in common use in both the scholarly and the policy community. These are we call (i) globalisation as historical epoch; (ii) globalisation as the confluence of economic phenomena; (iii) globalisation as the triumph of American values; and (iv) globalisation as sociological and technological revolution. Then we identify four propositions central to any understanding of the emerging field of 'globalisation studies' in international relations: (i) the Redistributive thesis, (ii) the Regionalism thesis, (iii) the Modernisation thesis and (iv) the Internet thesis. As analytical approaches they reflect the ontologies and epistemologies of the definitions from which we argue they are derived and help identify the arenas of power and policy contest and the principal actors involved in the changing relationship between market power and state authority thereby revealing significant contextual, empirical and normative variation in the authoritative relationship between states, markets and civil society.

98/02 – Richard Higgott, "The *International Politics* of Economic Crisis in East Asia: Some Longer Term Implications"

Summary: The currency and market turmoils in East Asia since summer of 1997 are every bit as much political crises as they are economic ones. Indeed, the political manifestations of these events may linger long after the necessary economic reforms have been introduced to return at least a semblance of economic normalcy to the region. This paper assess some of the longer term political implications. It does so through 'Asian tinted lenses' rather than Anglo American ones and offers an alternative reading of the East Asian economic crisis to that which exists in the mainstream of western policy analysis. While accepting that particularist explanations apply on a country by country basis, the paper outlines: (i) those aspects of the crisis that appear common to those countries affected to-date: (ii) the importance of the silent but fundamental role of Japan as a factor in the crisis and (iii) notwithstanding the real/material explanations of the crisis, it argues that the crisis is in large part an ideological one reflecting a western conceptual inability to deal with the Asian model of development's reluctance to converge with an Anglo-American form of capitalist.

While the policy remedies proffered by the IMF are accepted in Asia in the short run, they may well not be appreciated in the long run and a major implication of this interaction may well be an enhancement of the prospect of the continued development of an 'East Asian' as opposed to 'Asia Pacific' understanding of region. Some evidence of regional social learning from the crisis that may well consolidate the trend towards enhanced economic policy coordination that already exists. This could exacerbate tensions between global and regional interests and severely test the 'APEC consensus' on a commitment to neo-liberalism in the early stages of the twenty-first century.

98/03 – Keshab Bhattarai and **John Whalley**, “The Division and Size of Gains from Liberalization in Service Networks.”

Summary: This paper emphasizes the different nature of cross border liberalization in network related services, such as telcoms, compared to liberalization in goods. In the presence of network externalities, it argues that if two disjoint country service networks involving a small and large country are connected as part of international liberalization, the per capita gain for the small country from access to a large network will be large, and the per capita gain for the large country will be small. Benefits of liberalization in network related services, unlike goods, are more likely to be approximately equally divided between large and small countries than is true of trade in goods, where benefits accrue disproportionately to the small country. We also argue that non-cooperation in network related services trade may involve more extreme retaliation than suggested for trade in goods from the optimal tariff literature, so that relative to a non-cooperative outcome, gains from liberalization in network related services become larger than from liberalization in goods. An empirical implementation of global telcoms liberalization for the US, Europe, Canada and the Rest of the World using the framework developed in the paper shows larger gains to larger regions, consistent with the theme of the paper that goods and services liberalization differ.

98/04 – John Driffill and **Marcus Miller**, “No Credit for Transition: Efficiency wages, the Maastricht Treaty and German unemployment.”

Summary: Germany is generally regarded as the nominal anchor for Europe. Its participation is the *sine qua non* of EMU. It has been the largest net contributor to EU finances, the leading proponent of greater economic and political union, and the leading example of the virtues of fiscal and monetary rectitude as enshrined in the Maastricht treaty. However, reunified Germany combines the prosperous western state with the transitional eastern economy, and the burdens of combining the two roles, that of being an example of fiscal and monetary prudence for the EU on the one hand, and that of financing the transition of the former East Germany on the other, are leading to high unemployment, are slowing the transition process, and may become insupportable. We argue here that Germany should be viewed as part of the problem rather than its treatment.

98/05 – Hali J. Edison, Pongsak Luangaram and **Marcus Miller**, “Asset Bubbles, Domino Effects and ‘Lifeboats’: Elements of the East Asian Crisis”

Summary: Credit market imperfections have been blamed for the depth and persistence of the Great Depression in the USA. Could similar mechanisms have played a role in ending the East Asian miracle? After a brief account of the nature of the recent crisis, we use a model of highly levered credit-constrained firms due to Kiyotaki and Moore (1997) to explore this question. As applied to land-holding property companies, it predicts greatly amplified responses to financial shocks – like the ending of the land price bubble or the fall of the exchange rate. The initial fall in asset values is followed by the ‘knock-on’ effects of the scramble for liquidity as companies sell land to satisfy their collateral requirements – causing land prices to fall further. This could lead to financial collapse where – like falling dominoes – prudent firms are brought down by imprudent firms.

Key to avoiding collapse is the nature of financial stabilisation policy; in a crisis, temporary financing can prevent illiquidity becoming insolvency and launching 'lifeboats' can do the same. But the vulnerability of financial systems like those in East Asia to short-term foreign currency exposure suggests that preventive measures are also required.

98/06 – Wyn Grant, “Globalization, Comparative Political Economy and the Economic Policies of the Blair Government”

Summary: Globalization theories and comparative political economy offer different perspectives on the analysis of developments in world political economy. Globalization is a phenomenon with the potential to reduce the significance and autonomy of the nation state. The comparative political economy approach (CPE) emphasises the diversity of environments which nation states provide for their economies. Within this approach it is argued that different institutional environments and different national policy paths have a discernible impact on the competitiveness of firms based in a particular nation state. This paper critiques some of the recent literature from the CPE school, notably Crouch and Streeck and Hall, finding the latter's approach more persuasive. It then goes on to review how the Blair Government's understanding of globalization has influenced its conduct of economic policy. The nation state still has considerable autonomy in areas such as education and health policy, although these are in turn constrained by economic policy choices influenced by perceptions of globalization.

Warwick/ Routledge Studies in Globalisation

The CSGR will be publishing a book Series in conjunction with Routledge. The first volume in the series will be the revised and edited proceedings of the Singapore workshop on *The Logic(s) of Globalisation in Asia*.

CSGR sponsored project

Globalisation And Power 2001: A revolution in time, space and imagination

For the past six months, the CSGR has been engaged in a feasibility study for a project titled **Globalisation And Power 2001 (GAP2001)**. It will be known shortly whether we are able to proceed with this activity.

This is an unashamedly ambitious venture which aims to forge a world-wide laboratory to develop new conceptual tools to understand a phenomenon for which the world has proved unprepared: globalisation.

The project aims to bring together business, academia, Non-Governmental Organisations, International and Regional Organisations, labour organisations and other social conurbations through international dialogue, aided by IT, to mount an *international mass-participation week in 2001* dedicated to debating how to prepare for a very different planet. It will amount to the biggest mix of teach-ins and practical

experiments the world has ever seen. By letter, phone, Internet and video conference, it will bring its lab approach to every country and every social group.

Moreover, **GAP2001** aims to engage people who are under 21, in an attempt to inspire the leaders of the future. The laboratory will develop a multi-disciplinary research community on globalisation that is also inter-generational in character. Needless to say, that means a community not simply composed of ‘opinion leaders,’ but also of hundreds of people for whom power is an experience still to be enjoyed in the future.

The project should thus be understood as an interactive process, event and product: a continuous, growing dialogue punctuated by a major public event conducted in normal space and in cyberspace. The event, scheduled for 2001, should consolidate the practical knowledge networks of the future. Thereafter, these networks will have a life of their own.

So far the level of support for the project has been very encouraging. The International Telecommunication Union based in Geneva has agreed to endorse the project and will become our first key partner/sponsor. Discussions are also under way with a number of global corporations who have expressed an interest in being involved in the project. The Institute of Contemporary Arts in London are supporting the project and have agreed to facilitate the cultural dimensions of **GAP2001, the Event**. Finally, after a visit to South Africa and a successful meeting with the new Minister of Youth, it is anticipated that she and President Nelson Mandela will endorse the project, particularly its North/South and global youth dimensions.

If you want any further information, or have any suggestions or ideas on how we can ensure GAP2001 becomes a reality, please contact Norman Lewis either by telephone: 0411 453 425, or e-mail: Norman.Lewis@warwick.ac.uk

Grants

CSGR will coordinate a two year project on ‘**Globalization and Social Exclusion**’ under the Targeted Socio-Economic Research Programme of the EU. The project will investigate the role of trade and global markets on European unemployment and wage differentials. Other participants include the Centre For European Policy Studies (Brussels), the Kiel Institute for World Economy, National Institute of Social and Economic Research, and the University of Minho (Portugal). The sum awarded CSGR is 600,000 ECU. There will be an initial organizational meeting at Warwick in June.

CSGR has received an award from the MacArthur Foundation (Chicago) for a 2-1/2 year project exploring possible **Global Environmental Organizations**. The focus will be on the role of and impact on the Developing Countries, and CSGR will work collaboratively with the Indira Gandhi Institute for Development Research (Bombay) and FLACSO (Argentina). An initial organizational meeting will take place at Warwick in July. The support to Warwick is \$US200,000 with parallel awards made to the Warwick partners.

CSGR and the media

The 3rd April edition of the *Times Higher Education Supplement* included two articles which summarised papers presented by Centre staff Professor Marcus Miller and Dr. Ted To at the 1998 Royal Economic Society at Warwick University. Marcus' paper the highlights the difficulties facing Germany as it paves the way towards monetary union. Ted's paper evaluates the effect of a statutory minimum wage on employment and economic welfare.

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