

David Held & Anthony McGrew,  
David Goldblatt & Jonathan Perraton

# Global Transformations

*Politics, Economics and Culture*



'The definitive work on globalization.'

James N. Rosenau

# **Global Transformations**

**Politics, Economics and Culture**

**David Held and Anthony McGrew,  
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# **Global Transformations**

**In memory of Gisela Held and Margaret McGrew**

# Preface

This volume is a product of nearly a decade of research and an unusual confluence of interests.

In the mid-1980s David Held and Anthony McGrew had a number of extended conversations about the changing nature and form of established liberal democratic nation-states in the context of intensifying regional and global relations. The result was too often mutual incomprehension! As a student of political theory, David Held had tended to regard the world of regional and global relations as outside the sphere of political theory, while Anthony McGrew, as an international relations theorist, had tended to analyse domestic politics as a marginal element of the interstate system. Many excellent conversations and discussions revealed that neither position, as it stood, engaged sufficiently with the changing nature of politics in a more interconnected world – and that the traditions and conceptual tools of both parties to the dialogue could very usefully be developed.

An application to the Economic and Social Research Council followed. At issue was an attempt to create a framework for an extended encounter between political theory and international relations focused on pressing issues related to the changing role of the modern state. In particular, the research set out to investigate the extent to which regionalization and globalization are transforming the nature of world order and the position of national sovereignty and autonomy within it.

The research was funded by the ESRC (award no. R000 23 3391) and we are extremely grateful for the opportunity this provided, as well as for the excellent research guidance that came from several anonymous referees.

After the funding of the project was secured, the conversation between David Held and Anthony McGrew was extended further across disciplinary boundaries to cope with the range of pressing problems which the research agenda created. David Goldblatt brought to the project a background in social theory and environmental politics while Jonathan Perraton joined as the project's economist. Both made contributions to the intellectual framework of the project as well as to every aspect of the research programme. This was a truly collective effort and the result is a synthesis of our collective expertise.

Many people have contributed to the production of the volume. Anne Hunt provided outstanding support in the processing and reprocessing of the enormous manuscript; Ray Munns drew and redrew the maps and figures with exceptional patience in the face of changing specifications; Rebecca Hunt provided invaluable assistance helping to create the databases for the book; Brenda Martin offered much needed research assistance during the final stages of the project; Julia Harsant, Sue Pope and Gill Motley furthered the process of the manuscript's publication with great conscientiousness and

care; Ann Bone copy-edited the text with extraordinary patience and diligence; Serena Temperley eased the book through the production process with great skill; and Jane Rose helped set down the plans to bring the volume to the attention of a wide readership. We are extremely grateful to all these people and to the many colleagues, friends and family members who have provided support, advice and (usually!) constructive criticism.

# Acronyms and Abbreviations

<b>A&amp;A</b>	arms and armaments
<b>AIC</b>	advanced industrialized country
<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>AMRAAM</b>	advanced medium-range anti-aircraft missile
<b>APEC</b>	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
<b>APT</b>	Asia-Pacific Telecommunity
<b>ARF</b>	ASEAN Regional Forum
<b>ASEAN</b>	Association of South East Asian Nations
<b>BIS</b>	Bank for International Settlements
<b>BSE</b>	Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy
<b>BWC</b>	Biological Weapons Convention
<b>BWS</b>	Bretton Woods system
<b>CAFOD</b>	Catholic Fund for Overseas Development
<b>CENTO</b>	Central Treaty Organization
<b>CEPT</b>	Conference of European Postal and Telecommunications Administrations
<b>CFCs</b>	chlorofluorocarbons
<b>CFE</b>	Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty
<b>CITEL</b>	The Inter-American Telecommunications Commission
<b>CITES</b>	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
<b>COMECON</b>	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
<b>CTBT</b>	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
<b>DIB</b>	defence industrial base
<b>DOD</b>	Department of Defense (US)
<b>ECHR</b>	European Commission on Human Rights
<b>EEC</b>	European Economic Community
<b>EFTA</b>	European Free Trade Association
<b>EMS</b>	European Monetary System
<b>ERM</b>	European exchange rate mechanism
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EUROCORPS</b>	European Multilateral Force
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>FDI</b>	foreign direct investment
<b>FRG</b>	Federal Republic of Germany
<b>FSX</b>	US-Japanese Advanced Fighter
<b>GATS</b>	General Agreement on Trade and Services
<b>GATT</b>	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<b>GCD</b>	general and complete disarmament

<b>GDP</b>	gross domestic product
<b>GDR</b>	German Democratic Republic
<b>GNP</b>	gross national product
<b>G5</b>	Group of Five
<b>G7/G8</b>	Group of Seven/Eight (leading industrial nations)
<b>G10</b>	Group of Ten
<b>IAEA</b>	International Atomic Energy Agency
<b>IBRD</b>	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
<b>ICAO</b>	International Civil Aviation Organization
<b>ICJ</b>	International Court of Justice
<b>ICTU</b>	International Confederation of Trade Unions
<b>IDA</b>	International Development Agency
<b>IFC</b>	International Finance Corporation
<b>IFPI</b>	International Federation of Phonographic Industries
<b>IGO</b>	intergovernmental organization
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>IMCO</b>	International Maritime Consultancy Organization
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>INF Treaty</b>	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty
<b>INGO</b>	international non-governmental organization
<b>INTELSAT</b>	International Telecommunications Satellite Organization
<b>IPCC</b>	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
<b>IRBM</b>	Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile
<b>ISDN</b>	International Services Digital Network
<b>ITU</b>	International Telecommunication Union
<b>LIFFE</b>	London International Financial Futures Exchange
<b>M&amp;A</b>	mergers and acquisitions
<b>MERCOSUR</b>	Southern Cone Common Market (Latin America)
<b>MFN</b>	most favoured nation
<b>MNC</b>	multinational corporation
<b>MNE</b>	multinational enterprise
<b>MTCR</b>	Missile Technology Control Regime
<b>MTR</b>	military-technological revolution
<b>NACC</b>	North Atlantic Council for Cooperation
<b>NAFTA</b>	North American Free Trade Agreement
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGO</b>	non-governmental organization
<b>NIE</b>	newly industrializing economy(ies)
<b>NPT</b>	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
<b>NSG</b>	Nuclear Suppliers Group
<b>NWFZ</b>	nuclear weapon-free zone
<b>OAS</b>	Organization of American States
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>ODA</b>	Official Development Assistance
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>OPEC</b>	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
<b>OSCE</b>	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

<b>OTA</b>	US Congress Office of Technology Assessment
<b>OTC</b>	over the counter
<b>PATU</b>	Pan African Telecommunications Union
<b>PCB</b>	polychlorinated biphenyls
<b>PPF</b>	Partnership for Peace
<b>PTT</b>	Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administrations
<b>R&amp;D</b>	research and development
<b>RCC</b>	Regional Commonwealth for Communications
<b>SALT</b>	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
<b>SAM</b>	surface-to-air missile
<b>SEATO</b>	South East Asia Treaty Organization
<b>SIACS</b>	states in advanced capitalist societies
<b>SIPRI</b>	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
<b>SMEs</b>	small and medium-sized enterprises
<b>SOPEMI</b>	Système d'observation permanente des migrations (Continuous Reporting System on Migration)
<b>START</b>	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
<b>SU</b>	Soviet Union
<b>SWIFT</b>	standardized world interbank and financial transactions
<b>TRIMS</b>	trade related investment measures
<b>TRIPS</b>	trade in intellectual property rights
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirates
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCD</b>	United Nations Conference on Disarmament
<b>UNCHR</b>	United Nations Commission on Human Rights
<b>UNCTAD</b>	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
<b>UNCTC</b>	United Nations Center for the Study of Transnational Corporations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNEP</b>	United Nations Environment Programme
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Fund
<b>UNIDO</b>	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
<b>UPU</b>	Universal Postal Union
<b>US</b>	United States
<b>UV</b>	ultraviolet
<b>WASP</b>	white Anglo-Saxon Protestant
<b>WCED</b>	World Commission on Environment and Development
<b>WEU</b>	Western European Union
<b>WFP</b>	World Food Programme
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>WMO</b>	World Meteorological Organization
<b>WRI</b>	World Resources Institute
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization

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