

CSF narrative report 1993-1994

The Centre for History and Economics has taken principal responsibility, within the Common Security Forum, for work on economic security, on nationalism, and, in cooperation with other groups, on the future of nuclear weapons. It has hosted three meetings of the CSF Management Group, and has taken substantive responsibility for CSF research coordination. It is in addition engaged in a new project, jointly with the Harvard Center, and supported by the Pew Charitable Trusts, on population and security. As a consequence of work within the nationalism programme on minority rights, the Centre has also initiated a new programme on human rights and security, in cooperation with the Swedish International Development Agency. Its work in South Africa, on environmental security, in cooperation with the Olof Palme Foundation, will form part of a new programme on common security in South Africa, engaging Harvard, FAFO and South African groups.

\*\*\*\*

A CSF office was established at the Centre in February 1993, with Asha Patel, Administrative Officer of the Centre, as CSF administrator, Anne Malcolm working on a part-time basis on CSF publications and dissemination, and Elizabeth Kendall working, also on a part-time basis, as a research and editorial assistant. Emma Rothschild, one of the two Directors of the Centre, acted as Coordinator of the CSF Research programme in 1993. In June 1994, James Cornford became the Common Security Forum's Research Coordinator based at the Cambridge Centre.

Three CSF Fellows were supported by the Centre in 1993-4. Naran Bilik (China), from the Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, has been a CSF Fellow based at the Mongolian and Inner Asia Studies Unit, supported jointly by the Centre and the Isaac Newton Trust in the UK, and working on language and nationalism in Mongolia. Meena Singh (South Africa) has been based in Cambridge and Johannesburg, and joined the Centre as a full-time Fellow in December 1993. Douglas Galbi (United States) was supported by the Centre as a CSF Fellow based at the Russian Ministry of Finance in Moscow, working on economic security and conversion, and joined the Centre as a full-time Fellow from February to July, 1994.

Of the CSF regional and project Coordinators, seven are supported by or based at the Centre. Ayesha Jalal (Pakistan) is coordinating work on nationalism and identity in India and

Pakistan. Caroline Humphrey, Director of the Mongolian and Inner Asia Studies Unit, is coordinating the CSF work on security in Inner Asia (Eastern Russia, Western China and Mongolia). Patricia Hyndman (Australia) is coordinating the new CSF programme on security and human rights, supported by the Swedish International Development Agency. Chrystia Freeland (Canada/Ukraine) coordinated CSF work on nuclear weapons and insecurity in Ukraine.

In India, Kaushik Basu (India), Director of the Centre for Development Economics at the Delhi School of Economics, is coordinating the CSF program on Nationalism and Communalism. Jean Drèze (Belgium), also based in Delhi at the Centre for Development Economics, is coordinating the CSF programme on Economic Security in India, together with Shiva Kumar (UNICEF); an initial CSF meeting was held in Delhi in December 1993. Meera Sanson joined the Delhi project in early 1994. Sergei Panarin (Russia), of the Russian Academy of Sciences, is coordinating work in Russia on Nationalism and Security, in cooperation with Caroline Humphrey; he has organised two CSF meetings in Moscow, in April and December 1993. In addition, Catherine Merridale (United Kingdom) has joined the CSF group at the Centre as a senior editorial adviser for the Russian programmes.

\*\*\*\*

The Centre has in the course of 1993-94 hosted three major international meetings within the Nationalism and Political Security Programme, one meeting on Nuclear Testing, and one meeting on Economic Security, as well as three meetings of the CSF management and research coordination group. A new seminar series was initiated on Nations, States and Empires, in cooperation with the University of Bologna and the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. The first three seminars were given in summer 1993 by Ayesha Jalal (Pakistan), Lincoln Chen (US), and Janos Kis (Hungary). In February 1994, Maurizio Viroli (United States) conducted a seminar on "The Meaning of Patriotism". In summer 1994 three further seminars were presented by Myles Burnyeat (United Kingdom) on "Did the Ancient Greeks have a Concept of Human Rights?" with comments by Quentin Skinner; Berndt Weisbrod (Germany) on "German Unification and the National Paradigm"; and Romila Thapar on "The Appropriations of the Theory of the Aryan Race in India". An international

colloquium was held in May 1993 on Nations and the End of Empires, with presentations by Eric Hobsbawm, Emma Rothschild, and Nick Stargardt, and comments by John Dunn, Ernest Gellner, Mary Kaldor and others. In June a colloquium was organised in cooperation with the Commission on Global Governance (CGG) on Religion and Nationalism, with the participation of Wangari Maatai (Kenya) and Frank Judd (United Kingdom) from the Commission, and presentations by Caroline Humphrey and Ayesha Jalal from the CSF. A report on the colloquium was prepared by Rama Mani from the CGG. In July a colloquium on Antisemitism Through History was organised by Miri Rubin and David Feldman, with participation from the US, France, and Israel. A colloquium on Persecutions of Islamic Minorities is planned for 1995.

In June 1994, Ayesha Jalal organised a two-day workshop entitled "South Asia: Towards an Agenda for a Better Future". Participants included; Shapan Adnan (Bangladesh), Tariq Banuri (Pakistan), Sugata Bose (India), Meghnad Desai (Centre for Global Governance), Jean Dreze (Belgium/Delhi School of Economics), Farhad Karim (India/Human Rights Watch), Amartya Sen (India), Rehman Sobhan (Bangladesh) and Gayatri Spivak (India). Presentations were made on *The Aftermath of Partition: Nationalism and Communalism, Centralism and Regionalism* by Ayesha Jalal, Romila Thapar (India) and David Washbrook (UK); on *Kashmir* by Sumantra Bose (India); *Environmental Concerns* by Tariq Banuri and Shapan Adnan; *Economic and Social Security in South Asia* by Amartya Sen, Sugata Bose and Rehman Sobhan; and *Social Security for Subordinated Groups* by Gayatri Spivak and Farhad Karim. The South Asia workshop will be followed up by a Common History project involving several South Asian countries, and expanding on the workshop themes. The project will be coordinated by Ayesha Jalal, Jean Dreze and Romila Thapar, and will involve collaboration of at least one institute in each of the South Asian countries.

The Cambridge CSF group has taken the lead in organising a series of meetings on nuclear weapons, with particular emphasis on the prospects for international policies and institutions. The first meeting was held at Harvard in March 1993, with a presentation by Rolf Ekeus, Chairman of the UN Special Commission on Iraq. The second meeting was at MIT in June 1993, hosted by Jerome Wiesner and Emma Rothschild, to consider prospects for a

Comprehensive Test Ban; participants included Rolf Ekeus, Frank Von Hippel, Spurgeon Keeny, Kennette Benedict and George Rathjens. The third meeting, held at Cambridge in July 1993 on the 30th anniversary of the signing of Partial Test Ban Treaty, was hosted by Martin Rees and Emma Rothschild. Participants included Michael Atiyah and Anne Maclaren (President and Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society), and Dr David Clark, Shadow Minister of Defense in the UK; presentations were made by John Thomson, Chrystia Freeland, Patricia Lewis, Peter Jones, George Rathjens and others. The fourth meeting was organised as a session at the meeting of the Palme Commission in November 1993; papers on the future of nuclear weapons were commissioned from John Steinbruner, Chrystia Freeland, John Simpson, Sergey Rogov and Egon Bahr. Future meetings are planned in Ukraine, to be organised by Chrystia Freeland, and in India. Work on the economics of nuclear deterrence and nuclear proliferation is also planned.

Within the Economic Security programme, the Centre organised a colloquium on Democracy and International Economic Institutions in August 1993 on behalf of the Commission on Global Governance (CGG), with the participation of Carl Tham, Director-General of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Peter Hansen (CGG), John Dunn (Cambridge University), Amartya Sen (Harvard University), Onora O'Neill (Cambridge University) and others; a paper was prepared for the meeting on new political questions raised by the dramatically increased role of international economic organisations, including the World Bank and the IMF, in 'domestic' governance. The CSF Cambridge group had earlier arranged a series of meetings on economic security at Harvard, including presentations in April 1993 by Nitin Desai and Albert Hirschman. In summer 1994, the Centre also initiated a new programme of exchange with the Collegium, Budapest, which is expected to focus on the work of young scholars, especially in relation to economic security and ideas of economic security.

In May 1993, the Centre hosted the initial meeting of the CSF Research Council, with the participation of Kaushik Basu, Lincoln Chen, James Cornford, Jan Dietz, Jean Drèze, Caroline Humphrey, Emma Rothschild, and Meena Singh. In November 1993, the initial meeting of the CSF Management Group was held at the Centre, with the additional

participation of Terje Roed Larsen and Geir Petersen. A further CSF Management Meeting was held at the Cambridge Centre in March 1994 and participants included Kennette Benedict, Lincoln Chen, James Cornford, Jan Dietz, Geir Pedersen, Emma Rothschild and Meena Singh.

\*\*\*\*

A substantial part of the CSF programme based at the Centre has been concerned with establishing regional CSF activities, in India, Russia, Mongolia/China and South Africa. In India, a project on the Origins of Communalism was initiated under the leadership of Kausihik Basu, and based at the Centre for Development Economics, Delhi School of Economics. Communications and computing equipment was provided for the CSF Indian group. The project began in 1992, and is concerned with the economic, social and historical understanding of communalist or sectarian movements in the Indian sub-Continent. A colloquium on Comparative Perspectives on Nationalism will be held in India later in 1994, and it is expected that the papers prepared for the project will be published in India in book form. The papers include, work on the aftermath of violent conflict (*Spatial Formations, Violence and the Creation of Group Identity in the City* -- Veena Das); on economic separatism (*Nationalism and Separatism in Dhjarkand* -- V. Balachandran); on the origins of sectarianism (*Sectarian Violence in India* -- Sanjay Subramanyham); on economic nationalism (*Inter-State Financial Relations and Nationalism in India* -- Sudipto Mundle); on construction of identity (*The Construction of a New Hindu Identity* -- Sudhir Kakar) and on demography and identity (Alaka Basu).

A new CSF project on Economic Security and Marginalised Communities began in December 1993, also based at the Centre for Development Economics, under the leadership of Jean Drèze and Shiva Kumar from UNICEF. A workshop was held at the Delhi Centre, in December 1993, to consider the lessons of the Narmada Valley Dam project, supported jointly by CSF, the Canadian Research and Development Corporation and Oxfam. The project is concerned with understanding the causes of economic insecurity, and with policies and institutions to increase security. Research will focus particularly on: child labour and elementary education; widowhood as a cause of female deprivation; population displacement

due to development projects; and economic security in tribal societies. The project will be concerned principally with India, but will also undertake comparative research both on India and China, and on India and Pakistan. Support for this project will be provided by the Canadian International Development Agency.

In Russia, a project on Religion and Identity in the Russian Federation was initiated at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, under the leadership of Sergei Panarin. The project began in 1992, and is concerned with new national and religious identities in the eastern and southern parts of the Russian Federation. Fieldwork has been undertaken in Daghestan and Buryatia, and two colloquia have been organised in Moscow, in April and December 1993. Computing equipment has been provided for the CSF Russian group.

The Russian project has developed considerably during 1994. Catherine Merridale's paper "The 1937 Census and the Limits to Stalinist Rule" was published in January. In February, Douglas Galbi's work on psychological stress in Russia was presented at an East European/former Soviet Union research forum in Cambridge. There was a presentation of the Russian Programme at the CSF Management Meeting at the Cambridge Centre in March 1994. Participants included Douglas Galbi, Catherine Merridale, Chrystia Freeland (Financial Times), Erik Hansen (FAFO), and Caroline Humphrey. Chrystia Freeland has since been appointed East European Correspondent of the Financial Times, but will continue to participate in CSF activities. A colloquium on Rewriting Russian History, organised by Catherine Merridale, was held at the Centre in May 1994. Those present included Ernest Gellner (United Kingdom), Sergei Panarin and Caroline Humphrey. During his visit in May, Sergei Panarin met with James Cornford, Emma Rothschild and Catherine Merridale to discuss further plans for the Russian project. In the summer of 1994, Douglas Galbi attended a meeting at the Stockholm School of Economics on "Russian Economic Reform in Jeopardy", and he is now working at the Chief Economist's Office in the World Bank, on economic reform in the former Soviet Union. He is also writing a paper on Russian agricultural reform, and pursuing further joint work on environmental reform with Dr. Bobrov (Russia). A project on Norms and Institutions began development in early 1994, with the

involvement by Kaushik Basu (Delhi), Kotaro Suzumura (Japan), and Yevgeny Kuznetsov (Russia). The project is concerned with institution building in Eastern European countries.

A project on national identity in Mongolia was initiated in cooperation with the Mongolian and Inner Asia Studies Unit, University of Cambridge, under the leadership of Caroline Humphrey. This project began in January 1993, and is concerned with the origins of national tensions in Inner Asia, and with policies to prevent the deterioration of these tensions into violent conflict. It includes work on relations between language and nationalist conflicts, including controversies over foreign language teaching, on nationalism and economic development in Mongolia, and on refugees in the Russian Federation. The project is being undertaken in close cooperation with work on environmental transformation in Mongolian and Chinese Inner Asia. Naran Bilik, from the Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, who has been a CSF Fellow at the Centre in 1993-4, travelled extensively in China in the summer of 1993, and U. Bulag, who received his PhD this summer for work on Mongolian nationalism. In addition, following his visit to Huhhot, China, U. Bulag has prepared a CSF research paper economic transition in Inner Mongolia. A colloquium, organised by Naran Bilik, U. Bulag and John Gaunt (MIASU) on Nationalism and Inner Mongolia, was held at the Centre in March 1994. There were presentations by Naran Bilik on "Linguistic and Nationalistic Sentiment in Inner Mongolia", by U. Bulag on "Economic Development and Nationalism in Mongolian Inhabited Areas" and by Marahito Hanada, from the Prime Minister's Office in Japan, on "Japan's State Policy and Mongolia".

In South Africa, a CSF project on Environmental Policy and the Transition to Democracy was initiated in December 1993. The project is supported by the Centre for History and Economics, and is based at Cambridge and at the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre in Johannesburg, with participation from the University of Lesotho. It is concerned with the environmental consequences of apartheid, and the integration of environmental considerations into policies for the transition to democracy and economic redistribution, including land policies. Meena Singh was in South Africa from March to May 1994, and based at the LAPC, in the development of policies on natural resources and land redistribution. A two day workshop on economic, health and environmental security is being



planned, in association with the LAPC, to take place in Johannesburg in October 1994. Discussions are now underway for a substantial collaboration involving FAFO, Harvard and Cambridge on common security in South Africa. Joint funding for the project has been provided by the Olof Palme Foundation.

\*\*\*\*

Two major new CSF projects have been developed at the Centre. One, on Population and Security, has been undertaken together with the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, and is supported by the Global Stewardship Initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts. A colloquium is being organised by Sheilagh Ogilvie (United Kingdom) to take place in Cambridge, February 1995, in collaboration with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. The aim of the colloquium is to bring together distinguished scholars and policy-makers to share their expertise concerning the relationship between demographic developments and socio-political security. Scholars who have agreed to present papers include; Lincoln Chen, Amartya Sen, Simon Szreter, Richard Smith and E. A. Wrigley. A CSF International Forum meeting has also been planned for the summer of 1995 on population and consumption, to be held in Oslo.

The other new project, on Human Rights and Security, developed out of Patricia Hyndman's work within the Nationalism programme, on minority rights in international law. It is being planned in cooperation with the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). Carl Tham, the Director-General of SIDA, will participate in the project now in progress on economic and political rights, and Borje Ljunggren, Director of the SIDA Human Rights programme, through work on the transition to democracy in Vietnam. Topics to be considered will include child labour; statelessness; relations between economic and political rights; and human rights in the economic reconstruction of Indochina.