

Centre for History and Economics

Common Security Forum

Narrative Report

December 1994 - November 1995

The Centre for History and Economics at King's College, Cambridge takes the principal responsibility within the Common Security Forum (CSF) for work on economic security and on nationalism and political security, and for support of Common Security Forum activities in South Africa, India, and Russia. It collaborates closely with the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies in CSF work on population, environment and security. The Centre has in addition assumed overall responsibility, starting in July 1995, for CSF coordination and for the organisation of annual CSF Forum meetings, in collaboration with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The CSF group at the Centre in 1994-5 consisted of: Emma Rothschild, Director of the Centre, and chair of the CSF Research Council; James Cornford, the Senior Research Coordinator of the Common Security Forum, and Executive Director of the Paul Hamlyn Foundation; Adam Tooze, CSF research fellow and fellow of Robinson College, who joined the Centre in October 1995, and who recently completed his PhD at the London School of Economics on '*Official Knowledge and the Crisis of the Nation-State: Official economic statistics in Germany 1914-1945*'; Sheilagh Ogilvie, research fellow in 1994-5 in the population and security programme and a fellow of Trinity College, whose work is concerned with demographic change, women's work and economic institutions; Meena Singh, CSF postdoctoral research fellow and coordinator of the CSF South Africa programme; Catherine Merridale, coordinator, together with Sergei Panarin, of the CSF Russia programme; Asha Patel, Administrative Officer of the Centre and administrative coordinator of the CSF; and Noala Skinner, Research Associate, coordinator of the CSF Landmines programme, and Editor of the CSF Newsletter.

The Centre in addition works closely with CSF coordinators in South Asia and the former Soviet Union, including Sergei Panarin (Russia) who coordinates CSF work on Ethnic Migration; Ayesha Jalal (Pakistan), who is coordinator of the CSF project on South Asia; Kaushik Basu (Centre for Development Economics, Delhi/Cornell University) who coordinates the CSF programme on Nationalism and Communalism; and Jean Drèze and Meera Samsom who run the Economic Security Programme based at the Centre for Development Economics, Delhi School of Economics.

The first major political level meeting of the Common Security Forum was held in Stockholm in June 1995, with the support of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The meeting was opened by the Foreign Minister of Sweden, Lena Hjelm-Wallen, who spoke on *Common Security and Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War World*. Presentations of the *Common Security Forum* and the *Commission on Global Governance* were made by Emma Rothschild (Centre for History and Economics), Lincoln Chen (Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies), and Hans Dahlgren (Commission on Global Governance). Other presentations included Anders Bjurner (Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs), Martha Chen (Harvard Institute for International Development), and Ivar Lødemel (FAFO) on *The Social Dimension in Conflict Resolution*; Catherine Merridale (Common Security Forum/University of Bristol), Sergei Panarin (Common Security Forum/Russian Academy of Sciences) and Meena Singh (Common Security Forum) on *Population, Migration and Security*; Carl Tham, (Minister of Education) Amartya Sen (Harvard University) and Emma Rothschild on *Social Development in Rich and Poor Countries*; Lisbet Palme (UNICEF), Thomas Hammarberg (Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs), and Lincoln Chen on *Children, Human Security and International Relations*. James Cornford (Common Security Forum/Paul Hamlyn Foundation), Hans Dahlgren and Anders Bjurner addressed the *Planning Session*. The sessions were chaired by Jan Eliasson (Cabinet Secretary), Börje Ljunggren (Swedish Ambassador to Vietnam), Anna Hedborg (Minister of Social Affairs), Anders Bjurner, and Amartya Sen. There were 35 participants including Baroness Blackstone (United Kingdom/House of Lords), Daniel Rotfeld (SIPRI), and Peter Wallensteen (Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University). Papers prepared by the CSF network served as background materials.

The focus of the 1996 Annual Forum Meeting, to be held in June 1996 in Stockholm, will be common security in the states which have succeeded the former Soviet Union, and the contribution of international policies. The meeting will examine four different aspects of security in these states: the change in public health, the transformation in the Russian military, the paradigm of economic transition, and evidence about changing social attitudes, especially in relation to migration and minorities. CSF will arrange three planning meetings before the June Forum: one to be held in Cambridge in May 1996, one to be held in Harvard in April 1996 and one to be held in Sweden. The Centre for History and Economics will take principal responsibility for the organisation of the meeting.

In 1994-5, the Centre has established a CSF coordination group in Cambridge, with

offices at 3D King's Parade. James Cornford, Adam Tooze, Meena Singh, Noala Skinner and Asha Patel have been based, since September 1995, in the new CSF office. CSF working papers are also published and produced in the office. A quarterly CSF Newsletter, edited by Noala Skinner, is produced by the coordinating group, and Noala Skinner and Asha Patel maintain communications between different CSF participants in different countries.

The Centre has in the course of the year hosted several major international meetings and has continued to run the seminar series on Nations, States and Empires. In February 1995 a meeting on Population and Security was held at King's College, Cambridge (with additional support from the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative) coordinated with a meeting which was held at Harvard in December 1994 on 'Implementing United States Population Policy After Cairo'. The aim was to bring together academics and policymakers to share expertise on the relationship between demographic developments and social, political and economic security. The meeting provided a forum for a wide-ranging discussion of the security implications of many aspects of demographic behaviour including fertility, mortality and migration. Speakers included E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge University), Alaka Basu (Cornell University), Geoffrey McNicoll (Population Council), Amartya Sen (Harvard University), Catherine Merridale (University of Bristol) and Richard Smith (Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure). The sessions were chaired by Partha Dasgupta (Cambridge University), Susan Sechler (Pew), Caroline Humphrey (Cambridge University), John Evans (Pew), Emma Rothschild and James Cornford. The Centre has produced several papers based on work presented at the February workshop. They include: Alaka Basu, *The Demographics of Religious Fundamentalism*, Frederick Cooper, *Africa and the Development Idea: An Historical Interpretation*, Caroline Humphrey *Creating a Culture of Suspicion: Consumers in Moscow: A Chronicle of Changing Times*, Geoffrey McNicoll *Demography in the Unmaking of Civil Society*, Catherine Merridale, *Death, Mourning and Mortality in the Soviet Union, 1917-1945*, Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Population Growth and State Policy in Central Europe Before Industrialization*, Emma Rothschild, *Economic Thought and Consumption*, Amartya Sen, *Fertility and Coercion* and Simon Szreter, *Rapid Population Growth and Security: Urbanisation and Economic Growth in Britain in the Nineteenth Century*. A full conference report written by Sheilagh Ogilvie was produced in

June 1995 and was available as a background paper for the Annual Forum meeting.

The Nations, States and Empires seminar series ran at the Centre during the Easter Term of 1995. J.G.A. Pocock (John Hopkins University) spoke on *Gibbon and Raynal*, Istvan Hont (Cambridge University) on *State and Nation in the French Revolution*, and Linda Colley (Yale University) on *Frontiers and Empire: Re-evaluating the Seven Years War*.

Noala Skinner, CSF Research Associate organized an international colloquium on landmines, hosted by the Centre in September 1995. The colloquium focused on the first Review Conference of the current law regulating the use of anti-personnel mines which took place in Vienna in September/October 1995. The CSF meeting, 'Anti-Personnel Mines and the Review of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons' brought together government representatives, policymakers, representatives of the military viewpoint, NGOs and academics. The meeting provided a forum for a constructive debate on landmines with direct reference to the review conference, between people who had differing views on the practicality and significance of the Vienna meeting. Over 30 participants attended the Cambridge meeting including the Chairman of the Review Conference, Ambassador Johan Molander (Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs), Sir Hugh Beach (Council for Arms Control), Baroness Tessa Blackstone (Birkbeck College/House of Lords), Dr. Paul Cornish (Royal Institute of International Affairs), Françoise Hampson (University of Essex), Mike Gapes M.P.(House of Commons) and Dr. Ian Phillips M.P. (South African Parliament). Noala Skinner produced a report on the colloquium which was published as part of the CSF working paper series in October 1995.

Catherine Merridale is organising a colloquium on 'History and Identity' which will be held at the Centre on 16 December 1995. Speakers will include Ayesha Jalal, Emmanuel Sivan and Catherine Merridale. The meeting is a second in a series of three examining the difficulties of translation and transition. The first meeting, *On Re-writing Russian History* took place in 1994 and the third meeting is planned for 1996. Emma Rothschild, Catherine Merridale and Rachel Walker (University of Essex) held a planning meeting on 1 November to discuss the 1996 meeting which will examine paradigms of transition in post-Soviet Russia.

South Africa

Meena Singh, the coordinator of CSF activities in South Africa, and a postdoctoral fellow based at the Centre and at the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre (LAPC) in Johannesburg has continued her work on environmental security. On 31 March and 1 April a major CSF workshop on 'Redefining Military Security in South Africa' was held in Johannesburg. The meeting was addressed by policymakers including Aziz Pahad (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs), Cheryl Carolus (Deputy Secretary General, ANC) and Professor Kader Asmal (Minister of Water and Forestry). 65 participants, including military specialists, academics, MPs and representatives of NGOs met to re-examine the scope of security, and to extend it beyond the military and intelligence functions with which it came to be associated during the Cold War years. A CSF discussion document edited by Meena Singh, including all the papers presented, together with a summary of group and plenary discussions, was published by the Centre for History and Economics in August 1995. At the CSF workshop it was agreed that the most pressing issue requiring research is the growing problem of displaced people. Meena Singh proposes to continue her work on environmental security with a project on environmental refugees. Additional support for the South Africa programme was received from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative.

CSF South Africa was represented in a meeting held in Harare in September 1995 on Reconstruction in Angola after the Civil War, organised by the South African Regional Institute for Policy Studies, when Meena Singh gave a paper on Natural Resources and Reconstruction in South Africa.

Russia

Sergei Panarin (Russian Academy of Sciences) and Catherine Merridale (CSF Moscow/University of Bristol) organised a workshop on 'Ethnic Migration in Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States and its implication for common security' which was held in the Moscow offices of the MacArthur Foundation in April 1995. Collaboration with the Moscow CSF group will continue in 1996 when Dr. Panarin will explore the topic of 'nationalism and youth' examining attitudes towards political activism of young people in Russia, taking the form of a comparative study in Kazakhstan and Moscow. A report on ethnic migration within the nationalism and security project in Russia is

enclosed. Catherine Merridale continues her work on the nationalism project as the senior editorial advisor for the Russian programmes. Caroline Humphrey (Director of the Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit, Cambridge University) will travel to Moscow in December to prepare a paper on international trade and the state in Russia, which will be produced as part of the CSF working paper series.

South Asia

Ayesha Jalal (Pakistan), who is coordinator of the CSF project on South Asia, is concentrating her research on the question of identity and related notions of sovereignty in South Asia, with special reference to Muslims. Her third book, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: a Comparative and Historical Perspective* has been published by Cambridge University Press. James Cornford, Ayesha Jalal and Sunil Khilnani (Birkbeck College) plan to organize a conference on the disputed territory of Kashmir, to be held in Simla in 1996. Within the India, Pakistan, Bangladesh Programme, and as part of the follow-up to the CSF meeting held at the Centre in June 1993, Sugata Bose (Tufts University) assisted in the organization of a conference on 'Political and Economic Cooperation in South Asia' which was held at the Netaji Research Bureau in Calcutta, India on 20-23 January 1995.

The Economic Security Programme, coordinated by Jean Drèze and based at the Delhi School of Economics has completed its work on displacement and resettlement. The proceedings of the 3 day CSF workshop on 'Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley', held at the Centre for Development Economics in Delhi, India, are to be published in 1996 by Sage, New Delhi. The Economic Security Programme is now supporting several studies on primary education in India, including *Literacy in India and China* (Jean Drèze and Jackie Loh), *Demographic Outcomes, Economic Development and Women's Agency* (Jean Drèze, Anne-Catherine Guio and Mamta Murthi), and *Basic Education as a Political Issue* (Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen), which was produced as part of the CSF Working Paper series in June 1995. Several field-based studies on the schooling system have also been initiated. These studies are intended to contribute to the completion of a major report on the state of basic education in India.

Kaushik Basu and Sanjay Subrahmanyan have edited *Unravelling the Nation: Sectarian Conflict and Subnationalism in India* which is to be published by Penguin India.

This is a book of essays written around the problems inherent in notions of community and nationalism in India. It brings together papers contributed to the CSF programme on nationalism and political security since 1993, including Veena Das, *Spatial Formations, Violence and the Creation of Group Identity in the City*; Sanjay Subramanyam *Sectarian Conflict in India*, G. Balachandran on *Religion and Nationalism in Modern India*, Alaka Basu, *The Demographics of Religious Fundamentalism*, and Amartya Sen, *Secularism and its Discontents*.

Within the Common Security Forum working paper series, the Centre for History and Economics has produced the following papers in the year 1994-95: Caroline Humphrey, *Creating a Culture of Suspicion: Consumers in Moscow: A Chronicle of Changing Times* (February 1995), Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *Basic Education as a Political Issue* (June 1995), Catherine Merridale, *Language, Patronage and the Creation of Historical Paradigm* (June 1995), Emma Rothschild *What is Security?* (June 1995), Frederick Cooper, *Africa and the Development Idea* (July 1995), Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Population and Security Report* (June 1995), Catherine Merridale, *Death, Mourning and Mortality in Soviet Russia, 1917-1945* (July 1995), Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Population Growth and State Policy in Central Europe before Industrialization* (July 1995), Simon Szreter, *Urbanisation, Population and Security* (July 1995), Meena Singh 'Redefining Security in Southern Africa', *Workshop Proceedings* (August 1995), Emma Rothschild, *Social Security and Laissez Faire in 18th Century Political Economy* (September 1995), Noala Skinner, *Anti-Personnel Mines and the Review of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons* (October 1995), Alaka Basu *The Demographics of Religious Fundamentalism* (November 1995), Geoffrey McNicoll, *Demography in the Unmaking of Civil Society* (November 1995), Amartya Sen, *Fertility and Coercion* (November 1995) and Amartya Sen *Secularism and its Discontents* (November 1995)

Emma Rothschild's paper *What is Security?* was published in Daedalus in July 1995. *The Changing Nature of Security*, by Emma Rothschild, was published in Issues in Global Governance, published by the Commission on Global Governance. Catherine Merridale's paper, *The 1937 Census and the Limits of Stalinist Rule* was published in the Historical Journal in 1996. Emma Rothschild's paper *Social Security and Laissez Faire* will be published in Population and Development Review in December 1995.