

Centre for History and Economics

Common Security Forum

Narrative Report

December 1996-June 1997

The Centre for History and Economics at King's College, Cambridge continues to provide the administrative base of the Common Security Forum (CSF) at 3D King's Parade, and the staff takes responsibility for CSF coordination and for the organisation of CSF Policy Forum meetings, in collaboration with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In addition, the Centre takes responsibility for work on economic security and on nationalism and political security, and for support for 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, and children and security. It prepares the CSF Newsletter, and maintains a data base of all CSF participants.

The CSF group at the Centre in 1996-7 consisted of Samantha Gibson, research and editorial associate in connection with the Common Security Forum meeting on Africa; Stephan Klasen, research fellow in the population and security programme and Deputy Director of the Centre; Melissa Lane, coordinator of CSF work on disarmament and security; Rama Mani, part time research associate; Catherine Merridale, coordinator, together with Sergei Panarin, of the CSF Russia programme, a CSF research fellow and fellow of Robinson College; Asha Patel, administrative officer of the Centre and administrative coordinator of the CSF; Emma Rothschild, Director of the Centre, and chair of the CSF Research Council; Meena Singh, postdoctoral research fellow, coordinator of the CSF South Africa programme and fellow of Clare Hall; and Noala Skinner, research associate, coordinator of the CSF Landmines and Children and Security programmes 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 Youth and on Ethnic Migration; and Jean Drèze and Meera Samson who lead the Economic Security Programme based at the Centre for Development Economics, Delhi School of Economics. In 1997 it has worked with the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, as preparation for the 1997 Policy Forum meeting.

The Centre has in the period December 1996 - June 1997 hosted a number of international meetings and has been engaged in substantial preparatory work for two major international conferences: the Policy Forum meeting on Africa (November 1997) and an international interdisciplinary workshop on population, consumption and development (October 1997).

In December 1996, as part of the landmines programme, Noala Skinner organised a meeting on The Military Utility of Landmines in order to discuss the direction of further work in this area. The meeting was held at King's College and participants included: General Sir Hugh Beach (Rtd.), Lt. Col. Colin Greasley (Ministry of Defence), Peter Herby (International Committee of the Red Cross), Fiona King (Save the Children), Melissa Lane (King's College, Cambridge), Ambassador Johan Molander (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden), Ann Peters (Human Rights Watch), Colonel Joseph Roszkowski (Strategic Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe). As a result of the discussions at the Cambridge meeting, CSF is concentrating its current work on India and Pakistan, and will organise a small meeting in Delhi in 1998.

The focus of the 1997 Annual Policy Forum meeting, supported by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Nordic Africa Institute is common security and civil society in Africa. The Centre has hosted a number of preparatory meetings to discuss the themes of the Forum. In February 1997, the core Advisory Committee met in Cambridge. Participants included: Sudhir Anand (Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies), Sam Gibson (Newnham College, Cambridge), John Grimond (The Economist), Stephan Klasen (Common Security Forum), Melissa Lane (King's College, Cambridge), Rama Mani (Common Security Forum), Asha Patel (Centre for History and Economics), Emma Rothschild (Centre for History and Economics), Amartya Sen (Harvard University), Meena Singh (Common Security Forum), and Noala Skinner (Common Security Forum). At this meeting it was decided that Rama Mani should organise a one day meeting on the Rule of Law at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies (September 1997) as part of the substantive preparation for the meeting. The meeting on Promoting the Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Societies would take the form of a roundtable discussion of some 20 people and participants would include Melissa Lane (King's College, Cambridge) Jennifer Leaning (Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies), Ian Martin (UN Special Representative for Human Rights, Rwanda), Bill O'Neill (Haitian Coalition for Human Rights), Emma Rothschild (Centre for History and Economics) and Henry Steiner (Harvard University).

The second in the series of Advisory Committee planning meetings took place in June 1997. The 1997 Forum meeting has been organised in collaboration with the Nordic Africa Institute, based in Uppsala, Sweden and one of the principal organisers, Adebayo Olukoshi

attended the Cambridge roundtable planning session. At this meeting, three of the commissioned paper writers presented the themes of their work for the Forum meeting: Sam Gibson spoke on Political Conditionality in Kenya and Malawi, Stephan Klasen outlined his paper on Inequality and Economic Security in South Africa, and Rama Mani spoke on Promoting the Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Societies.

As part of the programme on population and security in the period to June 1997, Stephan Klasen has been preparing for a major international meeting on Population, Consumption and Security. The meeting, scheduled for October 1997 and supported by the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative, will bring together academics (including economists, historians, demographers and anthropologists) and policymakers (including representatives of the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme and the United Kingdom Upper House) to discuss the possible linkages between population, consumption, inequality, the environment and development. As part of the preparations for the meeting a series of meetings was held with Robert Solow, Abhijit Banerjee and James Mirrlees at MIT, and the main interdisciplinary workshop will be convened under the chairmanship of Professor Solow. The following papers have been commissioned and will be presented at the meeting: Abhijit Banerjee, *Policy-Making in An Overconsuming World: Some Finger Exercises*; Alaka Basu, *Population and Consumption Versus Fertility and Consumption: Not Two Sides of the Same Coin*; Joel Cohen, *Can An Equitable World Support More Or Fewer People Than An Inequitable One? Theoretical Perspectives*; Athar Hussain, *Chinese Households And Their Expenditure Pattern*; Stephan Klasen, *Population, Consumption, Inequality and Development: An Overview of Issues*; Stephan Klasen, *Economic, Environmental and Social Limits for 'Late Developers' in South Africa*; and Emma Rothschild, *Luxury and Consumption*. The papers will eventually be published as part of the Common Security Forum Working Paper Series.

As part of the Nations, States and Empires seminar series, Alain Blum (Institute National des Etudes Demographiques) spoke at the Centre-hosted seminar in May 1997 on *Stalinism and Statisticians: The Case of Demographers*.

Southern Africa

Meena Singh, the coordinator of CSF activities in South Africa, and a postdoctoral fellow based at the Centre and Clare Hall, Cambridge, has continued her work on

environmental security. Her project on environmental refugees has been undertaken alongside parallel studies on environmental resource degradation and depletion, changing access and resource needs. Additional support for the South Africa programme is provided by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). For the second part of this six month period Meena Singh has begun an extended period of maternity leave, and will return to the Centre on a part-time basis in November 1997.

Stephan Klasen and Meena Singh have been collaborating with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Nordic Africa Institute, as well as with the other members of the Forum Advisory Committee in the preparations for the Forum meeting. In June 1997, Dr. Klasen represented CSF at a major international meeting, *Partnership Africa*, hosted by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala. Stephan Klasen has continued to participate in research projects in Southern Africa. These include the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, where he is collaborating with the World Bank on the economic assessment of the project. Fani Zulu of the World Bank Resident Mission in Johannesburg will co-author the commissioned paper on poverty, inequality and security in South Africa for the CSF Forum meeting on Africa.

In the coming months, Dr. Klasen will begin a research project on unemployment in South Africa, jointly with Ingrid Woolard from the University of Port Elizabeth. The research, supported by the British Department for International Development and undertaken for the South African Department of Finance tries to uncover the underlying causes for high unemployment in rural areas of South Africa. The research will involve the analysis of household data as well as field research. First results of the research will be discussed at a seminar in South Africa in April 1998.

Within the Common Security Forum working paper series, the Centre for History and Economics has produced the following papers in connection with the South Africa programme, Stephan Klasen, *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa* (January 1997); Meena Singh, *Basutoland - An Historical Journey Into The Environment* (January 1997).

Russia

Throughout the period, Dr. Panarin has continued his research into Russian and post-Soviet youth and its political behaviour and beliefs. The objectives of the research were as follows: to explore the nature and the extent of the impact of nationalism on current political

behaviour and the future political opinions of younger generations in the CIS; to arrive at some meaningful conclusions about the possible impact of the former and the latter on different aspects of security. Young people from 15-30 years old are the subject of this study. They have been stratified in standard groups taking into account age, sex, education, employment, nationality structure of population, focusing on case studies in Elista (Kalmykia), Irkutsk and Moscow in Russia, and UstKamennogorsk and Petropavlovsk in Kazakhstan.

Under the title 'Youth, Nationalism and Security in Russia and Kazakhstan', a workshop was held in the Moscow offices of the MacArthur Foundation on 7 February 1997. The coorganisers were Dr. Catherine Merridale and Dr. Sergei Panarin and the speakers were as follows: Catherine Merridale (CSF), *Introduction*; Sergei Panarin (Moscow), *The research project, 'Youth, Nationalism and Security': Hypothesis, keywords and methods*; Zinaida Sikevich (St. Petersburg) *Ethno-political values and attitudes of young Russians*; Viktor Dyatlov (Irkutsk) *Estimated level of national tension in Irkutsk and the major factors contributing to it*; Irina Yerofeyeva (Almaty) *Some preliminary results of pilot surveys of youth in Ust-Kamennogorsk, Eastern Kazakhstan*; Anatoly Kozlov (St. Petersburg) *Potential extremism among Russian youth*; Marin Mukhanova (Elista), *Preliminary report on youth and nationalism in Kalmykia*; Andrei Sud'in (Moscow) *Nationalistic education via youth media: The case of 'Idel' the Tatar literary and publicist magazine*.

The papers explored in detail various aspects of the subject under study. Some alarming changes in the behaviour of young people were reported: the steady rise of animosity among Russian youth towards 'Caucasians', growing self-isolation of youth groups in regions with mixed populations, the tendency of youth to perceive their multi-ethnic social setting in terms of a simplistic dichotomy between 'us' and 'aliens'. At the same time, the participants in the workshop generally agreed that the majority of the younger generation in Russia (and to a lesser extent in Kazakhstan) has not yet been captured by nationalism; rather, large sections of younger people were refusing to engage in the formal political process as well as to accept uncritically the ideologies elaborated by their elders. By and large, it was recognised that the great diversity of regional situations should be taken into account and studied separately and thoroughly.

Catherine Merridale, a coordinator of the CSF Russia programme, is currently on two years sabbatical as a CSF research fellow as she carries out her research into Death and

Mourning in the Twentieth Century. She will organise a series of meetings over the next two years and her book on Death and Mourning in Stalinist Russia will appear at the end of 1999. Dr. Merridale spent the first part of 1997 in Moscow interviewing survivors of the years of famine, war, and repression. She will return to Russia for three months at the end of 1997, and a workshop on Memory and Catastrophe will take place in Cambridge in summer 1998. Catherine Merridale also represented CSF at the first conference on the History of Demographic Statistics, which was held at the Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques (INED) in December 1996. As part of the follow-up to the 1996 Forum meeting on transition in the former Soviet Union, Catherine Merridale and Anders Pedersen (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden) prepared a report of the conference proceedings and themes which was made available through the Centre for History and Economics. A special Forum edition of the CSF Newsletter was disseminated to all participants in the Forum meeting.

South Asia

An offshoot of the earlier Economic Security programme at the Centre for Development Economics (Delhi School of Economics) is a major survey of schooling in rural India, organised by Jean Drèze and Shiva Kumar (UNICEF) with a team of researchers based at CDE and elsewhere. The survey was carried out in late 1996 in 188 villages of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. In each village, all the schooling facilities were surveyed, and a random sample of twelve households were interviewed. The survey focused primarily on the causes of educational deprivation of rural India.

Preliminary results of the survey will be presented in a major article published in India Today in October 1997. The article will focus inter alia on the respective roles of parental indifference, child labour and low schooling quality as causes of educational deprivation in rural India. Jean Dreze will present his work on education at a meeting on child labour, to be held at the Centre for History and Economics in 1998, as part of the work coordinated by Noala Skinner on children and security. In 1997-98, Jean Drèze will begin a major program of research on military spending and militarism in South Asia. He and Stephan Klasen are planning a follow-up to the earlier CSF-India project on the Narmada Dam, including a comparison of the social and economic assessment of major environmental projects in India and Africa. Jean Drèze, Stephan Klasen and Noala Skinner will also initiate

work on children and security, including comparative work on child labour in India and Africa. This will draw on Noala Skinner's work at the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, and at UNICEF in July and August 1997.