

**ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE
RECORD**

2003

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THE COLLEGE

St Antony's is a postgraduate college which specialises in the inter-disciplinary study of Europe, Russia and the other successor states of the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, Africa, Japan, South and Southeast Asia, China and Latin America. Fellows of the College are specialists in modern history, language and literature, politics, economics, anthropology, sociology and international relations. Visiting and Research Fellows, as well as Senior Associate Members, complement the Fellowship. Junior Members of the College are men and women working for higher degrees of the University.

The corporate designation of the College is 'The Warden and Fellows of St Antony's College in the University of Oxford'. Its foundation was made possible by a gift of the late Antonin Besse of Aden, a leading merchant of French nationality. Provisional arrangements for the foundation of the College were made by a decree passed by Congregation on 21 September 1948. On 30 May 1950 a further decree bestowed on the College the status of a New Foundation. Its main functions were then defined: '(a) to be a centre of advanced study and research in the fields of modern international history, philosophy, economics and politics; (b) to provide an international centre within the University where graduate students from all over the world can live and work together in close contact with senior members of the University who are specialists in their field; (c) to contribute to the general teaching of the University, especially in the fields of modern history and politics.'

In Michaelmas Term 1950 the College opened its doors on the Woodstock Road in a former Anglican convent built in the 1860s which had hitherto been used by the University as a graduate hostel. Today, many of the academic facilities, the Library and the administration of the College can be found in the old convent, now known as the Main Building. In 1970 the newly built Hilda Besse Building was opened. Named after the wife of the Founder, herself a benefactress of the College, the Besse Building houses the Hall, Common Rooms, Buttery and other rooms for College functions. In 1993 a new building was opened, housing a new Lecture Theatre as well as the Nissan Institute and the Bodleian Japanese Library. And in 2000, the College's 50th anniversary year, the Founder's Building, containing extra accommodation and teaching space and named in honour of Antonin Besse, was inaugurated by HRH The Princess Royal. Other College properties, both within and beyond the curtilage, include the centres for regional studies, student residences and the Warden's lodgings.

The original body of the College consisted of the Warden, the Sub-Warden, the Bursar and seven students. Soon, the College grew and became recognised by the University and beyond. On 1 April 1953 a Charter of Incorporation was granted, and the Statutes of the College were approved by the Queen in Council. On 2 October 1962 a Supplementary Charter was granted to enable the College to admit women as well as men. On 21 May 1963 a statute was passed in Congregation making the College a full College of the University, and this was approved by the Queen in Council on 20 December 1963. The body of the College consists of the Warden, the Bursar, some forty Fellows, about 300 students and, at any time, more than sixty Senior Members.

The name, St Antony's, was chosen for the group set up to create the new College, the St Antony's Foundation, and intended to allude to the name of the Founder. For many years there was some ambiguity about whether the patron saint was St Antony the Abbot (17 January) or St Antony of Padua (13 June). When in 1961 the College was persuaded by one of its members that St Antony the Abbot was more appropriate, it decided also that the College flag should be flown on both saints' days. Nine years earlier, in 1952, the College coat of arms had been designed in the colours of the Red Sea (Red) and desert sands (Gold) with mullets borrowed from Antonin Besse's trade mark and crosses of St Antony the Abbot: Or on a chevron between three tau crosses gules as many pierced mullets of the field.

THE FELLOWSHIP IN MICHAELMAS TERM 2003

VISITOR The Rt Hon Lord Falconer of Thoroton QC, The Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain

WARDEN Sir Marrack Irvine Goulding, KCMG, MA

GOVERNING BODY

Malcolm Douglas Deas, OBE, MA *University Lecturer in Politics and Government of Latin America, Faculty Fellow*

Alan Edward Angell, MA (B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.) *University Lecturer in Latin American Politics, Faculty Fellow*

Archibald Haworth Brown, MA (B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.) *FBA Professor of Politics, Professorial Fellow*

Teresa Rosemary Thorp, MA *University Reader in Economics, Faculty Fellow*

Barbara Ann Waswo, MA (MA, Ph.D. Stanford) *Nissan Lecturer in Modern Japanese History, Faculty Fellow*

Jennifer Marjorie Corbett, MA (BA ANU, Ph.D. Michigan) *University Reader in the Economy of Japan, Faculty Fellow*

Paul Collier, MA, D.Phil. *Professor of Economics, Professorial Fellow*

Avi Shlaim, MA (BA Camb., M.Sc. (Econ.) Lond., Ph.D. Reading) *Professor of International Relations, Professorial Fellow*

Robert Harrison Barnes, MA, B.Litt., D.Phil. *Professor of Social Anthropology, Professorial Fellow*

Celia Jocelyn Kerslake, MA, D.Phil. *University Lecturer in Turkish, Faculty Fellow*

Alex Pravda, MA, D.Phil. *University Lecturer in Russian and East European Politics, Faculty Fellow*

Timothy John Garton Ash, CMG, MA, *Gerd Bucerius Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary History*

Rosemary Foot, MA (Ph.D. LSE) *FBA Professor of International Relations, John Swire Fellow in the International Relations of East Asia*

David William Faure, MA (Ph.D. Princeton) *University Lecturer in Modern Chinese History, Faculty Fellow*

Eugene Lawrence Rogan, MA (BA Columbia, MA, Ph.D. Harvard) *University Lecturer in the Modern History of the Middle East, Faculty Fellow*

Alan Knight, MA, D.Phil., *FBA Professor of Latin American History, Professorial Fellow*

Roger James Goodman, MA, D.Phil. (BA Durham) *Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies, Professorial Fellow*

Edmund Valpy Knox FitzGerald, MA (Ph.D. Camb.) *University Reader in International Economics and Finance, Director of Finance and Trade Policy Research Centre (Queen Elizabeth House), Professorial Fellow*

Nandini Gooptu, MA (BA Calcutta, Ph.D. Camb.) *University Lecturer in South Asian Studies, Faculty Fellow*

David Anthony Washbrook, MA (MA, Ph.D. Camb.) *University Reader in Modern South Asian History, Professorial Fellow*

Steve Yui-Sang Tsang, MA, D.Phil. (BA Hong Kong) *University Reader in Politics, Louis Cha Fellow*

- Marcus Edward Rebick, MA (MA Toronto, Ph.D. Harvard) *Nissan Lecturer in the Economy of Japan, Faculty Fellow*
- Philip Robins, MA (MA (Econ.) Manchester, Ph.D. Exeter) *University Lecturer in the Politics of the Middle East, Faculty Fellow*
- Richard Ralph Mowbray Clogg, MA *Senior Research Fellow*
- Carol Scott Leonard, MA (BA Minnesota, MA, Ph.D. Indiana) *University Lecturer in Regional Studies of the Post-Communist States, Faculty Fellow*
- William Justin Beinart, MA (MA, Ph.D. Lond.) *Rhodes Professor of Race Relations, Professorial Fellow*
- Leslie Michael Bethell, MA (BA, Ph.D. Lond.) *Director of the Centre for Brazilian Studies, Professorial Fellow*
- Robert John Service, MA (MA Camb., MA, Ph.D. Essex) *FBA Professor of Russian History, Professorial Fellow*
- Kalyso Aude Nicolaïdis, MA (MPA, Ph.D. Harvard) *University Lecturer in International Relations, Faculty Fellow*
- Allan Owen Taylor, MA (BA Bristol) *Official Fellow and Bursar*
- Walter Armbrust, MA (MA, Ph.D. Michigan) *University Lecturer in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, Albert Hourani Fellow, Faculty Fellow*
- Abdul Raufu Mustapha, MA, D.Phil. (M.Sc. Ahmadu Bello) *University Lecturer in African Politics, Kirk-Greene Fellow in African Studies, Faculty Fellow*
- Vivienne Shue, MA, B.Litt. (BA Vassar, Ph.D. Harvard) *Professor for the Study of Contemporary China, Professorial Fellow*
- David Frank Johnson, MA (BA Witwatersrand, M.Ed. Manchester, Ph.D. Bristol) *University Lecturer in Comparative Education, Faculty Fellow*
- Jane Caplan, MA, D.Phil. *University Lecturer in Modern European History, Faculty Fellow*
- Jan Zielonka, MA (BL Wroclaw, Ph.D. Warsaw) *University Lecturer in European Politics, Ralf Dahrendorf Fellow, Faculty Fellow*
- Charles Knickerbocker Harley, MA (BA Wooster, Ph.D. Harvard) *University Lecturer in Economic History, Faculty Fellow*

RESEARCH FELLOWS

- Othon Anastasakis (B.A. Athens, MA Columbia, Ph.D. LSE) *Research Fellow in South East European Studies*
- David McBeath Anderson (BA Sussex, Ph.D. Camb.) F.R.Hist.S. *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in African Studies*
- Miguel Carter (MA, Ph.D. Columbia) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in Politics (Brazilian Studies Centre)*
- Ana Covarrubias, D.Phil. *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in Latin American Studies*
- Rodrigo Cubero-Brealey (BA Costa Rica, BBA Univ. Auton. CenAm., MA Essex) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in Latin American Studies*
- Paulo Drinot, D.Phil. (B.Sc. (Econ.) London) *Hewlett Research Fellow*
- Kathryn Hochstetler (BA Earlham, Ph.D. Minnesota) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in Politics*
- Anke Elizabeth Hoeffler, D.Phil. (M.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow*

Charlotte Hughes, D.Phil. (BA Sussex, MA London) *Non-Stipendiary Junior Research Fellow in African Studies*

Polly Alexandra Jones, BA (Hons), D.Phil., *Max Hayward Research Fellow* (cal yr 2003)

James Robert McDougall, D. Phil. (MA St Andrew's) *Junior Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies*

Bernard Mommer, MA (BSc., Ph.D.Tübingen)

Jan-Werner Müller, MA, D.Phil. (B.Sc.(Econ.) London) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in Modern European Thought*

Emanuele Ottolenghi (MA Bologna, Ph.D. Hebrew University of Jerusalem) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow in Israeli Studies*

David Rechter (MA Melbourne, Ph.D. Jerusalem) *Non-Stipendiary Research Fellow*

HONORARY FELLOWS

Suu Kyi Aung San, MA, DCL (Hon. DCL Cantab.)

Monna Besse

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Sir Raymond Carr, MA, D.Litt., FBA, F.R.Hist.S

Rt Hon. Lord Carrington, PC, KCMG, MC

Sir Bryan Cartledge, KCMG (MA Camb.)

Louis Cha, Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur, OBE (LLB Shanghai)

Francis René Hippolyte Conte, D.ès L.

Lord Dahrendorf, KBE, MA (Ph.D. Lond., Dr.Phil. Hamburg), FBA

Sir William Deakin, Kt, DSO, MA

Geoffrey Elliott

Alistair Allan Horne, Kt, Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur, CBE (MA, Litt.D. Camb.)

W. Roger Louis, CBE, D.Phil., D.Litt. (BA Oklahoma, MA Harvard), FBA

Margaret Olwen MacMillan, D.Phil. (BA Toronto)

José Maria Maravall, D.Phil. (Lic., Dr. Madrid, D.Litt. Warwick)

David Ian Marquand, FBA, F.R.Hist.S.

Sadako Ogata, DCL (BA Tokyo, MA Georgetown, Ph.D. Berkeley)

Christopher Francis Patten, CH, PC, MA

Soledad Ortega Spottorno (BA, Lic.F. y L., Madrid)

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Sir Denis Wright, GCMG, MA

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 Edward Roger John Owen, MA, D.Phil.
 Terence Osborn Ranger, MA, D.Phil., FBA
 Tapan Raychaudhuri, MA, D.Phil., D.Litt. (MA Calcutta)
 Harold Shukman, MA, D.Phil. (BA Nott.)
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 Harry Taylor Willetts, MA
 Theodore Zeldin, CBE, MA, D.Phil., F.R.Hist.S., FBA

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 Gabriel Cohen, D.Phil. (BA, MA Jerusalem)
 Ari Joshua Sherman, D.Phil. (LL B Harvard)

VISITING FELLOWS

Fariba Adelkah (BA Strasbourg, MA, Ph.D. EHESS) *Iranian Visiting Fellow*
 Claudia Baldoli (BA Venice, Ph.D. L.S.E.) *Fondazione Monte dei Paschi di Siena Visiting Fellow in Modern Italian Studies*
 Zafar Iqbal Cheema (MA Punjab, M.Sc. Quaid-i-Azam, Ph.D. London) *Quaid-i-Azam Fellow*
 Xabier Ezeizabarrena Sáenz (M.Sc. University of the Basque Country) *Basque Visiting Fellow*
 Joanna Griffiths, D.Phil. (BA Hons, Bristol) *Alistair Horne Visiting Fellow*
 Manfred Hildermeier (BA, Dr.phil. Habil. Tübingen) *Stifterverband Visiting Fellow*
 Hossein Modarressi, D.Phil. (MA Tehran) *Golestaneh Fellow*
 Michael Moore, MP, (MA Edinburgh) *Visiting Parliamentary Fellow*
 Anne-Marie Motard (MA, DEA, Ph.D. Bordeaux III) *Deakin Visiting Fellow*
 Inés Quintero (Ph.D. Universidad Central de Venezuela) *Andrés Bello Fellow*
 George Scanlon (MA, Ph.D. Princeton) *Visiting Fellow*
 James Settele *US Navy Hudson Fellow*
 Gayil Talshir, D.Phil. (BA, Hebrew University) *Israeli Junior Visiting Fellow*
 Ann Taylor, PC, MP, *Visiting Parliamentary Fellow*

COLLEGE OFFICERS 2003-4

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| <i>Warden</i> | Sir Marrack Goulding |
| <i>Sub-Warden, Senior Members' Fellow and</i> | <i>Curator, SCR</i> |
| | Dr Ann Waswo (MT) |
| | Dr Jennifer Corbett |
| <i>Senior Tutor and Library Fellow</i> | Professor Rosemary Foot |
| <i>Tutor for Admissions and Dean</i> | Professor Robert Service |
| <i>Governing Body Delegate for Finance</i> | Mr Malcolm Deas |
| <i>Dean of Degrees</i> | Dr Mark Rebick |
| <i>Deputy Dean of Degrees</i> | Dr Walter Armbrust |
| <i>IT Fellow</i> | The Bursar |
| <i>Advisor on Development Matters</i> | Dr Valpy FitzGerald |
| <i>Wine Fellow</i> | The Warden |
| <i>Editor of the College Record</i> | Dr Nandini Gooptu |
| <i>General Editor,</i> | |
| <i>St Antony's/Palgrave Series</i> | Mr Richard Clogg |
| <i>Co-ordinator of Visiting</i> | Professor David Marquand |
| <i>Parliamentary Fellows</i> | |
| <i>Chair of Nominating Committee</i> | Professor William Beinart |

MANAGEMENT EXECUTIVE TEAM 2003-4

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Warden</i> | Sir Marrack Goulding |
| <i>Sub-Warden</i> | Dr Ann Waswo (MT) |
| | Dr Jennifer Corbett |
| <i>Bursar</i> | Mr Allan Taylor |
| <i>Dean</i> | Professor Robert Service |
| <i>Senior Tutor</i> | Professor Rosemary Foot |
| <i>GB Delegate for Finance</i> | Mr Malcolm Deas |

CENTRE DIRECTORS

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| <i>Co-ordinator of African Studies</i> | Professor William Beinart |
| <i>Centre for the Study of African Economies</i> | |
| <i>Asian Studies Centre</i> | Professor Paul Collier |
| <i>Brazilian Studies Centre</i> | Dr Mark Rebick |
| <i>European Studies Centre</i> | Professor Leslie Bethell |
| | Mr Richard Clogg (MT) |
| | Mr Timothy Garton Ash |
| <i>Latin American Centre</i> | Mr Alan Angell (MT) |
| | Mr Malcolm Deas |
| <i>Middle East Centre</i> | Dr Eugene Rogan |
| <i>Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies</i> | Dr Ann Waswo |
| <i>Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre</i> | Professor Robert Service (MT) |
| | Dr Alex Pravda |

THE STAFF IN MICHAELMAS TERM 2003

Central Staff

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>College Secretary</i> | Mrs Jill Flitter |
| <i>Assistant College Secretary</i> | Mrs Gillian Crook |
| <i>Bursary Assistant</i> | Mrs Mary West |
| <i>College Librarian</i> | Ms Rosamund Campbell |
| <i>Library Assistant</i> | Mrs Hilary Maddicott |
| <i>GB Clerk</i> | Mrs Pauline Maclean |
| <i>Warden's Secretary</i> | Mrs Anne Robinson |
| <i>Bursar's Secretary</i> | Mrs Jennifer Cable |
| <i>Senior Members' Assistant</i> | Ms Alison Foss |
| <i>St Antony's/Palgrave Secretary</i> | Mrs Ruth Cox |
| <i>Accountant</i> | Mr Graham Jowett |
| <i>Accounts Clerks</i> | Mrs Marion Bailey, Mrs Nicola Pearson, Mrs Joan Yardy |
| <i>Computing Manager</i> | Mr Ray Allen |
| <i>Domestic Bursar</i> | Mr Graham Daniels |
| <i>Accommodation & Conference Co-ordinator</i> | Mr Charles White |
| <i>Domestic Bursar's Secretary</i> | Mrs Christine Palmer |
| <i>Chef</i> | Mr Mark Walker |
| <i>Second Chef</i> | Mr Colin Sparkes |
| <i>Third Chef</i> | Mr Gordon Roy |
| <i>Craft Chef</i> | Mr Paul Butterfield |
| <i>Trainee Chef</i> | Mr Craig Kilpin |
| <i>Servery Supervisor</i> | Mrs Fiona Francis |
| <i>Kitchen Operatives</i> | Mr Fabricia Da Rocha, Mr Ricardo Jorge Silva Dionisio, Mr Jacob Chapela-Dominquez |
| <i>Steward</i> | Mr Antony Squirrel |
| <i>Stewarding Assistants</i> | Ms Joanne Bowen, Mr Ifran Khan, Mr Caillin McNiffe |
| <i>Maintenance Assistant</i> | Mr Tom West |
| <i>Housekeeper</i> | Mrs Susan Manning |
| <i>Deputy Housekeeper</i> | Mrs Angie Baylis |
| <i>Head Porter</i> | Mr Michael Dean |
| <i>Porters</i> | Mr Patrick Hingley, Mr Mick Mears, Mr John Nelson, Mr Neil Townsend, Mr Ken Wilkinson, Mr Paul Witts |

DEVELOPMENT OFFICE

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| <i>Public Relations & Development Officer</i> | Mrs Polly Friedhoff |
| <i>Development Assistant</i> | Mrs Janet Collyer |

COLLEGE DOCTOR

College Doctor
College Nurse

Dr Róisín McCloskey
Mrs Ennis Frankum

REGIONAL STUDIES

African Studies

Secretary

Mrs Ulli Parkinson

Asian Studies Centre

Secretary

Mrs Jennifer Griffiths

Centre for Brazilian Studies

Administrator

Ms Julie Smith

Administrative Secretary

Ms Ailsa Thom

Secretary to the Director

Ms Sarah Rankin

European Studies Centre

Centre Secretary

Mrs Janet Pearson

Secretary

Mrs Ulli Parkinson

Latin American Centre

Administrator

Mrs Naomi Barbour

Secretary

Mrs Elvira Ryan

Librarian

Mrs Ruth Hodges

Library Assistant

Mrs Laura Salinas

Middle East Centre

Secretary

Mrs Elizabeth Anderson

Librarian

Mrs Mastan Ebtehaj

Archivist

Ms Debbie Usher

Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies

Secretary

Ms Jane Baker

Librarian

Mrs Izumi Tytler

Russian and East European Centre

Secretary and Librarian

Ms Jackie Willcox

COLLEGE AFFAIRS

Report by the Warden on the Academic Year 2002-3

2002-3 has been another year of significant change in Oxford University. As seen from St Antony's, the change has been due to two main factors. The first is acceptance that the decline in public funding of higher education is unlikely to be reversed and that the collegiate University must therefore take steps to increase its income from sources other than the British taxpayer. The second is the view of many (but by no means all) that if Oxford is to retain its status as a world class university it will have to pay more attention to graduate teaching and to research. The factors are of course linked: if there is to be more teaching, research will be the loser unless more income is forthcoming to pay for the extra teaching.

Both of these factors have been present for some time. But they have been made more evident during the academic year that is just ending as a result of the new structures of governance and, especially, the devolution of planning and budgeting authority to the Divisions (and, below the Divisions, to departments, faculties and various sub-units). The impact on St Antony's and other graduate colleges has been considerable.

The Divisions have created a number of one year masters courses. In Russian and East European Studies, for instance, there is now not only a two-year M.Phil. but also a one-year M. Sc. The same is true in Latin American Studies. Some say that the introduction of these new courses is primarily intended to attract overseas students and the higher fees that they pay. There may be something in this, but the innovation also reflects a growing belief that a one-year masters degree concentrating on research methods followed by three years work on the D.Phil. ('1+3') is a better format than a two year M.Phil., including a thesis which is then developed over two years into a doctoral dissertation ('2+2').

Be that as it may, the new one year courses have attracted an unprecedented volume of applications, especially from overseas students, and this has imposed strain on several joints in the system. The Graduate Studies Office and the departments and faculties have to process many more applications than they have been used to; the increased numbers create a higher demand for teaching and supervision than can be met from the resources currently available to the departments and faculties; colleges find themselves under pressure from the University to admit more graduate students than they have space for. The latter problem has generated some heat between colleges and University this Trinity Term, especially in those colleges which see their priority function as being the teaching of undergraduates. The rolling five year plans of the University and its Divisions have been predicting a continuing increase in graduate numbers; in the Social Sciences Division, for instance, the plan has been to increase graduates by 19.6 per cent over the next

five years but undergraduates by only 1.0 per cent. There are now indications that the growth in graduate numbers may be constrained until more accommodation is available. Mention has been made of the University establishing three new colleges to accommodate graduate students. Some of us think that a better solution would be for the University to help the existing graduate colleges finance the building of additional student accommodation on land they already own.

These developments are obviously of great importance to St Antony's. Our graduate students outnumber those of all other colleges in the University except Wolfson and Linacre and we are very strongly represented in the membership of the Area and Development Studies Committee. This Committee was included in the new governance structures as a result of an initiative by St Antony's when there appeared to be a risk that area studies might fall into cracks between the Humanities, Life and Environmental Sciences and Social Sciences Divisions. The Committee, and the sub-units for which it is responsible (such as the Latin American Centre, the Nissan Institute, Russian and East European Studies etc) was reviewed during the Trinity Term just ended. The review body's report is not yet available but, at the risk of tempting fate, my own encounter with the reviewers created the impression that this College's central role in area studies at Oxford is recognized and valued.

Another encouraging sign is growing support for the idea that the University needs an African Studies Centre and that St Antony's is the right place to locate it, following the model of the Latin American Centre, which is also a University body housed at St Antony's. The College now has the critical mass of scholars needed for such a centre. They are Paul Collier, newly returned from a five year attachment to the World Bank in Washington; William Beinart; Raufu Mustapha; David Anderson, a historian who has recently joined us from SOAS; and David Johnson, University Lecturer in Comparative Education, who has done much of his field work in Africa. To these we can add two distinguished Emeriti, Tony Kirk-Greene and Terry Ranger, who live in Oxford and continue to play an active part in the College's African programmes.

Each of the College's Centres has, as usual, contributed to this volume a report on its work during the 2002-3 academic year. I commend these reports to you. They describe the extraordinarily wide range of academic activities undertaken by the College each year. They also report the generosity of benefactors who help us fund our academic endeavours. I would draw special attention in this context to a generous grant by the Greek Government which has enabled us to set up a South East European Studies Programme in the European Studies Centre, thus closing a gap in our coverage which has for some time been a matter of concern.

The articles in part 3 of this *Record* also list the many conferences, seminars, workshops and lectures which take place here and the important and interesting people who come to the College to convey to us their wisdom and participate in our debates. The lists are long but two items deserve special mention.

First, in April, the College hosted the second of a series of Princeton-St Antony's conferences on the impact of the events of 11 September 2001 on the Muslim World. These conferences have been made possible through a generous benefaction by an anonymous donor. Eugene Rogan, Ahmed Al-Shahi and I attended the first conference in Princeton in September 2002, and invited those present to a return match at St Antony's, where the conference examined 'Muslims in Europe post 9/11.' The conference, which was convened in the last week of April, brought together politicians, journalists, academics and Muslim community leaders from across Europe to address a wide range of issues including multiculturalism, law and discrimination, the role of the media, citizenship and participation, terrorist networks and asylum. The proceedings have been published in full on the College website - <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/princeton/index.shtml>.

Secondly, in January the Premier of Bermuda, the Honourable Jennifer Smith, accompanied by senior members of her Cabinet and the Leader of the Opposition, came to St Antony's for the second in a series of biennial workshops on strategic options for that island. As before, the event was the occasion for intense discussion between Bermudians and Oxford academics on the one hand, and leading experts on the other. This year the topics included environmental sustainability, education and skills, and the increasing burdens placed by international regulatory bodies on the governments of small island states which provide offshore financial services. Again, we thank Fay and Geoffrey Elliott, Antonians and distinguished residents of Bermuda, for their generous support of this event. It was another example of this College's ability to bridge the gap between scholarly research and the needs of those responsible for solving the problems of the world.

Also to be noted were a conference on the Sudan which coincided with active negotiations to end the war there and a workshop on Nigeria. As in the case of the Muslim world after 9/11 and Bermuda, there had been previous conferences or workshops on the subject, demonstrating the continuity of the College's scholarly work on contemporary issues.

The printer's deadline makes it impossible to describe in full in this issue a multi-layered Antonians' Weekend in the first week of July which will include: a conference on Russia and Europe to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Russian and East European Centre, now reborn as the Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre; a dinner for Antonian Rhodes Scholars to celebrate the centenary of the Rhodes Trust; and a workshop on Isaiah Berlin and Russia. But this edition does contain a full account of the Parliamentary Visiting Fellows' seminar series in Hilary Term whose agenda again managed miraculously to embrace international events unforeseen when it was put together six months before. Lectures were given by President Karzai of Afghanistan, by Foreign Minister George Papandreou of Greece during his tenure of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Union and President Juan José Ibarretxe, President of the Autonomous Government of the Basque Country in Spain.

Our student population continues to grow. We admitted 125 new students at the beginning of 2002-3. At the time of writing, 141 applicants have accepted offers of places for 2003-4, though not all of these have yet obtained financial clearance. This likely increase in admissions is partly due to higher demand as a result of the new degree courses already referred to. But, as the Bursar states in his report in this volume, it also reflects the College's desire to raise income in order to eliminate our chronic deficit. The College is monitoring these developments very carefully, in close consultation with the JCR Executive. We are determined to maintain our position as a leading graduate college at this University but not at the expense of lowering the standard of the services that we provide to our students. The critical factor here is student accommodation. Our policy has been to guarantee College-owned accommodation to all first year students. That guarantee is becoming more difficult to honour as overall student numbers grow and, in particular, as the new one year courses accelerate turnover and increase each year the proportion of students who are in their first year at the College. The Bursar and I continue to explore actively all possibilities for acquiring additional student accommodation without violating the financial precepts approved by Governing Body and described in the Bursar's report in last year's *College Record*.

Some have also expressed concern that the College's social and sporting activities may be damaged as the proportion of one year students grows. The courses they do are intensive taught courses, with a lot of 'homework'; will the students not be too busy for clubs and sport and society? I am happy to report that so far there has been little sign of this at St Antony's. This calendar year the College has been blessed with an exceptionally active and responsible JCR Executive, ably led by Alejandro Quiroz Flores. They organized an excellent College Ball and many other activities, including a Sports Day which was just survived by the lawns to the north and south of the Hilda Besse Building. The College has had its best sporting year yet. The Men's First Eight advanced seven places in Eights Week and won their blades for the second year running; between them the Men's First Eight and the Women's Eight have now won blades four times in the last three years. The boat club is still, however, in desperate need of about £10,000 to buy a boat for the Women's Eight who, unlike most women's crews on the river, face the disadvantage of racing in the men's boat. In basketball the men's team were the champions in the Inter-College League. And the women, competing for the first time in the Women's Soccer Cuppers in a joint team with Wolfson, reached the quarter finals where they were defeated by the eventual winners (Oriel/Christ Church).

I come now to the Fellowship of the College, starting with the Honorary Fellows. One of them was taken unexpectedly from us at the very beginning of 2003 – Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of Oxford University for fifteen years and an Honorary Fellow of St Antony's since 1987. I wrote the following about him in the Hilary Term *Newsletter*:

“His was an exceptionally distinguished and varied career. He was a leading member of the Labour Party, a modernizing Home Secretary (twice), an iron-willed Chancellor of the Exchequer, President of the European Commission, a founder of the Social Democratic Party, a tireless statesman (in recent years he played a central role in efforts to reform the House of Lords), an historian and biographer, whose last great work was his *Churchill* published in 2001, and a wit and bon viveur. As Chancellor, he gave the University much political support, especially after the election of the Blair government in 1997, and he brought dignity and wit to its formal proceedings. His pronunciation of the Latin formulae at Encaenia and other ceremonies will not be soon forgotten; nor will his characterization of this place as “a distinguished college in the Arctic wastes of North Oxford”.

During the latter part of this academic year we have been much distressed by the plight of another of our Honorary Fellows, Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National Democratic League in Burma. In last year's *College Record* we rejoiced at her release, in May 2002, from 19 months of house arrest and at her restored freedom to travel in her country. At the time of writing, she is detained again, not in her own house as before but, it is reported, in a small hut in the notorious prison called Insein. On her 58th birthday (19 June) St Antony's and St Hugh's, her undergraduate college where she also holds an Honorary Fellowship, issued a strongly worded joint statement condemning the behaviour of the Burmese authorities, demanding that she be released immediately from detention and that her party be permitted to resume its activities, and urging the other member states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to persuade the Burmese authorities to honour these demands. At the time of writing they have not been honoured.

Another of our Honorary Fellows, Sir Alistair Horne, is to be congratulated on the knighthood he received in the Queens Birthday Honours List for services to UK-French relations.

In June Governing Body elected three new Honorary Fellows. Professor Margaret MacMillan is Professor of History at the University of Toronto and currently Provost of Trinity College at that University. She was at St Antony's as a doctoral student from 1968 to 1974, her dissertation being on the British in India. She returned to Canada as Professor of History at Ryerson University but spent a term here as a SAM in 1993. In 2001 she published a scholarly and successful book, *Peacemakers*, on the Paris Conference of 1919. Professor David Marquand is also an Antonian, having been a Senior Scholar and then a Research Fellow here. He has had a successful and varied career as a political scientist (Chairs at Salford and Sheffield Universities), as a politician (Labour MP 1966-1977 and later a leading member of the SDP), as a writer and, from 1996 to 2002, as Principal of Mansfield College. Our third new Honorary Fellow is the Rt Hon Chris Patten, newly elected Chancellor of Oxford University who was installed at Encaenia on 25 June. He has had a successful and public career as a Conservative politician

and statesman. He was MP for Bath from 1979 to 1992 and held ministerial office for all but three of those years, as well as being Chairman of his party from 1990 to 1992. He then left the House to become Governor of Hong Kong for its last five years as a British colony. Since 1999 he has been a member of the European Commission in Brussels.

Only two Fellows left Governing Body during the year. Arthur Stockwin retired after 22 years as Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies and Director of the Nissan Institute. Andreas Busch, after a brief sojourn here as University Lecturer in German Politics, is moving on to a tenured post at Hertford but will remain an active participant in the work of the College's European Studies Centre.

Arthur Stockwin first came here as a SAM in mid-1973. He had read PPE at Exeter and had then migrated, with Audrey, to the Australian National University in Canberra, where he got his Ph.D. in International Relations. His thesis was on the Japanese Socialist Party and it defined his future as one of the world's leading scholars on Japanese politics, a field in which he flourished for twenty years at the ANU. In 1980, following the Nissan benefaction to the University, he applied successfully to be the first Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies. His successes in that post have included the winning of another large grant from Nissan to fund the construction of a building for the Institute at St Antony's, the expansion and consolidation of teaching and research in Japanese studies at Oxford, and the further development of his mastery of Japanese politics, which was richly demonstrated in his valedictory lecture (reproduced on page 29). He has throughout been a loyal and principled member of the College, as was very much in evidence during his two years as Sub-Warden. He was the first to blow the whistle if he thought a member of the College was being unfairly treated or if there was any hint that Governing Body might be given less than the whole picture of some contentious issue.

Arthur's successor as Nissan Professor is Roger Goodman, who has been a member of Governing Body since 1993 and will return from sabbatical leave in Japan in October to assume his new duties. As already mentioned, Paul Collier returned in April from a five year stint as Director of Research in the World Bank in Washington and Jenny Corbett will return from the ANU in January 2004. During the course of the coming academic year Governing Body will be further strengthened by the addition of four new members. The first will be Dr David Johnson, University Lecturer in Comparative Education, who comes to us from Bristol. Two others will arrive in Hilary Term 2004: Dr Jane Caplan from Bryn Mawr University, a historian of Germany who will fill the post previously held by Tony Nicholls; and Dr Jan Zielonka, from the European University Institute in Florence, who has been appointed to a University Lecturership in European Politics. In Trinity Term 2004 we will welcome Dr Charles Harley, who has been appointed to a University Lecturership in Economic History and will be attached to the European Studies Centre, as will Dr Caplan and Dr Zielonka.

Three members of Governing Body are to be congratulated on honours received during the year. Archie Brown was elected as a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Class of 2003; Richard Clogg was awarded the Gold Cross of the Legion of Honour by the President of the Hellenic Republic in recognition of his contributions to Greek Studies; and Timothy Garton Ash was awarded the Order of Merit, First Class, by President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic.

I am happy to report that the College's Management Executive Team (MET) continues to provide the College with a faster, more efficient and less burdensome system of governance than the many committees which it replaced two years ago. There have been, or will be, some changes in the composition of the MET during 2002-3. In June 2002 Bob Service was elected as Dean and Tutor for Admissions in succession to Roger Goodman, with effect from Hilary Term 2003, at which time Alejandro Quiroz Flores replaced Andrew Zadel as the JCR member of the MET. Celia Kerslake will leave at the end of September after two strenuous, action-packed and successful years as Senior Tutor. In elections in March 2003 Governing Body elected Rosemary Foot to be Senior Tutor for the two academic years 2003-5 and Malcolm Deas to do a second two year stint as Governing Body Delegate for Finance.

On behalf of the whole College I convey our warm thanks both to the departing members of the MET who have served the College so well and to those who have accepted Governing Body's choice of them to assume, or continue to bear, the important responsibilities entrusted to the MET.

I also take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Senior Administrative Officers each of whom comes to the MET at least once each term to review her or his department's work programmes and to put forward proposals for the future. They and their teams fully deserve the praise expressed by the Bursar in his contribution to this volume.

Finally, the Warden cannot close his report without mentioning the F word. Fund-raising continues to be my top priority and it also features large in the College centres. The Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre is taking advantage of its 50th anniversary to launch a major campaign, as described in Alex Pravda's report. The Middle East Centre has similar ambitions for its 50th anniversary in 2007. The Bursar's report in this volume describes the progress he has made in further reducing the College's deficit. This is a remarkable achievement, given the Government-imposed increase in employment costs and the markets' savaging of our General Endowment. Warm thanks are due both to Allan Taylor for his successful efforts to raise income and reduce costs and to the members of Governing Body for respecting the stringent precepts which have made the achievement possible. But as Allan says in his report, we have some way to go yet and it is essential that the Capital Campaign described in last year's *College Record* should succeed in increasing the General Endowment by the equivalent of £10 million at 2001-2

prices. This will guarantee us the income needed to bridge the gap between the costs of running the College and the fees, charges and grants we receive each year and will give us the financial capacity both to improve the services we provide to our students and to seize new opportunities to extend our academic activities.

I repeat my appeal to all readers of these pages to give as generously as you can to the Capital Campaign and to introduce me to others whom you think might be interested in helping the College in this way.

Marrack Goulding

From the Bursar

The last year has been a very successful year. We admitted more students than ever before – 125. Despite this, Welcome Week with a new approach of talking to new students in groups rather than individually was generally judged to be the best ever. The staff Christmas Party went with such a bang that the Warden felt that his enjoyment of the turkey was impaired by the barrage of streamers and other missiles. We have managed to focus more of the College's resources on our academic purpose by reducing the College's administrative staff establishment both in terms of hours worked and seniority and we are now working on making Bursary space available as academic workrooms. Most importantly, our financial situation continues to improve despite the decline in the stock markets. What can be called our operating deficit – the deficit before the warranted income we feel we can safely take from our Investments – went down by £57K compared to the previous year and our deficit after taking into account that warranted income was down to £143K, a £51K reduction on the previous year.

We do, however, face a number of major challenges. The Accounts Office will start the financial year 2003-4 with a new College Accountant. It also has to produce the College accounts on a new basis incorporating for the first time, and not before time, a balance sheet, an accounting refinement said to have been invented in Italy in the Middle Ages but not adopted by Oxford colleges until the 21st Century. As if this were not enough the Accounts Office will also be starting to use new accounting software; this will be most evident to college members in a new format for battels statements which we hope will be easier to understand.

In the Domestic Bursary we have to face the challenge that a lot of our financial improvement results from cutting back on maintenance. However, we still need to maintain our buildings in as good a state as is possible given our financial position.

In the Library we are keen to introduce automated circulation and appropriate security systems to bring ourselves up to and beyond the standards of most Oxford colleges.

The College Secretary's Offices face the immediate challenge that the increase

in one-year Masters' courses means a larger turn-round of students and therefore more work without any increase in resources. Her office also faces the longer term challenge of helping with the design of and then adapting to the University's proposed new student record system, Isidore.

At the same time as we deal with these challenges we continue to face a major financial challenge. The figures for the current year, 2002-3, suggest that our deficit will be less than that for last year. The budget for next year, however, is less hopeful. Firstly, because of the way we calculate our warranted income, that income is continuing to decline as a result of the fall in value of the stock market – despite recent increases the FTSE 100 Index is at the time of writing still less than it was a year ago. Secondly, our employment costs are increasing by more than our income. We are only managing to hold the position by cutting other costs. This is not because we employ our people at too high a grade, or we employ too many people. It is because the costs of employing staff are increasing. For example, last year employers' National Insurance contributions went up 1% and employers' pension contributions for one of our pension scheme are going up 2.5% each year. In addition, we are committed to following University cost of living increases (up 3.2% last year) and incremental scales. We need therefore to continue to increase our income and reduce our costs. With this in mind we reviewed our five-year financial plan and believe we can still achieve our objective of eliminating our deficit in 2006-7. To achieve this will, however, require strict adherence to the nine precepts which I detailed in my report last year. Indeed, in order to ensure that we meet our target Governing Body approved this year a tenth precept under which the College committed itself to increase the number of students paying the full-fee by ten each year over the next four years in order to increase income. We will continue to review the position each year and project our financial numbers forward so that we can ensure that our policies will keep us on the financial straight and narrow.

In order to achieve the successes achieved this year and in order to meet the challenges of the future the College needs staff of high quality who are committed to its objectives. Inevitably there have been staff changes during the year. Peter Baseby is retiring as College Accountant after fourteen years. His first successor Caroline Winnicott left after only a month with the College and before the hand-over had been completed and we have now welcomed Graham Jowett as our new accountant. Jennifer Law, the secretary at the European Studies Centre, who had been with us for fifteen years decided to retire after a period of ill health. My secretary Sue Robinson also resigned to return to her previous career of teaching and she was replaced by the Domestic Bursar's Secretary Jenny Cable. Jenny's place in the Domestic Bursary was filled for a brief period by Nicola Pearson and then by Christine Palmer who not only has secretarial experience but also has considerable experience of working in the catering industry. Angie Johnson has left and been replaced as Senior Members' Assistant by Alison Foss. Debbie

Chapman the Deputy Housekeeper, left to work at another college and has been replaced by Angie Baylis.

While writing about our staff I should also mention that the Domestic Bursar, Graham Daniels recently had an accident on his motor-bike. We expect that he will have to be away from work for at least three months. I very much hope that by the time you read this his recovery will be complete. Meanwhile, Charles White and the other Domestic Bursary staff have shown their commitment to the College by the way they have kept it running efficiently and shouldered the extra work caused by his absence.

Without such committed staff we would have achieved a lot less and be less well placed to deal with the challenges for the future.

Finally, I must pay tribute to the students. The contribution of the JCR President Alejandro Quiroz Flores has been essential to the smooth running of the College. He has always had the interest of the College at heart and without his support less would have been achieved. As I wrote last year it is such support from all elements of the College community that enables us to achieve so much.

Allan Taylor

Junior Common Room

When we receive visitors at St Antony's College we usually say that, by Oxford standards, St Antony's is quite a young college. Yet, in the fifty-three years that St Antony's has existed, an impressive amount has been accomplished. For this reason, the JCR has dedicated this year to the rediscovery and celebration of some of the older traditions of the student body. The first task was to research more than 50 years of minutes from Governing Body and JCR general meetings, which resulted in a brief History of the JCR, which you can consult on the JCR webpage. The JCR then moved on to the organisation of old (and not so old) events like Sports Day, a visit to parliament, the graduate studies seminars, and even the formation of a committee charged with exploring the possibility of publishing a new student journal which would mirror the once popular *Woodstock Road Editorial*.

These initiatives were a great success. Dozens of students met on the Fellows' Garden for Sports Day on 1 June 2003. The barbeque, as well as a sunny weather, motivated not only students to play a number of games on the lawn, but also Senior Members who demonstrated that they are as good with their feet as with a pen (or computer!). There were no injuries reported, but lots of grass stains! The visit to parliament also took place in Trinity Term, when Gordon Marsden and Alan Duncan, both Parliamentary Fellows of the College, organised a visit to Westminster for a group of Antonians. In June, another group of students had an informal meeting and dinner with Alan Duncan, during which they discussed topics ranging

from the occupation of Iraq, to the Middle East Road Map to peace and British politics. The graduate studies seminars took place throughout Hilary and Trinity Terms. Covering a wide range of topics - from war in Latin America to the anthropology of consumption - students presented their work in a friendly and constructive way. These seminars provide an important space for the sharing of ideas among Junior Members.

The JCR also devoted time and effort to well-established events in the College. The annual Ball took place on 7 June. The "Mile-High" Ball was a fantastic combination of fireworks, black ties, long dresses, formal dinner and wine. Although the chosen theme competed with other attractive options suggested by imaginative members (such as the Space Ball, the Blue Ball, and the Bunker Ball), we decided to stress the international nature of the College under the dedicated direction of co-chairs Michael Bhatia and Anne France White. Sport clubs and societies have been very active and successful, more so than ever before. The Art Society organised the Art Melange, an event with poetry readings, pictures, music and a party that everyone enjoyed as well as other events that showcased resident talents. The traditional Wine Tasting Society continued to organise events and advise students on how to enjoy wine properly (but not exceedingly!). This year was also a year of victories for the College. At Summer Eights the men's first boat got blades (again!!), making it one of the most successful boat clubs in recent history. The basketball team won the University championship, which made them the first St Antony's team to win a university-wide competition. Other teams did spectacularly well, particularly the men's and women's football teams, who got into the final stages of the university championships.

However, not all news is good news in the College. Sadly, a dear and incredibly active student member of the College, John Kuhn, a Rhodes Scholar from South Africa, died in March 2003. He was only 24 years old. This tragedy was one of the saddest episodes in the recent history of the College, and John will be missed very much. With the support of his friends, a bench and a plaque, as well as a tree, were placed in front of his window at the Founder's Building so that his memory will live on in the Quad he loved so much. John's death will mark this year as one in which the College lost a promising and loved member.

On a different, yet negative note, the JCR, and many other student bodies across the University, were greatly concerned by the University's announcement of the increase in the maximum period of liability to pay fees for D.Phil. students. Such a measure would have had a drastic effect on graduate studies in Oxford. For this reason the St Antony's JCR took the lead among graduate colleges to reverse the new policy. The policy was finally revoked this July thanks to pressure from OUSU as well as by the Senior Tutors of Colleges.

The JCR has achieved so much, and overcame so many obstacles, due to the strength of its members. Yet, we would not have made it through without the work of previous administrations. Former JCR President Andrew Zadel and his team

established important foundations that allowed us the luxury of recovering our history. College authorities, as well as the staff, were also key in the successful organisation of dozens of small and big events. The JCR Executive is truly grateful for all the support it has received from the College.

However, it was mainly the drive and enthusiasm of JCR elected members that pushed forward the entire JCR, which now has a new multipurpose room in the Besse Building in which to have executive meetings. Simonne Horwitz, the VP Welfare, has done an incredible job given the number and significance of welfare issues this year. Paul Ocobock's (VP Academic), good sense of humour, has brought to the JCR much needed levity. Helen Belopolsky and Teun Dekker, respectively the Secretary and Treasurer of the JCR, have been important pillars, specially because they remind us what we promised and how much money we have in order to do it. Of course, the social side of the JCR was not forgotten. The Brazilian/American/Russian character of our Social Secretaries Andre Carvalho, John Paul Ghobrial, and Lilia Khabibulina gave a special flavour to our parties (check out the pictures on the website), karaoke, and exchange dinners.

The officers of the JCR have not only been supportive of all initiatives, but have also been designers of several special events. Sherry-Lee Abrahams, the Women's Officer, organised a trip to The Trout and invited Bridget Kendall, former student of the College and BBC Diplomatic Correspondent, to give a talk on the role of women in the media. Nicholas Miller, the LGB Officer, organised a very well attended, educational, and fun Pride Night. We hope that his idea of showing movies on the ceiling of the Buttery will be repeated at other occasions. Naomi Kikoler, our JCR representative to OUSU, has been key in our dealing with significant issues affecting the whole University and particularly the graduate community. Louis Dezseran, our Sports Officer, not only helped organising Sports Day, but provided key support to all sports teams. Matt Tejada and Rachel Ziemba, respectively the Bar Manager and (now constitutional) Webmaster, were witnesses at all our celebrations. Rachel took the pictures and (greatly) improved the JCR's website, and Matt and his team served the drinks, introduced a happy hour (for even happier students), and made the Late Bar not only profitable but a well run outfit. Two new positions were created within the JCR. The Keeper of the Attic (known as the "ghostbuster") and an Environmental Representative.

In short, this has been a year of contradictions at the heart of the JCR. Parties, final examinations, karaoke, memorial services, barbecues, and discussions about University fees have all been part of the life of the College in a year dedicated to the recovery of our memory as a JCR. Yet, the meaning of the rediscovery and celebration of our traditions goes well beyond the preservation of our traditions. By doing this, we demonstrate that it is possible to live peacefully together in a cosmopolitan and diverse community. We just hope that this is seen as an example for the uncertain world beyond St Antony's.

Alejandro Quiroz Flores

The Library

The College Library as a whole contains over 100,000 volumes, and currently subscribes to over 260 journals and newspapers. Its holdings reflect the disciplinary interests of the College, and it is divided into the Main Library and the libraries attached to some of the regional studies centres. The Main Library reading rooms occupy what was formerly the chapel, refectory and chapter house of the first Anglican convent, the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity..

The Main Library holds the general collections in modern history, politics, international relations, economics and development studies; the regional collections on Europe and Asia, and the non-Slavonic works on Russia and the USSR. The Russian and East European Centre, renamed in July as the Russian and Eurasian Centre, holds the Slavonic language material on Russia, the countries of the former USSR and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East and Latin American Centres hold the collections relating to their own fields of interest. The Middle East Centre has an extensive archive of private papers of diplomats, businessmen and others who worked or travelled in the Middle East. The Main Library's archives include a number of collections of private papers relating to twentieth century Europe, of particular importance being those of Sir John Wheeler-Bennett.

While the primary aim of the College Library as a whole is to serve the needs of members of the College, the area studies centres fulfil a wider role in providing facilities to all members of the University whose studies come within their orbit; they also, under certain conditions, admit other scholars. The Main Library also admits a number of researchers from outside the College who have a special need to use its collections, in particular those on the Third Reich and fascist Italy.

This year's activities have included the deliberations of an ad-hoc Library Committee set up to review the current and future roles of the College's libraries and, in a context of ever-increasing demands on limited resources, to consider priorities for expenditure and possible fund-raising. This committee, whose membership was drawn from Fellows, library staff and students, met eight times between November and March, and produced a set of recommendations which were subsequently approved by Governing Body. The most important decision taken was that high priority should be given to (a) the retrospective conversion to OLIS of the pre-1990 catalogue, and (b) (dependent upon this conversion) the introduction of automated circulation of books. These projects, which have already been undertaken by more than two-thirds of Oxford's colleges, are necessary in order to improve security and to assist readers in locating the books they need. Resources are available to begin this work with the employment of a temporary cataloguer in 2003-4, and the search is already under way for further funding to ensure that the retro-conversion and automation can be completed in as short a time as possible.

Among other issues addressed by the committee was the question of how to

ensure that there is an adequate and ongoing supply of information to the Librarian on the library needs of students taking the main master's courses to which St Antony's recruits. In a new Acquisitions Policy document the need to provide support for the core reading lists of these courses was recognized, along with the need to maintain the Library's historic strengths. Throughout the year efforts continued to try to regularize the situation regarding the University's support for the College's area studies libraries in the wake of the introduction of the new governance structure for the University. Negotiations were successfully concluded for the integration of the Latin American Centre's library into the Oxford University Library Services (OULS), but the situation of the Middle East Centre Library is more complex, and the long-term funding of acquisitions in this area remains unresolved. Negotiations with OULS over the integration of the Middle East Centre Library will be resumed in the new academic year.

We are grateful to all those who have made donations to the Main Library during the past year, including:

Dr M. Alagappa; Professor W. Beinart; M. Bhatia; B. Brammall; Professor A.H. Brown; N. Converse; Dr G. Daniels; Professor P. de Senarclens; Geoffrey Elliott; M. Evison; Professor R. Foot; Mrs Polly Friedhoff; Sir Marrack Goulding; Professor C. Jones Finer; Mrs P. Josten; Dr R. Krämer; Professors Peter and Margaret Matthews; N.A. Murray; NATO Public Diplomacy Division; Naval War College; Ambassador T. Örn; Oxford Institute for Energy Studies; Professor T. Raychaudhuri; Dr R. Regnier; Professor Sir Adam Roberts; Dr K. Rotimi; Dr L. Saez; Professor R. Service; Professor A. Shlaim; Dr H. Shukman; Dr S. Tsang; M. Walecki; E. Weaver; Pak-Nung Wong; World Peace Foundation; Dr J.R.C. Wright; Professor J. Zielonka.

Celia Kerslake (Library Fellow)

St Antony's/Palgrave Series

The series was launched in 1977, with Archie Brown as the first General Editor. He was succeeded in 1985 by Rosemary Thorp who, in turn, was succeeded by Alex Pravda in 1993. Eugene Rogan became general editor in 1997, to be succeeded in 1999 by Richard Clogg. Alison Howson, Senior Commissioning Editor for the Social Sciences, has responsibility for the series at Palgrave Macmillan

The Editorial Board comprises the Warden and Fellows of the College representing different area centres and disciplines, together with representatives of Palgrave Macmillan. The Secretary of the series is Mrs Ruth Cox. The adverse conditions currently affecting the publication of scholarly monographs mean that the substantial rate of publication sustained by the series some years ago cannot be maintained. The Editorial Board continues, however, to welcome book proposals and manuscripts for consideration from members of the College and those

associated with it. The Board will consider proposals for both monographs and edited volumes of high academic quality. These should be sent to the St Antony's/Palgrave Series secretary. Academic judgements on proposals are made by the Board on the basis of reports, frequently from members of the College. The Palgrave Macmillan representatives on the Board have responsibility for the commercial side of decisions and publication arrangements, including the securing of overseas (usually American) co-publishers. Henceforth the American co-publisher is most likely to be St Martin's Press. The College benefits financially as well as academically from the Series, receiving a modest royalty from the publisher on most of the books published.

Copies of Christine Nicholls' official history of the College, *The History of St Antony's College, Oxford, 1950-2000*, are available from Polly Friedhoff in the Development Office, at the heavily discounted price of £25. Copies of David Footman's life of Antonin Besse, the College's founder, are also available at a much reduced price from Ruth Cox.

During this academic year the following books have been published:

He Ping: *China's Search for Modernity – Cultural Discourse in the Late 20th Century* ISBN 0-333-97715-7

Baumann, Renato (ed.): *Brazil in the 1990s – An Economy in Transition* ISBN 0-333-92196-8

Patrikeeff, F.: *Russian Politics in Exile, The Northeast Asian Balance of Power, 1924-1931* ISBN 0-333-73018-6

Talshir, G.: *The Political Ideology of Green Parties – From the Politics of Nature to Redefining the Nature of Politics* ISBN 0-333-91986-6

Tal, Lawrence: *Politics, the Military, and National Security in Jordan, 1955-1967* ISBN 0-333-96398-9

Becker, Jonathan A.: *Soviet and Russian Press Coverage of the United States: Press, Politics and Identity in Transition* Paperback ISBN 0-333-94965-X

Restrepo, Elvira Maria: *Colombian Criminal Justice in Crisis* ISBN 0-333-92163

Dozmukhamedov, E.: *Post-Communist Transition in Kazakhstan. A Politico Legal Perspective* ISBN 0333-98798-5

Favretto, I.: *The Long Search for the Third Way* ISBN 0-333-97714-9

Troxel, Tiffany : *Parliamentary Power in Russia, 1994-2001* ISBN 0-333-99283

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Richard Clogg

SPECIAL ARTICLES

On the tenth anniversary of the death of Albert Hourani (1915-1993), Derek Hopwood (Emeritus Fellow) assesses his life and work.*Albert Hourani: Islam, Christianity and Orientalism
(Dedicated to the memory of Odile Hourani 1914-2003)*

Albert Hourani died in January 1993 after a lifetime devoted to the study of the Middle East and Islam. It is fitting that we should mark the tenth anniversary of the death of one who did so much to encourage the discipline of Middle Eastern studies in our college, in this university and elsewhere and of one who was an inspiration to so many of his colleagues and students. He was a Fellow of St Antony's from 1959 until his death, the real founder of the Middle East Centre, and University Reader in Modern Middle Eastern History. He was Sub-Warden for a time and a possible candidate for Warden when Bill Deakin retired. In a memorial address Ralf Dahrendorf called him one of the handful of members of the College who deserved the epithet "great". This article (based on a lecture given in College in January 2003) is a modest attempt to assess some of the influences that helped to shape his intellectual and academic life and work.

On his death, "I felt as if part of my own life had ended. As long as the teacher lived, one thought of oneself as his student" (Albert Hourani quoting the famous Hungarian Orientalist Ignaz Goldziher on the death of his teacher H.Fischer. (A.Hourani, *Islam in European Thought* (1996), p.37.). I was Albert's student (I first attended a lecture by him in 1955) and then his colleague for over thirty years, and even after his retirement I watched him still at work in conferences, meetings, seminars, with students and heard his reactions to new books, new theses, new ideas. With other of his colleagues we would sometimes poke gentle fun – not to his face of course – at what we thought were his sometimes over the top reactions to new students or teachers or ideas, reactions that over time he usually modified. And I think I have read almost everything he published (and even including an unpublished schoolboy essay which was preserved in his papers). I remember that at the party we gave for his 60th birthday I said much the same thing about having read his work and to lighten the atmosphere I commented that I had looked for unconscious humour in his writings that I could quote. I concluded that the only example I had found that amused me was his description in an article on Ottoman society of Bedouin tribes wandering around the deserts in "their great loose combinations". I don't think that he liked my doing this very much as I noticed that when he later reprinted the article in a collection he had changed 'combinations' to 'groupings'.

Looking at the whole of his life it is possible to single out three major phases.

i. His early life. He was born in 1915 in Manchester, England, of Christian-Lebanese immigrant parents. His family had been converted from Greek Orthodoxy to Scottish Presbyterianism. He often spoke of his family home in Manchester where East met West, where many Lebanese and Arabs would gather, and where his father was an elder of the local church. He attended school at Mill Hill near London and Magdalen College, where he read for a degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics.

ii. There then followed a prolonged stay in Beirut, Cairo and Jerusalem in the 1930s and 1940s that introduced him to contemporary Islam and to modern Arab nationalism. He met regularly with a group of fellow Lebanese in Beirut who discussed problems of the Middle East, including the role of Arab Christians and their relations with Arab Muslims.

iii. Finally, his long period in Oxford that brought him into contact with scholars here, particularly Hamilton Gibb, Professor of Arabic, and the European orientalist scholar-emigres, who in turn introduced him to other European orientalists, particularly the French. In addition to being influenced by the scholarship of these men he was deeply impressed by the spirituality of three of them, Gibb and the French scholars Louis Massignon and Jacques Berque.

In all of Hourani's scholarly writing we find there are two broad general fields of interest; firstly, the study of Middle East history that culminated in his major book, *A History of the Arab Peoples* and, secondly, studies on aspects of Islamic and Arabic thought, on how Arab thinkers, Muslim and Christian, absorbed or rejected European ideas and on how European orientalist scholars interpreted Islamic history and religion. This latter topic seemed to engage his mind in his later years quite considerably. His last published work was *Islam in European Thought* (1991), a collection of papers that contained his last lectures with the same title.

Hourani was a committed Christian and his faith played a major role in the way he approached his work and in particular his study of Islam. A fascinating aspect of his Christian life was his conversion to Catholicism. It is clear that in the late thirties in Beirut he was deeply interested in religion as his attendance at discussions on Christianity in the group mentioned above demonstrates. I am not sure whether at this time he had abandoned his family faith. Conversion to Catholicism was not uncommon amongst intellectuals but I do not know what it was in particular that attracted him. His friend at Oxford, Charles Issawi, the Middle East economic historian, discerned his interest in Catholicism very early and claimed that ten years before Hourani's conversion, he had laid a bet that he would convert.

Hourani spoke about aspects of his faith in a sermon he gave in the University Church of St Mary the Virgin as University preacher in 1976. I do not know how University lay preachers are chosen or how it is known that certain people are suitable, but he used the occasion to speak both about his own faith and about how it had influenced his attitude towards work and towards other faiths.

It is interesting that he based most of what he said on the thoughts of John Henry Newman - himself a convert to Catholicism - who had often preached in St Mary's (as an Anglican). He said that the title of his own sermon could have been 'On presuming to stand where Newman stood' and added that "echoes of his words will be heard in everything I have to say". He was, he said, like Newman and many others, engaged "in the search for a faith... by which we can live". For him the ultimate reality was the voice of God speaking to the human soul and to the individual conscience, the voice which guides one to exercise tolerance, to live in peace with others, to a charity of forgiveness - and in his articles he twice quoted Pope Gregory VII's words on the charity we owe to one another.

Faith gave him a clear pattern for his life and he lived up to it - remembering of course the human weaknesses we are all heir to.

This had profound implications for his personal and working life. The Christian scholar of Islam has to find an acceptable method of writing about his subject. Islam and Christianity have found (find?) it difficult to give an intelligible place to the other within their systems of thought. He wrote notably of the look of "uneasy recognition" with which the two religions have always faced each other. He approached the other religion as a responsible Christian scholar with, he wrote, a sense of a living relationship with those whom he studied. There was a need to stretch out across the gulf created by power, enmity and difference. In a real sense, he asserted, dialogue should be at the heart of our studies. The defining of another's religion must be done with reverence and respect, the reverence of a Christian and the respect of the serious scholar. Hourani chose to write about Islam at what he called 'its highest', i.e. as taught and practised by the trained scholars ('ulama) and as expressed by some Sufi mystics.

He found many positive factors in Islam that strengthened his respect for it as a faith and as a way of thought; they were human factors, however, as he stopped short of ascribing divine inspiration to Islam. For him Islam was a manifestation of the human spirit, a form of human reasoning in the attempt to know God, a valid but limited response to the Truth. One can admire a virtuous Muslim life and treat with respect Muslim scholars who revere the Qur'an, but in the end one cannot go as far as to see Islam as an alternative form of salvation.

In his scholarly life Hourani was deeply impressed and influenced by numerous other sensitive thinkers (mainly orientalist scholars) who did not dismiss Islam out of hand and who had something valuable to say about it. For him Islam was not a divine revelation but was an encountered, contemporary, living religion followed by millions across the world and a religion with a history. Therefore, it could be described and analysed as it is and as it had been practised and interpreted. From his many writings it is possible to discover what for him were the essential features of Islam. One was the fact that the Muslim world had a "unity which transcended divisions of time and space" and that within that world there existed a corpus of knowledge "transmitted over the centuries by a known chain

of teachers". It was a moral community that continued to exist even when rulers changed and one that preserved its faith in one God, a community that observed prayers, fasts and pilgrimage in common. Hourani admired and tried to understand this "profoundly unified" society. Unity was more important than disruptive movements and factors that tended to disturb it.

This was the Sunni (orthodox) world of Islam and it is clear that this was the world that best represented Islam for him. It was the steady world that kept a balance between extremes – a world in which the 'ulama slowly accumulated tradition and in which Muslims strove for moral perfection. He disliked the violence or extremism that lately disrupted this world. He called the last chapter of his *History of the Arab Peoples* that dealt with the post-1967 period 'A disturbance of spirits'. It was almost as though he shut his eyes to violent change.

It is clear that the scholars who most influenced his thinking on Islam and whom he deeply respected were those we call orientalists, those who were sharply criticised by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (1978). I remember that when the book first came out Roger Owen gave a very favourable account of it at a seminar in the Middle East Centre. (Said had given a very favourable account of Owen in his book.) But Hourani clearly felt very uncomfortable with some of Said's more extreme strictures. When writing about Said's theories he went almost as far as he could, without descending to polemics, in criticising them. He wrote restrainedly that his methods of expression "at times bring him near to caricature" and that "perhaps he makes the matter too simple when he implies that [orientalism] is inextricably bound up with the fact of domination". (Hourani often used the word 'perhaps' when he meant 'absolutely certainly'.) He was careful to give weight to some of Said's points but regretted that the epithet orientalist could no longer be used with the respect he thought it deserved. As he wrote: "The time has gone when orientalists could speak of themselves, without fear of contradiction, as contributing from the purest of motives to the spread of knowledge and mutual understanding." He had an almost mystical regard for the clan of orientalists – "priests of a mystery" – he called them, whose task was "to lay [their] hands in reverence and devotion upon ...the past".

In his writings Hourani remained a strong defender of the orientalist tradition. He praised the work of the earliest orientalist scholars showing that they wrote and related to the world as they did because their minds were inevitably formed by the culture of their age and by the ideas and convictions their lives had taught them. By and large they succeeded, often working in isolation and as pioneers in difficult topics. They had to do many things and Hourani admitted that it was "not surprising that they did not do all of them equally well". He considered their knowledge and use of oriental languages, often criticised as a tool of imperialism, to be a liberating force enabling them to penetrate different cultures without ulterior motives.

Albert admired and valued the worth of orientalist scholars as he did scholars from many other traditions out of a unique spirit of generosity and of human warmth and modesty, as Andre Raymond, his first student at Oxford, said of him at the memorial meeting held in College in March 1993.

Derek Hopwood

WHY JAPAN STILL MATTERS* - Valedictory Lecture by J.A.A. Stockwin, given on 30 May 2003

The history of Japan since this Institute was founded is replete with puzzle and contradiction. In this lecture I want to talk about the Institute, but also principally about Japan during the period of the Institute's existence. 21 years of the Institute; 21 years of Japan

The Nissan Institute

The Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies of the University of Oxford has come of age. Resulting from a generous benefaction from the Nissan Motor Co. Ltd, the Institute has formally existed since 23 September 1981, the date of the opening ceremony. Although I was present at that ceremony, I personally did not arrive from Australia to take up my post until 1 January 1982. Until January 1993 we were at No 1 Church Walk, and since then - following a second welcome episode of funding from Nissan - in this fine building. We are a University Institute located on the territory of St Antony's College, and anyone who knows how Oxford works will realise that this could be a rather delicate matter. All five Nissan Fellows are also Governing Body Fellows of St Antony's. This has been a singularly happy and productive arrangement. We work closely together with our academic colleagues in Japanese studies at the Oriental Institute, and interact extensively with colleagues in our respective disciplines. Within this building we have the magnificent Bodleian Japanese Library, arguably the best library of materials on Japan in the country, and this arrangement has also worked superbly well.

Over the past 21 years we have achieved much to be proud of, and I want to emphasise that it has been a team effort, in pursuit of a generally recognised set of common purposes. In the words of the original agreement between the Nissan Company and the University, we sought to introduce the study of Japan into "mainstream curricula of the University". In pursuit of that aim we have introduced optional courses relating to modern Japan for undergraduates studying history, economics, social anthropology and politics/international relations, with the result that many students graduating from the University of Oxford in those disciplines have come to regard Japan as an important part of the universe of comparative discourse in their respective disciplines. We also continue to supervise substantial numbers of postgraduate students in various Masters courses and particu-

larly those on course for a doctorate. At one stage not so long ago we were between the five of us supervising between 35 and 40 postgraduate students working on aspects of Japan.

We also co-operate with our colleagues at the Oriental Institute in the teaching of the four-year undergraduate degree in Japanese. This is a language-based course, where we succeed in bringing a critical mass of students up to excellent working fluency in the language by their final year. We also to teach them in depth about Japan, and they have extensive opportunities to stay in Japan before they graduate. They choose optional subjects based on disciplines either in the humanities or the social sciences. I am myself a passionate advocate of language-based degrees, and I also believe that such courses are largely a waste of time if they fail to produce students who, on graduation, are unable to work with great competence in a Japanese language environment, as well as having an excellent understanding of Japanese culture and how Japan works. We aim high, in other words. I remember once having a battle royal, at a conference, with a political scientist at another university who argued that all you needed to understand Japanese politics was an understanding of political science. The language, in his view, hardly mattered. I hope that I defended my corner to reasonable effect.

There is much more that I could say about what we have attempted and achieved, in the fields of research, publishing, to a lesser extent outreach, and relations with Japanese institutions and scholars, but let me just mention two things. What is now the Nissan Institute/RoutledgeCurzon Japanese Studies Series has now published more than 60 volumes and is, I think, the largest such series in the world relating to Japan. And from the start we have received a stream of academic visitors, mainly from Japan, staying with us here in the Institute, and many of them also attached to St Antony's College, for varying periods of time engaged on research projects, across a range of disciplines.

And finally let me say how delighted I am that my successor as Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies is to be our colleague Roger Goodman, and the Director for the next two years will be our colleague Ann Waswo. (We are decoupling the positions of Nissan Professor and Director, and the Directorship will rotate). I am confident that the Nissan Institute will be in good hands.

Japan

But let me turn to Japan. In 1981, when the Institute began, Japan appeared to the world as a rising power, and as the 1980s progressed the Japanese economy was growing so large and so fast that in the US and elsewhere it was being perceived as a threat. Books were being written, at various levels of analytical sophistication - from the high to the very low indeed - about the secrets of Japanese success. The world was coming to experience a reversal of the earlier unargued assumption that the East must learn modernity from the West. Here, it appeared, was a new and different model of modernisation, arising in the East and affording crucial lessons

for the West. From the 1970s into the 1980s very many books on Japan in English had some variant - often humorous - of the rising sun flag on their dust jackets. Many of these writings took Japanese culture as their starting point, with factors such as group consciousness, consensus, vertical society and mutual obligation as the keys to an understanding of how this resurgent Japan actually worked. Of course, if the dynamo powering Japan were its culture, then transferring solutions based on that culture to places with different cultures might be problematic. But those who recognised this dilemma often failed to recognise the corollary that transferring methods of operation based on Western cultures to the ever-so-culturally-different Japan might also have its problems. And yet that process had been ongoing in Japan - with interruptions and counter-reactions - since the middle of the nineteenth century.

An influential book in the early 1980s, was *Japan as Number One*, by the Harvard Professor Ezra Vogel, published in 1979. I had occasion to introduce the core arguments of this book to an international group of students in London in January of this year, and was met by the response that Vogel's reasoning was "silly". Yet how things have changed! Vogel was the flavour of the month in the early 1980s. There were fears that the American economy and many of its institutions were failing to respond to the challenges of the age, that industries were becoming uncompetitive, city streets were unsafe and policy responses uncoordinated. Vogel therefore suggested that the US could learn from Japan by adopting an industrial and trade policy, a small core of permanent high-level bureaucrats with prestige and power, a communitarian vision and aggregation of interests. He also thought, like several other authors before and since, that the US might learn a great deal from Japan on how to control crime, with emphasis on the social basis of policy. In a sense the book was more about America than it was about Japan, but ironically it sold many times more copies in translation in Japan than it did in English in the United States.

My own inaugural lecture here in Oxford was given on 27 January 1983, and was titled "Why Japan Matters", giving me a signal, 20 years later, for the title of the present lecture. I suppose you could say that I am being consistent, though the task of defending the proposition that Japan matters in 2003 is surprisingly different from the task in 1983. In that lecture I selected 10 areas of Japanese experience that I thought worthy of intensive study.

- (1) An original and advanced corpus of literature and art. (I could have added culture more generally)
- (2) Historical continuity punctuated by periods of radical (perhaps revolutionary) change.
- (3) Flexible approaches in society to new situations without jettisoning previous attitudes or policies.
- (4) A combination of mobility and change with loyalty to community and

social organisation.

(5) High levels of education, living standards, life expectancy, social equality, and reasonable but “not extravagant” social welfare.

(6) A dynamic and competitive economy, with low unemployment and inflation (these were scourges elsewhere at that time).

(7) Innovative management and generally co-operative labour-management relations.

(8) A relatively open democratic political system, combining continuity of policy with reasonable receptivity to change.

(9) Low profile foreign policies, and economically realistic defence spending.

(10) A rich and fascinating language (though I admitted it might be a barrier to communication with outsiders).

When I recently revisited this formulation, not having looked at it for many years, it struck me that it was rather too sweeping and euphoric. But the atmosphere of the time was such that Japan did indeed seem like a bright beacon in a world facing many deep economic, social and political problems. Apart from pervasive problems of stagflation, as it had come to be called since the 1970s, the “New Cold War” was in full swing, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979. An ailing Brezhnev still presided in Moscow. Japan, meanwhile, was quietly making lots of money, refraining from international involvements except those of an economic nature and exhibiting notable political stability. Nakasone had recently become Prime Minister and seemed likely to be a rather dynamic leader, in the view of many observers.

The latter half of the 1980s saw attitudes developing in the United States and elsewhere much more critical of Japan, but this was criticism resulting from the apparent whirlwind progress being made by the Japanese economy. Japanese economic policies and strategies came to be pilloried as far too self-serving. Japan was portrayed as mobilising a tsunami of exports, targeting certain overseas markets in such a way as to overwhelm their local industries, and engaging in overseas investment strategies that were also harmful to overseas economies. At the same time the Japanese internal market was seen as protected by a raft of barriers, formal but mostly informal, against foreign goods and foreign investment, so that by the end of the 1980s the whole economic policy of Japan had come to be seen, in some quarters at least, as mercantilist. Stories (apocryphal or not) of American ski equipment rejected at the customs on the grounds that it was designed for “non-Japanese snow”, and of pharmaceuticals that could not be accepted in Japan because “Japanese intestines were longer than the intestines of Americans” abounded. Moreover, the degree of governmental control exercised in Japan over many aspects of economic activity was conducive to the view that the prevailing economic principle was not that of a market economy, but rather closer to that of a command

economy. From these criticisms it was a short step to the argument that Japan was a threat and that something needed to be done to curb its international ambitions.

The argument was not confined to economics. Critics thought that Japan did not contribute enough to the maintenance of the international systems of free trade and security from which it greatly benefited. Such criticisms divided into military aspects and economic aspects. The deeply entrenched pacifism stemming from August 1945 and from the peace Constitution of 1946 had led to policies of minimal - though not that minimal - defence. Japanese governments until the passage of the Peace Keeping Operations bill in July 1992 had no legal basis for sending Japanese contingents even on UN peace keeping missions. The other aspect concerned the international economic system, where Japan stood accused of exploiting it to its own advantage rather than helping to keep it in good working order. The huge increases in Japanese overseas development aid between the early and late 1980s represented a government effort to meet such criticisms, while Nakasone, as Prime Minister in the mid-1980s, succeeded in increasing the defence budget over a sustained period.

The transformation in the debate about Japan since the early 1990s (and particularly since the late 1990s) is truly amazing. In what has now become a stereotypical formula, "Japan-bashing" has been replaced by "Japan-passing". In other words, in the ever-fickle world of what fashion-creators regard as "important" in international affairs, substantial sections of the mass media, at least, have ceased to regard Japan as worth primary attention. The failure of President Clinton to visit Japan on the occasion of a visit to China in the late 1990s became symbolic of this downgrading. Another expression recently current in Japan (and invented, I believe, by a former Nissan Institute Research Fellow, Professor Yoshikawa) is that the country has just experienced a "lost decade".

The implications of this last concept are particularly significant. On the one hand, the bursting of what is now generally known as the "bubble economy" of the late 1980s has led to daunting problems of bank indebtedness, lack of consumer and business confidence, deflation (perhaps now accelerating), rising unemployment, excessive saving rates and flight of capital overseas. On the other hand, attempts to remedy the situation have been blocked by public and private sector vested interests, while leadership structures capable of overcoming these obstacles have been too weak.

I personally agree with much of this criticism, though the conclusions that may be drawn from it concerning the future prospects of Japan are actually quite problematic. Speaking in broad terms, it is true that governmental and political structures forged in the early post-war years with the aim of transforming a largely third world economy into a first world economy are much less appropriate for the task of running a modern high-tech economy in an intensely competitive international environment. Although some question just how far placing government at the centre of the economic system in the high growth era between the 1950s to the 1970s

actually helped that growth, the outcomes in terms of economic and social transformation were spectacular. Where else can we find an example of 10 per cent annual growth rates of GDP sustained over a 15-year period (1958-73), and then lower but still impressive growth rates maintained for much of the next twenty years? Whatever we may think of government regulation of the private sector, it seems clear that the politico-economic system with its multi-faceted components and inter-relationships worked extraordinarily well.

There is no time now to analyse the system as a whole, but let me take one aspect of it, namely the character of workplace incentives. Specialists in this area will accuse me of oversimplifying it, but there is a broad picture to be painted nevertheless. In much of Europe, North America and Australasia there has tended to be a general assumption that high levels of labour mobility, ease of hiring and firing and remuneration according to merit and performance, are most effective in creating and perpetuating the levels of incentive needed for a dynamic economy. Moreover, Schumpeter's view that economic dynamism requires "creative destruction", in other words bankruptcy and corporate reorganisation in the interests of efficiency should be a normal part of economic life, is also widely accepted.

Experience of the Japanese workplace, however, reveals a different pattern of incentives, although they are not necessarily less "rational" in terms of human motivations than those to be found in the parts of the world I have just mentioned. Much of the workforce is on permanent or semi-permanent contracts of employment, though firms have a "cushion" in the form of casual and short-term employees. From the point of view of the firm, permanent employees are worth training up to a high level of performance, even at great expense, because they are most unlikely to seek employment elsewhere. From the point of view of the worker, the firm is a provider of multifarious benefits, and it would be irrational for a worker (or indeed a manager) to seek employment with another firm because inevitably that would mean a drastic loss, both of status and benefits. Remuneration is based on regular increments according to seniority, and though this creates the kind of employment stability that might be thought to reduce incentives, the work team approach adds group solidarity which is itself often an effective incentive. There is also a general reluctance to allow firms to go bankrupt because of a view that the work teams that have been so carefully built up may be redeployed, but should not be lightly sacrificed.

Undoubtedly, this is a sharply different system of incentives from that prevailing in many parts of the world outside Japan. Moreover, in Japan, despite many recent changes in economic circumstances, it still remains to a large extent intact. The question therefore arises whether a system of work incentives, that at an earlier stage in Japanese development was extraordinarily efficacious in motivating people, has now lost its usefulness. Or putting it more sharply, is something that was progressive up to the 1980s now holding back progress? If we think this is so, then why should a beautiful chicken have turned into an ugly duckling (as the

Japanese might say: niwatori kara ahiru e)?

However this may be, it is now necessary to broaden the argument to the political system as a whole.

The past decade in Japan has been a period of political turbulence. Before I go on to describe the parameters of that turbulence (using the word “turbulence” rather than change), I want to focus on the period 1989-93, when a strong earthquake shook the long-established framework of international affairs and appeared to be affecting the internal political structure of Japan as well. There is, however, a difficult puzzle about how closely the two were causally linked.

The emergence of Gorbachev as most powerful leader in the USSR, his domestic reforms and refusal to give a military guarantee of the survival of East Germany led with surprising speed to the breach in the Berlin wall, the reunification of Germany, defection from the Soviet orbit of the satellite states and at the end of 1991 the dissolution of the Soviet Union itself. This meant the ending of the Cold War in Europe, the disappearance of the second superpower and an era of unprecedented American dominance over world affairs. What is less well recognised, however, is that its effects in East Asia were less radical and slower to materialise, to the extent that the Cold War structures in that part of the world have not been fully dismantled, even today. Whereas Germany was reunited, China remained divided, with the People’s Republic maintaining pressure on Taiwan to reunite with the mainland. Whereas the Stalinist Ceausescu regime in Romania collapsed in three weeks from the outbreak of demonstrations against it, the old Stalinist firm of Kim Il Sung and Son in North Korea, no doubt learning lessons from the grisly end of Ceausescu and his wife, survived through tightening controls over its long suffering population and thumbing its nose at the outside world. Korea, like China, remained a divided country, with massive forces ranged against each other across the Demilitarised Zone. Many thought that with the ending of the Cold War and disappearance of the Soviet military threat to Japan, the rationale for the Japan-US Mutual Security Treaty would be gone, and some new set of arrangements would replace it. But in fact, in the late 1990s it was actually strengthened by the Guidelines Agreement, whereby Japan assumed a more active role in assisting American forces should a military conflict break out. Okinawan objections to the preponderance of US bases on their narrow island were overridden by the Clinton Administration and Hashimoto Government in 1996-7.

In Japan the plate tectonics of the political system showed signs of shifting decisively between 1989 and 1993. In July 1989 single-party dominance by the Liberal Democratic Party was shaken by its defeat in the Upper House elections. Loss of control over the House of Councillors could not create a change of government, but the LDP forfeited its previously automatic control over its legislative programme. The Gulf Crisis and War of 1990-91 seriously embarrassed the Government of the politically weak if well-meaning Prime Minister, Kaifu, who proved unable to gain parliamentary approval for despatch of forces to the Gulf. Even

though Japan bankrolled the expedition to liberate Kuwait to the tune of \$US13 billion, it received scant international thanks for its efforts. It is very arguable that it was this experience that began the evolution of public opinion away from the Constitution-based pacifism of the past towards a readiness in certain circumstances to project limited military force overseas. Kaifu's successor, Miyazawa, succeeded in passing a Peace Keeping Operations bill in July 1992, permitting the participation of contingents from the Self Defence Forces in UN peace keeping missions under certain strict conditions. More recently the Koizumi Government has sent token forces to the Middle East in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, and has given token support for the invasion of Iraq.

Then on 9 August 1993 - a very important date in Japanese political history, though rather forgotten today - the political foundations of the system trembled in a fashion that threatened to bring the whole edifice crashing down. Following substantial defections from its ranks and the foundation of new parties the LDP was defeated in general elections for the House of Representatives and replaced in office by a fragile coalition government of no less than eight parties, led by the youthful, dashing and articulate Hosokawa - a kind of Tony Blair might-have-been.

The Hosokawa Government put forward a radical programme of political reform, proposing deregulation, decentralisation, electoral system reform, taxation reform and a more open trading policy. But within a few months Hosokawa resigned, citing some obscure corruption scandal in his past. He had taken Japan into the World Trade Organisation and achieved an apparently radical reform of the Lower House electoral system. But otherwise there wasn't so much to show for his time in office (though I would argue that he set the agenda for reform). At the end of June 1994 the LDP amazed everybody by cleverly fixing a deal with their old enemies of the Japan Socialist Party enabling them to return to power under a Socialist Prime Minister. But this turned out to be the kiss of death for the JSP, which split down the middle in 1996 and ceased to be a political factor of consequence.

By the skin of its teeth and through adept manoeuvring, the LDP in the mid-1990s was able to patch up the shaken edifice of the old political system. The phrase "by the skin of its teeth" seems appropriate because there is ample evidence to suggest that had the LDP been deprived of the oxygen of power for, say, three years, it would have disintegrated to the point of no return. This is an important point, because in my opinion the LDP is not a party in the British sense that competes for power with other parties of comparable strength, but is rather a party of power and patronage, linked through semi-permanent networks of influence with most other parts of the political system. The analogy of ripples in a pond may be used to describe this phenomenon. You throw a stone into a pond, and ripples travel outward from the point of impact. Eventually the ripples will spread to most parts of the pond, and those parts that they fail to reach are at the margin. Simi-

larly, the LDP over its long years in power has reached out to more and more sections of society - most recently, labour unions - incorporating them into its patronage structure. Those that remain outside face the dilemma of whether to engage in hopeless opposition or to angle for a relationship with the LDP Establishment that will provide defined benefits. At the present time the only political party that has resisted such blandishments is the Japan Communist Party, and even it has shown occasional signs of wavering. In any case it accounts for less than 10 per cent of the national vote.

By the late 1990s party politics in Japan seemed to have come full circle. The LDP was firmly back in power and was at the centre of tentacular patronage networks, the opposition parties were back more or less to where they had been before Hosokawa (though the old Japan Socialist Party had been replaced by the Democratic Party which inherited many JSP members). The opposition was as fragmented as before, following the ultimate failure of attempts to unite it as the Shinshintô (New Frontier Party) between 1994 and 1997.

But in fact there were differences. The appeal of the LDP had faded to the point where it could only govern as part of a coalition, though there was no shortage of small parties willing to join it in a coalition government. Public disillusionment with party politics had reached the level where a majority of those polled in surveys declared no party preference whatsoever, and voting turnout was down - though not yet to US levels. Perhaps connected with this was the fading of real ideological differences between parties of government and parties of opposition. We should not forget that in the earlier post-war decades there were often ferocious clashes between the forces of conservatism, broadly represented within the LDP and left wing opinion, centred upon the labour movement and in the Socialist and Communist parties. Even though conservatism predominated at central government level, the left enjoyed the backing of labour unions, intellectuals and much of the media, as well as substantial sections of public opinion. It exercised a crucial power of veto over constitutional revision, as well as over certain sorts of development in defence policy, education policy and the treatment of public service employees. Since the 1990s, however, the hard lines of such divisions have become blurred and the balance of opinion has tended to shift towards the right, though not the far right. Even the most intractable issue of all - that of revising the peace Constitution - has come onto the active political agenda (though revision is not about to happen shortly).

Governments since the early 1990s have preached system reform, and the poor performance of the economy since the bubble burst in 1991 has focused attention upon the politico-economic system as an important part of the problem. The starting point of much of the criticism is a market liberal approach, holding that policy is greatly influenced by powerful networks of vested interests that protect unecomic sectors, inhibit innovation and have created the kind of economy that is more commonly associated with socialist systems.

The litmus test of all this is the Koizumi Government that came to power in April 2001 amid unprecedented enthusiasm, on a platform of radical reform. Although it was evident from the start that the media image element was strong in Koizumi's popularity, he appeared to have a serious programme of reform and could largely ignore the demands of factional interests in his own party in constructing his cabinets. Most observers would now say, however, that the Koizumi Government has been a disappointment, though the more charitable of them ask that he be given more time. In an important and innovative recent study entitled 'Japan's Failed Revolution: Koizumi and the Politics of Reform', the Australian scholar Aurelia George Mulgan argues that Koizumi has largely failed to produce meaningful reform of economic policy by virtue of not being fully in control of the key levers of power. Dubbing the Japanese system an "unWestminster model", she claims that even with the strengthening of Cabinet and Prime Minister that Koizumi has to some considerable extent achieved, he conspicuously lacks the policy-making powers of a British prime minister because he can be blocked from two directions. One is ministries of the government, having their own agenda and patronage networks. And the other is the committee system of the Liberal Democratic Party, especially the Policy Affairs Research Council. In the Japanese system the PARC has the right to vet, and if it wishes veto, policy initiatives coming to it from Cabinet before they are debated in Parliament. This places the onus on the Prime Minister to appease vested interests represented within the party. This has greatly inhibited the kind of reforms that would force inefficient firms into bankruptcy or radical restructuring.

I broadly agree with this analysis, but I think the argument leads us on to two further quite crucial questions.

First, what would be the conditions for a "successful revolution" if it is true that the present one is failing or has failed? Is incremental reform possible or is the condition of Japan so grave that only a major crisis can force the system to undergo the drastic medicine that is required? In the modern history of Japan there have been many grave crises, but perhaps the most significant were that between 1853 and 1868, and that between 1937 and 1945. Both of these were crises induced by external shocks: the first by the determination of Western imperialist powers to open up Japan to the outside world, and the second following from the Japanese attempt to carve out her own empire throughout eastern Asia, and its ultimate failure. The first crisis resulted in economic, military and social modernisation under a nationalist and generally authoritarian regime, and the second produced political reformation under the banner of parliamentary democracy. But if these were both revolutions, as we may call them, there were also - particularly in the second case - conspicuous elements of continuity from the pre-revolutionary to the post-revolutionary regime. Examples of this are the persistence of bureaucratic dominance and of close liaison between the government and major industrial firms after 1945, despite reforms that were designed to embed the su-

premacry of Parliament.

Moreover, the record of incremental reform since 1945 has not been wholly negative. There are ways of working the system that some political leaders have learned effectively. To take one example, Tanaka Kakuei, Prime Minister from 1972 to 1974, moved swiftly to recognise the People's Republic of China (a huge domestic political issue throughout the 1960s in Tokyo), radically revamped inadequate welfare provision, had some success in dispersing industry away from big cities and was vigorous in tackling pressing issues of environmental degradation. He is now mostly, and justly, remembered for corruption scandals including the Lockheed affair, but in fact he was a remarkably proactive Prime Minister with a solid record of achievement, and an ability to mobilise bureaucrats to do what he wanted them to do. This is an example of where we should not underestimate the importance of the personality factor in leadership.

The second key issue concerns the nature of the reforms that are needed. A recent report (November 2002) of the Pacific Council on International Policy, based in California, and titled 'Can Japan Come Back?' recommends, among other things, that regulations be loosened to encourage a more competitive, dynamic economy, with particular emphasis on small and medium enterprises, corporate reform, women, immigrants and foreign investors and employers. (p. 34) Quite rightly, they commend the amazing turnaround of Nissan under M. Carlos Ghosn following the merger with Renault in 1999: "He has been wildly successful: In May 2002, Nissan announced record earnings of \$3.8 billion. Just as important as earnings, his example has had a broader impact on corporate Japan. Other Japanese carmakers have followed his lead and cut back on production or restructured their capacity. Ghosn's announcement soon after his arrival that Nissan would deal with fewer steel suppliers sent a ripple down through the supply chain, and Japan's big steel companies announced their own restructuring moves in response". (p. 19)

It is arguable that here we have the example of an external shock - a grave crisis for the company, followed by an external takeover, followed by a revolution in policy, followed by profitability, followed by an impact on the broader economy. Should we therefore argue that, whether through external shock or by effective leadership on the Tanaka model, Japan should simply scrap her own systems and procedures and move to a fully liberalised free market model, based on Schumpeterian creative destruction, entirely flexible labour markets, entirely open trading policies and an essentially non-playing "nightwatchman state"? This is a difficult question to answer because, apart from anything else, such a system is probably incompatible with democratic politics. In addition, it flies so sharply in the face of Japanese habits of behaviour that it is hard to imagine it happening except in the very long term indeed. While some Japanese today talk of judging reform "on an American standard", they do not necessarily appreciate that US governments can be as protectionist of their own industries as they accuse Japa-

nese governments of being of theirs. Powerful vested interests are hardly confined to Japan, and it is very arguable that the United States' national interest may be adversely affected by the overweening power of the military interest. An economy entirely guided by the unseen hand of the market has a mythological ring, even in the 21st century.

What then should Japan do? An outsider should hesitate to prescribe, but first of all it may be agreed that Japan needs a less regulated, more dynamic economy in some sectors. The agricultural and construction industries have enjoyed notoriously high levels of protection, and in the case of the latter the power of the construction lobby leads to vast sums being wasted on unproductive projects such as concreting miles of the beds of rivers. What is sometimes called the "Construction State" is premised on a politics privileging the construction lobby to an extraordinary degree. But I am not entirely convinced that this is the crux of the issue. As Paul Krugman argues, a big part of the problem is not so much on the supply side, where things are admittedly inefficient in many sectors (and incidentally were inefficient in the 1960s, when annual growth rates averaged 10 per cent per annum), but on the demand side, given that the Japanese save a high proportion of their income. Factories are producing goods but people are not buying them in sufficient quantities to make production worth while. According to Krugman, the solution is inflation targeting by the Bank of Japan and expanding the money supply. I leave these questions to my economist colleagues, but clearly no proposed solution is as simple or as painless as it looks.

In the sphere of politics, the structure of policy-making has been afflicted with serious difficulties in recent years. The current Prime Minister, Mr Koizumi, has had some success in reinforcing the power of the prime minister and cabinet, with the formation of the Cabinet Office (*naikakufu*) and the introduction of junior ministers, where none had existed before. The amalgamation of various ministries into super-ministries has also no doubt done something to break down the rigidity of departmental boundaries and loyalties, although my impression is that the effect has been rather modest.

In my view, two fundamental inter-related structural problems remain. One is the survival of the Liberal Democratic Party as the "party in power", together with its spider's web of vested interest linkages and "iron triangles". It is true that the LDP now rules as the senior party in a coalition of three parties, but this mainly has the effect of extending the network a little wider. The second problem is the failure of a viable opposition party to emerge as a potential alternative government party. The two problems are closely connected.

As I have suggested earlier, the LDP was extremely lucky to have the chance of making a political comeback from 1994, having been ousted from power in 1993. The party has changed since then in certain ways, in part because of the new Lower House electoral system that has weakened (without by any means eliminating) the intra-LDP factions (*habatsu*), and in part because it has to coexist with

other parties in a coalition. Many of the younger LDP parliamentarians are more international in outlook and less wedded to past ideas and processes than their seniors. But the essence of the system remains. And its great problem is that it is at the centre of a stifling network of vested interests that inhibit reform. The longstanding rural bias in the electoral system has by no means been eliminated, and the LDP is too much beholden to conservative rural values and interests, even though change is taking place in attitudes even in the countryside.

The failure of viable opposition to emerge is a problem that goes back a long way. In the mid-1990s the New Frontier Party briefly seemed ready to challenge the LDP as an alternative party of government. But it soon faded and in December 1997 split apart. Currently the largest party of opposition is the Democratic Party, but in parliamentary numbers it is far weaker than the LDP. Recently it has shown more inclination to compromise with the current parties of government than to oppose them. There is some logic in the suggestion that Mr Koizumi, as Prime Minister, might have more easily pursued his reform programme and overcome opposition to it by deliberately splitting the LDP and himself forming a new reformist party in conjunction with some combination of his own LDP supporters and elements from other parties. But he has chosen not to do this.

There is no space to go into the arithmetic of this, but my blueprint for a restructured party system in Japan would be a reformist party based on a coalition of largely big city interests and a conservative party based on a coalition of small town and rural interests. This would at least give the electorate a real choice of policy, increase interest in politics and give politicians more of an incentive to deliver on national policy promises (as distinct from local pork-barrel promises) in order to win a majority against a similarly motivated party adversary. But it is difficult to design a road-map to take the system to that point.

The distinguished American historian of Japan Carol Gluck is convinced that the days of the LDP are numbered and that it is destined to be replaced, as part of the flow of history. But Gibbon wrote of the Roman Empire in its decline, to the effect that "this quite intolerable situation lasted for over three hundred years". I doubt that the LDP will last three hundred years, but I am not entirely convinced that it can easily be displaced in the near future. Nor do I see its past record as entirely negative. What I see as problematic is that it has now become an obstacle to needed change.

Does Japan, then, still matter? This has been widely questioned since the 1990s, and to an extent Japan-passing has replaced Japan-bashing. One reason for this is the recent stagnation of the Japanese economy. Another is the impressive rise of the Chinese economy since Deng Xiaoping began opening it up nearly a quarter of a century ago. Economists use a variety of measures to estimate the relative size of different national economies. Japan comes out second to the United States and well ahead of China in terms of their respective proportion of world GDP. But on a purchasing power parity measure, China may even be slightly ahead of Japan

and second to the United States. Of course it should be remembered that while Japan has a population of 126 million, the population of China is about 10 times that of Japan, so that Japan is producing a larger GDP than China with one tenth of the population.

The above-mentioned report of the Pacific Council on International Policy gives a positive view of the proposition that Japan still matters:

“The notion that Japan is now of little importance to Asia and the United States is dangerously wrong. Japan remains the world’s second largest economy. It provides substantial financial backing to development programs worldwide, and to key initiatives such as the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Japanese foreign investment counts heavily in Asia and elsewhere, including the United States. The evolution of Japan’s stance toward a vibrant China, the possible reunification of Korea, and strategic cooperation with the United States will be a critical variable in shaping future Asian geopolitics. Japan matters, and the country’s international partners will continue to have a keen stake in its renewed dynamism.”

A small but illustrative point is that Japan has sent a contingent to help in rescue work following the recent catastrophic earthquake in Algeria, not a country that one would have expected to be on Japan’s regular beat. And indeed there has also been a very serious earthquake in northern Japan, centred on the city of Sendai, comparable in intensity to the Algerian earthquake, which killed thousands, but there were no deaths in the Japanese case, though there were injuries. This suggests the obvious conclusion that Japan is a most advanced country that can afford earthquake-proofing of its buildings to a very high standard indeed.

Japan’s approach to world affairs remains low key, but it is not just regional any more (if it ever was).

Nevertheless, although the quotation from the Californian group that I have just given you supports my main argument, I think it is too bland, and indeed the report itself goes on to qualify it in various ways.

My own qualifications are threefold.

First of all, prices in Japan continue to fall, despite virtually zero interest rates imposed by the Bank of Japan over several years. Japan is in a deflationary spiral that may be starting to affect other major economies as well. The world has been so used to fighting inflation that it requires painful readjustment of thinking to shift the attack to the opposite problem, chronic deflation. According to a recent source, if you bought an umbrella on the streets of Tokyo in 1993, you would have paid ¥1,000. In 2003, you would pay ¥300. That’s heaven for the consumer seeking instant protection from the torrential rain for which Tokyo is famous. But it is hell for umbrella manufacturers (Robert Feldman, quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, 22 May 2003). Deflation induces consumers to postpone purchases, and reduces the incentives for manufacturers to produce, creating economic stagnation.

My second reservation concerns the shifting balance of power in North East Asia. I believe that the situation concerning North Korea is extremely dangerous, though its parameters are quite different from those in Iraq. Granted that there is probably much bluff in the provocative recent official attitudes in Pyongyang, the possibility of miscalculation by various powers concerned (including the United States and Japan), leading to armed conflict, cannot be ruled out. Should that happen, the consequences for Japan and the rest of the region would be incalculable. Connected with this is the fact that the economic rise of China directly affects both Japanese economic viability - cheap Chinese goods entering Japan in huge quantities and undercutting Japanese domestic manufacturers - and potentially the political stability of Japan as well. (It is true, of course, that many Chinese imports entering Japan were made by Japanese firms operating in China). In relation both to North Korea and to China xenophobic tendencies are beginning to make their appearance in Japanese elite and more general opinion.

My third concern relates to political change within Japan itself. As I have made clear earlier, there is a good case for even quite radical reform of the Japanese politico-economic system, which in various ways has become sclerotic in its behaviour. But it would be unwise to assume that any and all reform must be desirable because it represents a break with the past. I see a danger in the near-collapse of the political left and the consequent upsetting of a political balance that, however inefficient it was in certain ways, at least provided a check against the ambitions of the far right. Both Japan's modern history and contemporary reality suggest that we should be concerned about the resurgence of the far right, though it is not in power at the moment. Political apathy tends to reinforce this danger. Although many outside commentators, particularly in the United States, welcome the fact that constitutional revision is now on the active agenda, and a high proportion of younger Japanese politicians plainly support it, I see worrying dangers ahead if constitutional reform (particularly reform of the peace clause) is not handled with sensitivity and common sense. The Prime Minister, Mr Koizumi, was very recently quoted as saying that he believed the Self Defence Forces were really armed forces, and that his view was shared by the majority of Japanese. "So what?", I hear people say. But if the peace clause is to be scrapped, and Japan is to become a "normal state" in defence matters, it is crucial that political control over the military be maintained and indeed strengthened.

There is cause for concern that a serious security crisis on the Korean peninsula (and perhaps the resultant activation of the Japan-US Security Treaty to combat it), combined with the growth of perceptions in Japan of an economic threat from China, might so destabilise Japanese politics that political leaders holding extremist views might seize the opportunity to implement dangerously destabilising erosion of democratic safeguards against abuse of power. We have already seen a good deal of such erosion in the United States following the tragic events of 11 September 2001. Might it not happen in Japan as well, for a different combination

of reasons?

Personally, I am inclined to believe that democratic institutions and practices are sufficiently well entrenched in Japan to provide an effective barrier to such developments. But the system is facing much the most severe crisis of recent years, a crisis indeed that is multi-causal. Radical reform to reinforce democracy is essential if pressures towards “reform” in a more dangerous sense are not to prove irresistible.

Returning to the seismic analogy I have used earlier, as I understand it major earthquakes occur when the pressures caused by plates shifting deep under the earth’s surface become intolerable, and something has to give. Sometimes there are signs that an earthquake is imminent, but often it happens without prior warning. In the case of Japan, it seems possible that a period of sudden or precipitate change may be approaching, caused by a simultaneous build-up of crises in the economy, politics, society, and perhaps in the regional/international environment. The problem with such change - like the problem with earthquakes - is that it tends to have unpredictable and highly damaging results. Then you have to sort it out, and things may come good, but the damage is always great. Crisis prediction, like seismology, is a highly inexact science. People who predict crises nearly always get it wrong. Moreover, it is not the case that such a crisis has to happen - I sincerely hope it will not happen - merely that pressures are building up, reform is slow to eventuate, the reform that is taking place may not be the right kind of reform, and there are important historical precedents.

For the outside world today, Japan passing is no sort of option. Japan still matters profoundly and will continue to matter for the foreseeable future. The next question to consider is: “**For what combination of reasons** will Japan matter in four, five, six or ten years time?”

J.A.A. Stockwin

(A version of this lecture is to appear in Japan Forum, October 2003.)

Reminiscences

The first time I came to St Antony’s was to attend a seminar series chaired by Isaiah Berlin when I was a final year PPE undergraduate in 1958 or 1959. Fast forward to December 1967 when I was taking my first sabbatical from the ANU in Canberra at the University of Sussex. Dick Storry invited me to give a seminar at St Antony’s, and I spoke on the topic: “Is Japan a Post-Marxist Society?” When I had finished, Dick as Chairman said something like: “I disagreed with you right through your presentation, until your last paragraph, when I found I agreed with you”. Agreement must have prevailed, because he invited me to spend my next sabbatical, in the second half of 1973, at the College. During those six months I

kept my head down and finished writing a book, thus not socialising as much as I should have done. But Audrey and I made some good friends, and took our children to the Christmas party, which we all thoroughly enjoyed.

But my principal association with St Antony's began on 1 January 1982, in the middle of the coldest winter for a generation. The Nissan Institute had opened its doors at 1 Church Walk the previous September. Ann Waswo came two weeks after me and Jenny Corbett about a year later. Developing a new Institute, we felt like pioneers. Very sadly, Dick Storry died a few weeks after my arrival, but his widow Dorothie went on to give us immense support in her delightful way. We were determined to make a mark and introduce courses on Japan into "mainstream curricula of the University" to quote the agreement with the Nissan Company. I was a little taken aback when at a meeting of the Politics Sub-Faculty somebody countered my proposal for a Japanese politics option in PPE with the comment: "perhaps it might be appropriate to introduce something like this at Masters level in about five years time". But I won the vote.

An episode remains in the memory from those Church Walk days. Next door was Phil and Jim Church, whose grounds had become a haven for winos, mainly elderly or prematurely aged. But one day I noticed a young man among them with flaming red hair and a scarf covering the lower part of his face, including his nose. Soon after that I was giving a language class in the library that doubled as a seminar room. In the middle of the class, the door flew open and in came this same gentleman, who sat down with the students. We were reading a text in Japanese, so I handed him a copy, which he, quite naturally, held upside down. He uttered a few incomprehensible words that were definitely not Japanese. After we had read another sentence or two I asked him if he knew any Japanese. He spoke this time in sounds that vaguely indicated a negative. So I asked him to leave, and he left without fuss! But there were two Americans in the class, and I noticed that they were looking pale. Afterwards, to my utter astonishment, they told me they had assumed he had a gun. I drew conclusions about gun control from this episode.

Sometime in the early summer of 1988 it came to my attention that Nissan might be prepared to give us some more money to supplement the endowment they had made back in 1979. To cut a very long story short, we received in 1990 enough new funding from Nissan to finance a new building and payment towards two new positions, to which Roger Goodman and Mark Rebeck were subsequently appointed. We received marvellous support from Ralf Dahrendorf in resolving the sensitive issues involved in building a University Institute on College Ground. Ultimately, it was a question of mutual benefit. The Institute received a spanking new building, including a dedicated Japanese library (perhaps now the best in the country) - the Bodleian Japanese Library - and the College gained a 150-seat lecture theatre as a venue for seminars and conferences.

Not long after we had moved in, an elderly and delightful College servant called Eamon commented to me: "Come to think of it, this is a new building, but eventu-

ally it will be an old building”. Pronounce that with an Irish accent to appreciate the full flavour of its philosophical pessimism.

Buildings may grow old (eventually!), but institutions need both continuity and renewal. There has sensibly been much of both at St Antony’s in recent years. So far as the Nissan Institute is concerned, I feel that I can hand over with full confidence that its strengths will be built on while adapting to an ever-changing world.

J.A.A. Stockwin

TEACHING AND RESEARCH

ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES

St Antony's specialises in the inter-disciplinary study of large regions of the world. Nonetheless, Fellows of the College are grounded in particular disciplines, and are members of different Faculties. Since the main entries in this *Record* are by regions, we thought it would be useful to give an indication of the distribution of subjects within the permanent active Fellowship of the College. Of course, many Fellows straddle several disciplines, and, indeed, regions. But the following list gives the primary disciplines of the College's Governing Body in Michaelmas Term 2003. The regional section under which the main biographical entry will be found is indicated in brackets after the name.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Dr Walter Armbrust (Middle Eastern Studies)
 Professor Robert Barnes (Asian Studies)
 Dr Roger Goodman (Asian Studies)

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Dr David Johnson (African Studies)

ECONOMICS

Professor Paul Collier (African Studies)
 Dr Jenny Corbett (Asian Studies)
 Dr Valpy FitzGerald (Latin American Studies)
 Dr Charles Harley (European Studies)
 Dr Carol Leonard (Russian and Eurasian Studies)
 Dr Marcus Rebick (Asian Studies)
 Mrs Rosemary Thorp (Latin American Studies)

HISTORY

Professor William Beinart (African Studies)
 Professor Leslie Bethell (Latin American Studies)
 Dr Jane Caplan (European Studies)
 Mr Richard Clogg (European Studies)
 Dr David Faure (Asian Studies)
 Mr Timothy Garton Ash (European Studies)
 Dr Nandini Gooptu (Asian Studies)

Professor Alan Knight (Latin American Studies)
Dr Eugene Rogan (Middle Eastern Studies)
Professor Robert Service (Russian and Eurasian Studies)
Dr Steve Tsang (Asian Studies)
Dr David Washbrook (Asian Studies)
Dr Ann Waswo (Asian Studies)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Professor Rosemary Foot (Asian Studies)
Dr Kalypso Nicolaïdis (European Studies)
Dr Alex Pravda (Russian and East Eurasian Studies)
Professor Avi Shlaim (Middle Eastern Studies)

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Dr Celia Kerslake (Middle Eastern Studies)

POLITICS

Mr Alan Angell (Latin American Studies)
Professor Archie Brown (Russian and Eurasian Studies)
Mr Malcolm Deas (Latin American Studies)
Dr Abdul Raufu Mustapha (African Studies)
Dr Philip Robins (Middle Eastern Studies)
Professor Vivienne Shue (Asian Studies)
Dr Jan Zielonka (European Studies)

AFRICAN STUDIES

African Studies are pursued at the College within a general interdisciplinary programme, and in the Centre for the Study of African Economies

African Studies

This year has seen an exciting expansion in African Studies both at St Antony's and in the University. Dr David Anderson was appointed as University Lecturer in African Studies and took up his position, based at the College, in October 2002. He is a specialist on East African Politics and History. Professor Paul Collier returned from leave at the World Bank and will again direct the Centre for the Study of African Economies. Professor David Johnson, a former South African, now working at the University of the West of England, will join the College – and the African Studies group – as the University Lecturer in Comparative Education. With Professor William Beinart (Southern African history and environmental issues) and Dr Raufu Mustapha (West Africa and African Politics) they will be able to provide a very wide range of supervision and there is now a greater concentration of expertise on Africa at St Antony's than there has been for many years.

Terence Ranger, Emeritus Professor of Race Relations is back from Zimbabwe, and has been teaching at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. He and Tony Kirk-Greene, Emeritus Fellow, continue to participate actively in our seminars and conferences. Dr Lotte Hughes has been appointed as a three-year Research Fellow at St Antony's. There have been new appointments in other colleges. Dr Jan-Georg Deutsch started this year as University Lecturer in African History, based at St Cross, and Dr Jocelyn Alexander, who works largely on Zimbabwe, has been appointed University Lecturer in Commonwealth Studies and will be a fellow of Linacre. Both are former members of St Antony's.

Within the University, an African Studies Committee has been established as part of the Area and Development Studies Committee. This can operate for the first time as a sub-department to employ members of staff (currently 3), house external research grants, initiate courses (a masters in African Studies is planned), and host visitors. These new administrative arrangements will provide an important base for the further consolidation and expansion of African Studies.

During the year, we hosted three long-term visitors: Fr Matthew Kukah, who has given a number of seminars on the Nigerian Human Rights Commission; Dr Gwen Lesetedi, Sociology, University of Botswana; and Dr Hakan Thorn, Sociology, University of Gothenburg. Senior Associate Members during the year included Dr Douglas Johnson, Dr Deborah Lavin, Dr Kofi Orleans-Lindsay, Bona Malwal and Alex Duncan. Sabelo Ndlovu visited from the University of Zimbabwe. We have had a wide range of shorter term visitors for our seminars series, including H.E. Antonio Gumende (Mozambican High Commissioner), H.E. Dr Christopher Kolade (Nigerian High Commissioner), Jane Parpart (Dalhousie),

Colin Murray (Manchester), Stephen Ellis (Leiden) and Justin Willis (Durham).

The Thursday evening seminars continued throughout the year. In the Hilary term, these were jointly convened by William Beinart, John Toyé and Frances Stewart and held at Queen Elizabeth House on the theme of 'Poverty and Researching Poverty in Africa'. The Trinity term seminars were convened by David Anderson. An occasional seminar on Southern African Texts and Contexts was convened by Elleke Boehmer from Nottingham Trent University.

A conference on 'Rhodes, his Networks and their Legacies' was organised by William Beinart and Karen Brown at the end of November 2002 to mark the centenary of Cecil Rhodes's death. Rhodes's legacy is inescapable at the University of Oxford. Aside from the scholarships, Rhodes House library plays a part in the lives of most Africanists. And much of the African Studies programme at St Antony's is dependent upon the endowment attached to the Rhodes Chair of Race Relations. (This endowment has no links with the Rhodes Trust, but was provided by southern African mining companies in the early 1950s, for the study especially of the 'European impact on Africa', and named after Rhodes.) Rhodes and his legacy deserves our critical study.

There were fascinating papers on a wide range of topics, which testify to the continuing interest of historians in the high imperial era. Papers included Elleke Boehmer and John Pinfold (Rhodes House librarian) on literary representations of Rhodes, Liz Stanley on Rhodes and Olive Schreiner, Norman Etherington on Herbert Baker, Paul Maylam on the making of the Rhodes myth, Terence Ranger and Jackson Ndllovu on Rhodes's legacies and monuments in Zimbabwe. Professor Robert Rotberg, Antonian and biographer of Rhodes, who could not attend the conference, gave a seminar and public address during a later visit – an event jointly convened by St Antony's and the Rhodes Trust.

Hakan Thorn and William Beinart convened a one-day workshop on 'The Anti-Apartheid Movement: Global Solidarity and Social Movements'. The Archives of the British Anti-apartheid Movement have been deposited at Rhodes House, as have the papers of Trevor Huddleston, Michael Scott, and other smaller collections. The AAM papers are now available (with an online catalogue) and are attracting a number of scholars and students. Hakan Thorn situated the Anti-Apartheid movement in the context of the literature on new social movements, and emphasised its importance in this context. Robert Young discussed the impact of Fanon and the turn to armed struggle, and papers included analyses of the ANC and AAM, the Trade Union movement, Black British politics as well as the Danish and Dutch movements.

The annual Researching Africa workshop, convened by Maitseo Bolaane and Andrew Hurst, was a great success, attracting over 60 postgraduates, about half from Oxford. This year's meeting was jointly sponsored by the Chair of Race Relations and the *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Sixteen short presenta-

tions were made by students and postdocs who have recently researched in African countries. It is an opportunity to discuss methodologies, experiences, and the politics and ethics of research; our major focus this year was on translation, literally and metaphorically. Terence Ranger arranged the annual Zimbabwe Research day, which focussed on Zimbabwean diasporas.

A number of afternoon workshops were also organised on African environments, together with Dan Brockington and Lindsay Gillson of the School of Geography and the Environment, as a vehicle for presentations by post-doctoral researchers and postgraduate students in this field. Interdisciplinary methodologies and research questions, as much as research findings, have been at the centre of discussions. The workshops served to bring together historians, social scientists, geographers and natural scientists working on Africa in a most fruitful way. Papers included discussion of the impact of lion and crocodile conservation on rural communities in Botswana and Zimbabwe; parks and people in Tanzania; long term environmental change in the Kruger National Park; analysing degradation in the Karoo; and plant invaders in Ghana.

An increasing number of students at St Antony's are working on Africa, some as doctoral candidates but also for their masters degrees in a variety of fields. The Southern African Studentship was jointly held by Wiseman Magasela in Social Policy, and James Myburgh in Politics, both working on South African topics. The Kirk-Greene travel grants were awarded to Paul Ocobock for research in Kenya, Astrid Christopherson-Deb in Tanzania, and Hassan Sachedina in Tanzania. The Callaway book prize was won by Nneoma Nwogu working on Nigeria, and the Ranger prize by Jasmine Waddell, on South Africa.

The Centre for the Study of African Economies

The Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE) is located partly with the University Department of Economics and partly in St Antony's College, at 21 Winchester Road, Oxford. Its mission is to apply modern research methods to Africa's economic problems. Research is both microeconomic, with a focus on the problems facing individual producers (farms and firms) in Africa, and macroeconomic. It ranges from studies on the assets and economic performance of agricultural market traders in Benin and Malawi, to the determinants of inflation in South Africa, and how the government and central bank can best reduce it. It has a strong focus on the constraints on investment in manufacturing, drawing upon surveys in Ghana, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Côte d'Ivoire.

The Centre not only conducts research but also trains doctoral students. Former students are now employed in African universities and research institutions, as well as in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Results of the Centre's research are disseminated both in Africa and internationally. CSAE is home to the *Journal of African Economies*, which is widely circulated in Africa and to a book series, *Studies on the African Economies*. Centre staff participate in a wide range of activities within Africa, including data collection for both households and firms, training, and discussion with both the business and policy-making communities. The Centre collaborates closely with such organisations as the African Economic Research Consortium, the Economic Commission for Africa, and the African Development Bank. Together with these organisations, CSAE is building a body of informed opinion on economic policy within the continent. The Centre has a strong research reputation, which provides the basis for its increasing involvement in policy debates and other assistance to African governments and international organisations.

In 2002, CSAE was awarded ESRC funds to form a Research Group on Global Poverty, jointly with the Institute for Development Policy and Management of the University of Manchester. This is financing a joint research programme on Poverty, Inequality and the Quality of Life that will be a major component of the CSAE's research programme over the next five years. This programme formally began in August 2002, and since then two joint workshops have been held. One took place at St Antony's on 10-11 October 2002, when researchers from Manchester and Oxford presented and discussed a first set of papers on methodological issues in the measurement of well being. The other workshop was part of a broader international conference on Chronic Poverty, held in Manchester on 7-9 April 2003. The papers presented illustrated the approaches of non-economics disciplines to the investigation of the extent and causes of poverty.

CSAE staff are available to discuss their work by phone or by e-mail - contact details can be found in the current Research Summary, obtainable from the Publications Office.

The Centre also produces a Working Paper Series, operates a programme of lunch-time seminars on Tuesdays during term, and runs annual conferences aimed at its different user groups. Further information on these activities can be found on CSAE's web-site at <http://www.csaе.ox.ac.uk/>. Key data sets which the Centre has been responsible for collecting are also available on the web site.

For general enquiries please telephone + 44 (0)1865 271084, or e-mail csae.enquiries@economics.oxford.ac.uk

For information regarding publications please telephone + 44 (0)1865 271084, or e-mail csae.publishing@economics.oxford.ac.uk

Activities and Publications of Fellows

DR DAVID M ANDERSON took up the post of University Lecturer in African Studies in October 2002, and holds a Research Fellowship at St Antony's. During Michaelmas Term he was concurrently the Evans-Pritchard Visiting Lecturer at All Souls

College, where he gave six public lectures, entitled 'Histories of the Hanged: Testimony from the Mau Mau Rebellion'. He has spent part of the year revising these lectures for publication. In October 2002, Dr Anderson was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and during the year he joined the editorial advisory boards of two journals, *African Affairs* and *Oxford Development Studies*. It was a busy year for conferences and workshops, with Dr Anderson giving papers at meetings in Cape Town, Naivasha (Kenya), Stockholm, Boston (Harvard) and Washington, and - closer to home - in Durham, London and Glasgow. In the later part of the year he was able to begin work on a major programme of research on drugs in Africa.

His monograph, *Eroding the Commons: Politics and Ecology in Baringo, Kenya* (James Currey) was published in October 2002. He was also a principal author of a two-volume study on aid in East Africa, *Supporting Ownership: Swedish Development Cooperation with Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, produced for and published by the Swedish International Development Agency. Dr Anderson also co-edited a special issue of *Politique africaine* (June 2003), on the Moi succession in Kenya, and contributed two articles on Kenyan politics to *African Affairs*, 'Vigilantes, violence and the politics of public order in Kenya', 101 (2002), and 'Kenya's elections 2002 - the dawning of a new era?', 102 (2003). Three historical papers on Kenya in the 1950s were published during the year: 'Mau Mau at the movies: contemporary representations of an anti-colonial war', appeared in the *South African Historical Journal*, 48 (May 2003); 'Corruption at City Hall: African housing and urban development in colonial Nairobi' was published in *Azania*, 35/36 (2002); and 'The battle of Dandora swamp: reconstructing Mau Mau's Land and Freedom Army', which appeared in a volume edited by another Antonian, E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, and John Lonsdale, *Mau Mau and Nationhood* (James Currey). Consultancies include 'Forbidden Fruits', on social history of sexuality (broadcast on Channel 5, December 2002), and 'White Terror', dealing with atrocity in British detention camps in 1950s Kenya (broadcast on BBC 2, 17 November) as well as Ministry of Defence Briefings for UN Staff serving in Congo Democratic Republic and Sierra Leone.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM BEINART convened the weekly Thursday African Studies seminars and other workshops and conferences during the year. With Lotte Hughes, he gave a series of lectures on Environment and Empire from the seventeenth to early twentieth centuries. He taught three masters options: Apartheid and the Transition in South Africa; Environment and Development in southern Africa; and Environment and Empire. He continues to supervise a number of doctoral and masters students (18 in total this year) in a wide range of departments including Modern History, Politics, Development Studies and Geography. He has been chair of the University African Studies committee, the Rhodes House library sub-committee and the Area Studies committee for library provision. His book *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770-1950*

was published by Oxford University Press. A collection jointly edited with JoAnn McGregor, *Social History and African Environments* was published by James Currey and he contributed two articles to Stephen Dovers, Ruth Edgecombe and Bill Guest (eds), *South Africa's Environmental History: Cases and Comparisons* (Ohio University Press and David Philip publishers). Seminars and conference papers included talks in Cape Town (on Wildlife film history), Cambridge (on Ecological Imperialism and the prickly pear), Brown University (Conservation and Nationalism in South Africa), University of Stirling (Experts and Expertise in Africa), Maynooth (Land Reform in South Africa).

PROFESSOR PAUL COLLIER returned to the College in April following a five-year public service leave during which he was the director of the research department of the World Bank. Since returning he has been active in African policy debates, visiting Uganda, Ethiopia, Cameroon, and Madagascar, and participating in a workshop hosted by President Chirac in preparation for the G8 Summit at Evian. He is actively resuming direction of the CSAE: since April he has secured an ESRC research grant to work on the economics of civil conflict, and has submitted a proposal for a large collaborative research project on Nigeria. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (World Bank/Oxford University Press), published in June, was extensively covered in the media, including an invited article in *Foreign Policy*. Since his return he has written four new papers for journals, on topics ranging from the effect of military spending in post-conflict situations, to fiscal policy during oil windfalls.

DR ANKE HOEFFLER is Research Fellow at St Antony's, research officer at the Centre for the Study of African Economies and a senior associate member at the International Peace Research Institute Oslo (Prio). She is a macro economist and her research interests are mainly in the areas of economic growth and the economics of conflict. During the past academic year Dr Hoeffler worked on a Policy Research Report for the World Bank analysing civil wars as a development issue. The report is entitled *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* and discusses the costs and causes of violent conflict. The last part of the report offers some economic policy advice for conflict prevention as well as reconstruction of post-conflict societies. The lead author of this report is Paul Collier. Further publications include two book chapters:- 'Über die Ökonomischen Ursachen von Bürgerkriegen' (On the Economic Causes of Civil War) for Albrecht, H.J. and H. Entorf (eds), *Kriminalität, Ökonomie und Europäischer Sozialstaat*, Heidelberg: Physica Verlag, and 'The Political Economy of Secession' forthcoming in Hannum, H. and E.F. Babbitt: *Negotiating Self-Determination*. Both these chapters are co-authored with Paul Collier. Ongoing interdisciplinary work with the political scientist Scott Gates includes the examination of development aid and conflict. In addition Dr Hoeffler worked on the analysis of capital flight and migration out of Africa. A jointly written paper with Paul Collier and Catherine Pattillo 'Africa's Exodus: Capital Flight and the Brain Drain as Portfolio Deci-

sions' was presented at the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC) conference in December 2002. Further conference presentations included 'Military Expenditure: Threats, Aid and Arms Races' at the International Peace Science Society Conference in Tuscon, Arizona in November 2002. A paper entitled 'Aid, Policy and Growth in Post-Conflict Countries' was presented at the Hanse Institute for Advanced Study in Delmenhorst, Germany in June 2003. Further information on Dr Hoeffler's work is available at <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ball0144>.

DR LOTTE HUGHES, Junior Research Fellow, is in the first year of a three-year research post at the College, having passed her doctoral viva in September 2002. Her doctoral research subject at St Antony's was the Maasai Moves in colonial British East Africa, and she is revising the thesis for publication. She has given papers on issues arising from this work at the 12th International Oral History Conference in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, in summer 2002; at SOAS in autumn 2002; and at a conference on environment and empire at the University of Sussex, March 2003. The first and third of these has or will be published in volumes of collected papers. Her current research work involves researching and co-authoring with Professor William Beinart (her former supervisor) an environmental history of the empire from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, which will be published by Oxford University Press. She and Prof. Beinart have given lectures on the same subject in Hilary and Trinity terms, and she has also taught some Masters classes. On the non-academic front, but connected with her research interests, her short book for *New Internationalist*, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Indigenous Peoples*, was published in April 2003 by Verso.

ANTHONY KIRK-GREENE, Emeritus Fellow, continues to attend the weekly seminar on African Studies. He remains on the Institute of Commonwealth Studies Seminar Committee on the history of the Colonial Service and on the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum's Oral History Committee. His book *Identity and Image: the District Officer in Africa* is to be published in 2004. He took part in the conference on Nigerian Foreign Policy held in the College in July and published an article on 'The Changing Face of African Studies' in *African Research and Documentation*: 90, 2002, and an article on elections in Nigeria in *The Politic* (Yale), III/I, 2002. He also gave a paper at the I.C.S. 'Administration of Justice in Africa' conference in June.

ABDUL RAUFU MUSTAPHA, University Lecturer in African Politics and Kirk-Greene Fellow in African Studies this year concluded the fieldwork for his study of ethnicity and public sector reforms in Nigeria. He also contributed to the development of a research agenda for the new DFID-funded Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), based at Queen Elizabeth House. Dr Mustapha coordinates the Oxford end of the West African regional programme of CRISE. He attended the 10th General Assembly of the Council for the Development of the Social Sciences in Africa (CODESRIA) which was held in Kampala in December 2002, and read a paper on 'States, Predation & Violence:

Reconceptualizing Political Action and Political Community in Africa'. A revised draft has been submitted for publication. Finally, in July 2003, he organized a conference on 'Nigerian Foreign Policy after the Cold War', funded by the Centre for International Studies at the University's Department of Politics and International Relations. This conference brought together scholars from the UK, France, USA, and a host of West African countries.

TERENCE RANGER, EMERITUS FELLOW, freed from the demands of the Oxford and the University of Zimbabwe terms, travelled to give lectures, participate in workshops and to do research. At the end of July 2002 he attended the Cape Town celebration of Africa's 100 Best Books, met Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu, and delivered the concluding summary at the Indaba on 'The Impact of African Writing on the World'. He then went on to the Book Fair in Harare where he again delivered a concluding summary, and to Bulawayo where he did research.

In September: he attended a conference at Stirling in honour of Dr John McCracken on 'Malawi after Banda', to which he gave a presentation on the application of McCracken's analysis of nationalism and democracy to Zimbabwe; chaired two panels at the UK African Studies Association in Birmingham, and on 14 September had the very unusual experience of attending the premiere in Sheffield of a musical version of his book, 'Voices From the Rocks', staged by the Bulawayo group Sunduza.

In November he delivered the first Memorial Lecture in memory of Adrian Hastings, 'Christianity and the First Peoples: Some Second Thoughts', now available on the web and participated in the workshop on Rhodes and his Legacy at St Antony's, delivering a paper on the uses of Rhodes's memory in contemporary Zimbabwe.

In 2003, he organised a Thanksgiving Service for the lives of Sir Garfield and Grace Todd; gave a seminar at the University of Zimbabwe on Zimbabwe asylum seekers in the UK; visited the University of Ghent and delivered their Distinguished Africanist Lecture on the struggle over history in contemporary Zimbabwe. Between 19 and 30 May he was a visiting professor at the Universities of Aarhus and Copenhagen in Denmark, where he delivered four lectures and participated in leading a workshop of 'The Invention of Tradition'. He attended the annual Britain Zimbabwe Society Research Day at St Antony's on 14 June on the topic of 'Zimbabwean Diasporas'.

Professor Ranger is an Honorary Fellow of the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. In this capacity he delivered lectures on 'Dignifying Death: The Politics of Burial' and 'The Voice of God in Zimbabwe' and organised and participated in a workshop on 10 June on 'Indigenous Christianities' and on 11 July on the struggle for democracy in contemporary Malawi.

Publications during the period included: Terence Ranger, (ed.) *The Historical Context of Human Rights and Democracy in Zimbabwe. Nationalism, Democ-*

racy and Human Rights, University of Zimbabwe Press, 2003; 'Women and Environment in African Religion', in Beinart and McGregor (eds), *Social History and African Environments*, James Currey, 2003.' The Zimbabwe Elections: A personal experience', *Transformation*, 19,3, July 2002; 'Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa', *Transformation*, 19,4, October 2002: 'Le Point De Vue de Terence Ranger', in *Politique Africaine*, 87, October 2002; 'Taking on the Missionary's Task: African Spirituality and the Mission Churches of Manicaland in the 1930s', in David Maxwell (ed.), *Christianity and the African Imagination*, Brill, 2002: 'Dignifying Death' will appear in the *Journal of Religion in Africa* later this year.

Professor John Toye, came to the end of his three year term as a Visiting Professorial Fellow and Director of the Centre for the Study of African Economies, when Professor Paul Collier returned to Oxford from the World Bank in April 2003. Professor Toye has now completed his research work for the United Nations Intellectual History Project. Jointly with Dr Richard Toye, he has co-authored the UNIHP volume on the topic of trade, finance and development, and the manuscript is now with the Indiana University Press, being due to appear early in 2004. Meanwhile, an article on "The Origins and Interpretation of the Prebisch-Singer Thesis" will be published this autumn in the US journal *History of Political Economy*, volume 35, No. 3. Professor Toye's edited volume entitled *Trade and Development: Directions for the Twenty-first Century* appeared in March 2003, from the press of Edward Elgar. Professor Toye was one of a group of experts invited to discuss African development issues with the Prime Minister in advance of the G8 meeting in Evian in June 2003. He was also a Guest Professor at the University of Innsbruck in June 2003, where he gave a series of lectures on "'The United Nations" Approach to Trade and Development 1943-2003'.

Other Members Associated with African Studies

Alex Duncan was Senior Associate Member for the academic year 2002-3. His principal activity during the year has been to take forward his studies of the political economy of change in developing countries, under the broad title of 'Drivers of Change.' During the academic year he has completed country studies of Zambia and India, and contributed to another in Nigeria, to add to the earlier study in Bangladesh. The UK government's Department for International Development, both centrally and in several of its country offices, has widely adopted the approach as part of strengthening its understanding of the politics of these countries in which it works. He organised a seminar for DFID staff on the subject, held at St Antony's in June, and has given presentations and/or lectures at Imperial College, the University of Reading, and in India and Zambia, and in Paris to the Governance Network of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee.

During the year he has continued as a visiting professor at Imperial College, and was appointed external examiner at the International and Rural Development

Department of Reading University, and as a member of the Comité Scientifique de Sciences Humaines et Sociales of the French government's Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement (Cirad).

Deborah Lavin, Senior Associate Member, says that she has greatly enjoyed, and profited from her association with the College, attending the African History and Intelligence seminars on a regular basis, and making occasional forays into subjects covered in Middle Eastern and Brazilian seminar series.

In January 2003, she delivered five lectures at the University of Cape Town Summer School and spent some weeks at the National English Language Museum (Grahamstown) working on the FitzPatrick papers for a paper read at the Rhodes Centenary Conference at St Antony's College in November. More recently she has been working in the papers of the Rhodes Trust Archive on two unrelated projects: pioneering South African irrigation schemes (for a projected book on the history of the use of water in South Africa) and the contribution of Rudyard Kipling as a Rhodes Trustee (for a paper to the Kipling Society).

Håkan Thörn, Ph. D., was a Senior Associate Member of St Antony's College for Trinity Term, 2003. He spent most of his visit finishing a research project on the transnational anti-apartheid movement and found the archive for the A. A. M. Archive at the Rhodes House Library an extremely valuable source for his research. The project is intended to result in articles as well as a book.

Dr Thörn co-organised a day workshop with Professor William Beinart at St Antony's on 31 May on 'Perspectives on the international Anti-Apartheid Struggle: Solidarity and Social Movements'. It took its point of departure in a broad definition of Anti-Apartheid as an international solidarity movement. The title of his paper was 'Anti-Apartheid, 'New Social Movements' and the Globalisation of Politics.' Dr Thörn also participated in a number of seminars and presented a paper at the African History and Politics Seminar with the title 'Solidarity Across Borders: Perspectives on the Global Anti-Apartheid Movement.'

ASIAN STUDIES

The Asian Studies Centre

At the beginning of the academic year the Centre was pleased to welcome Professor Vivienne Shue to membership of the Management Committee, following her election as a Fellow of the College and Professor of the Study of Contemporary China. Two other colleagues based elsewhere in the University were also elected to the Management Committee: Dr Ruth Barnes, Research Cataloguer of Indian and Islamic Textiles in the Department of Eastern Art at the Ashmolean Museum

and a Senior Associate Member of the College; and Professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Professor of Indian History and Culture and a Fellow of St Cross College.

The Centre continued to organise a full range of core academic activities, including regular and special seminars, a conference and a roundtable.

In Michaelmas Term Dr Mark Rebeck and Dr Ayumi Takenaka (who recently migrated to Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania) organised a conference entitled 'The changing Japanese family in comparative perspective'. This event was co-sponsored by the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies and the Europe-Japan Research Centre at Oxford Brookes University. Over two days eleven papers were presented. Dr Ayumi Sasagawa (Oxford Brookes University) spoke on 'Social world of university-educated mothers in a Japanese suburb'; Professor Ayami Nakatani (Okayama University) on 'The emergence of "nurturing fathers"? Discourse and practice of fatherhood in contemporary Japan'; Dr Roger Goodman (Nissan Institute/St Antony's) on 'The new policing of the Japanese family'; Professor Nobuko Nagase (Ochanomizu University) on 'Labour practices, youth employment and their impact on marriage in Japan'; Dr Francesca Bettio (University of Siena and St Antony's) on 'Women, marriage and the Italian labour market'; Professor Naohiro Ogawa (Nihon University) on 'Is Japan's traditional three generation family a "latent asset" for taking care of the elderly in Japan?'; Dr Tessa Carroll (University of Stirling) on 'Changing language, gender and family relations in Japan'; Dr Misa Izuhara (University of Bristol) on 'Changing families and policy responses to ageing Japanese society'; Dr Lidia Sciama (Queen Elizabeth House) on 'Changes and turning points in Italian attitudes to authority, family and women's employment from 1945 to the present'; Ms Nobue Suzuki (University of Hawaii at Manoa) on 'Why Filipinas? Intermarriage, masculine desires and modern identities'; and Ms Yoshimi Umeda (LSE) on 'Intermarriage in rural Japan: a consequence of the changing Japanese family'.

Four special seminars were held. Dr Bates Gill (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C.) spoke on 'Does China matter as a regional power?'; Professor Quangsheng Zhao (American University, Washington D.C.) on 'Chinese foreign policy – modernisation, nationalism and regionalism'; Professor Wang Jisi (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) on 'Changing Chinese views of the United States: the 16th Party Congress and beyond'; and Mr Khairy Jamaluddin (Visiting Fellow at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies) on 'Islam and politics in contemporary Malaysia'.

In Hilary Term a series of regular seminars was held. Speakers and their topics were: Dr Per Eklund (formerly at the United Nations) and Dr Katsushi Imai (St Antony's) on 'Programme design for accelerated reduction in rural poverty and child malnutrition in Asia'; Dato Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak (Defence Minister of Malaysia) on 'Malaysia and regional security in the age of global terrorism'; Mr Rod Wye (FCO) on 'China's diplomatic agenda in the era of

global terrorism'; Dr Frank Cibulka (St Antony's) on 'The war on terror and the Philippines' security and foreign policy'; Ambassador Delfin Colome (Asia-Europe Foundation) on 'Asia and Europe: Co-operation in the post-Cold War world'; Mr Sin-ming Shaw (St Antony's) on 'Re-thinking China, Taiwan and Hong Kong'; and Dr Tim Huxley (International Institute for Strategic Studies) on 'Regional security in South East Asia in the era of global terrorism'. In addition, a special seminar was organised jointly with the Oriental Institute at which Dr James Hoare (former British Chargé d'Affaires in Pyongyang) spoke on 'From crisis to crisis – two years in North Korea'.

A series of regular seminars entitled 'Islam in Asia' was organised by Dr Ruth Barnes in Trinity Term. Dr Michael Dillon (Durham University) spoke on 'China's "good Muslims" and "bad Muslims": the Hui of Ningxia and the Uyghurs of Xinjiang'; Dr Nile Green (Lady Margaret Hall) on 'Sufism in South Asia: Between texts, territories and the transcendent'; Professor William Gervase Clarence-Smith (SOAS) on 'Historical roots of fundamentalism in South East Asia'; Dr Sergei Andreyev (Institute of Ismaili Studies, London) on 'The shaping of the Ismaili community in Central Asia'; Professor Mohammad Talib (Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies) on 'The Sufis and society'; Professor David Parkin (All Souls) on 'Muslims, science and healing: an Indian Ocean perspective'; and Dr Annabel Gallop (British Library, London) on 'Illuminating the Word: the art of the Islamic book in Southeast Asia'. Also in Trinity Term Dr Tsang organised two special seminars: Professor Chung-in Moon (Yonsei University) spoke on 'Coping with the North Korean nuclear crisis – a South Korean perspective' and Dr Alan Ryan (Land Warfare Studies Centre, Australian Defence Department) spoke on 'Australian strategic thinking in the age of global terrorism and American pre-eminence'.

Dr Steve Tsang finishes his term of office as Director of the Centre after six years, and will hand over to Dr Mark Rebick at the beginning of Michaelmas 2003.

Taiwan Studies Programme

The Programme welcomed Dr Roy Giles, and Dr J.C. Chang as Senior Associate Members at the College and of the Programme. It hosted Dr Joyce Lin of Tamkang University for a short visit to carry out research on 'Can China still sell "one Country, two systems" to Taiwan?' It also sponsored Professor Robert Barnes to visit and lecture at the Academia Sinica in Taipei.

The main academic event this year was a roundtable organised by Dr Steve Tsang and entitled 'The Balance Sheet of Democratization in Taiwan'. This was held in May with participants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, the US, UK and France. Speakers and their topics were: Professor Tun-jen Cheng (College of William and Mary) on 'How democratic politics have impacted upon the effectiveness and

function of political parties in Taiwan', discussant Professor Edward Friedman (University of Wisconsin); Professor Shelley Rigger (Davidson College) on 'How has electoral politics affected the ordinary people's attitude towards politics?', discussant Professor Joyce Juo-yu Lin (Tamkang and Brookings); Dr Jean-Pierre Cabestan (French Centre for Contemporary China) on 'What impact has democratization had on government accountability and the quality of governance?', discussant Dr Jia-chung Chang (St Antony's); Professor Chien-min Chao (National Cheng-chi University) on 'How is the politics of *hejin* related to democratization?', discussant Dr Gary Rawnsley (University of Nottingham); and Dr Françoise Mengin (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales) on 'How has democratization affected sub-ethnic cleavages and the forging of a national identity in Taiwan?', discussant Professor Hong-yuan Chu (Academia Sinica). The session moderators and other invited participants who took a full part in the proceedings were: Mr Laurence Whitehead (Nuffield College), Mr David Coates (FCO), Professor Bob Ash (SOAS), Dr Chris Hughes (LSE), Dr David Faure (St Antony's), Professor Rosemary Foot (St Antony's), Dr Roy Giles (St Antony's), Ms Lily Hsu (Taipei Representative Office), Ms Winnie King (St Antony's), Dr Ming-yeh Rawnsley (University of Nottingham), Mr Sin-ming Shaw (St Antony's) and Dr Hung-mao Tien (Taipei Representative in the United Kingdom).

In addition the Programme sponsored one seminar each term on some aspect of contemporary Taiwan. In Michaelmas Term Dr Hung-mao Tien (Taipei Representative in the UK) spoke on 'Implications of the CCP 16th Party Congress for relations across the Taiwan Strait'; in Hilary Term Dr Ying-yuan Lee (Deputy Secretary General of the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan) spoke on 'The challenge to democratic consolidation in Taiwan'; and in Trinity Term Professor Ts'ui-jung Liu (Academia Sinica) spoke on 'Land use in Taiwan and its implications on the environment'.

South Asian Studies Programme

As Dr David Washbrook was on leave in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms, Dr Nandini Gooptu organised a series of seminars in each of these terms. In Michaelmas Term the general title was 'Comparative Seminar on Africa and South Asia': Professor Richard Allen (Framlingham State College, Massachusetts) spoke on 'Carrying away the unfortunate: The exportation of slaves from India during the late-eighteenth century', discussant Professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam (St Cross); Professor Barbara Harriss-White (Queen Elizabeth House) spoke on 'Indian corruption: The tip of the iceberg', discussant Dr Raufu Mustapha (QEH and St Antony's); Dr David Washbrook on 'Culture and colonialism: Europe, Eurasia and Africa'; Professor William Beinart (St Antony's) on 'Experts and expertise in colonial Africa revisited: is there scope for a neo-modernist analysis?', discussant Dr David Hardiman (University of Warwick); Dr Zulfiqar Hirji (Wolfson) on "'We came in dhows": the historiography of Asians in East Africa', discussant Professor Sanjay

Subrahmanyam; Dr Shruti Kapila (Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine) on 'Identifying race: Psycho-sciences and their techniques in British India', discussant Dr David Anderson (St Antony's); and Dr Anna-Maria Misra (Keble) on 'Princely India: a case of indirect rule?', discussant Dr Gavin Williams (St Peter's).

Also in Michaelmas Term three special seminars were organised by Professor Zafar Cheema: Professor Dr Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema (Islamabad Policy Research Institute) spoke on 'Elections in Pakistan and impact on regional politics and international coalition on terrorism'; Dr Peter R. Lavoy (Centre for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey) on 'Prospects of peace and stability in South Asia: an American perspective'; and General Jehangir Karamat (Former Chief of Army Staff, Pakistan Army) on 'Stability in South Asia: a Pakistani perspective'.

In Hilary Term there was a weekly programme of South Asian History Seminars. Andrea Major (University of Edinburgh) spoke on "'Pious Flames": European encounters with Sati before 1800'; Dr Tazeen Murshid (Free University of Brussels) on 'The social construction of Shariah in colonial India'; Samira Sheikh (Wolfson) on 'Chieftain, merchant and herder: Religion and authority in Gujarat, c. 1250-1450'; Dr Pratik Chakrabarti (Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine) on 'Science and the trajectories of Indian modernity'; Dr Ashley Jackson (Mansfield) on 'Imperial Base in the Indian Ocean: Ceylon and the Second World War'; Yasmin Khan (St Antony's) on 'The Muslims of Uttar Pradesh and the Partition of India'; Dr Gopinath Ravindran (LSE) on 'Space and change in South Indian fertility, 1881-1981'; and Dr Kaushik Bhaumik (University of Oxford) on 'Between trade and religion: popular orientalism in Bombay, 1900-1940'.

Four seminars in the South Asian History series were organised by Dr David Washbrook in Trinity Term. Dr Subhakanta Behera (Diplomatic Service, Government of India) spoke on 'Revisiting the Jagannath cult: legend, rituals and identity'; Dr Sunil Kumar (Delhi University) on 'The woman in the accounts (hisab) of men: Sultana Raziyya and early Sultanate society'; Dr Michael Krepon (Henry Stimson Centre, Washington D.C.) on 'Nuclear deterrence in South Asia: does the stability-instability paradox apply to India and Pakistan?'; and for the fourth Dr Rahul Roy-Chaudhury (King's, London) and Dr Zafar Cheema (St Antony's) held a panel discussion on the subject of 'Nuclear weapons and the use of force in South Asia'. There were also two other events in Trinity Term: the first was organised jointly with the Pakistan Discussion Forum and entitled 'Symposium on the Poet-Laureate Sir Allama Mohammad Iqbal (1877-1938)'; the second was a seminar organised jointly with the Oriental Institute entitled 'Variations on an Emperor: a Reconsideration of Krishnadevaraya (1509-29)', at which the speakers were Professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam (St Cross), Professor Narayana Rao (Madison) and Professor David Shulman (Jerusalem).

The Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies

The opening ceremony for the Nissan Institute took place on 23 September 1981, meaning that we have come of age, having passed our twenty first birthday. In January 2003 we marked 10 years in our new building. But this is a period of transition in more than an arithmetical sense. On 30 September 2003 Arthur Stockwin will retire and hand over the baton of the Nissan Professorship of Modern Japanese Studies to Dr Roger Goodman as his successor. At the same time the Directorship of the Institute will be de-coupled from the professorship, and will become a rotating position. Dr Ann Waswo has been elected Director for a two-year period from 1 October 2003.

We currently lack two of our members. Dr Goodman went to Japan for a year's sabbatical leave at the beginning of April to work on reform of tertiary education from the perspective of social anthropology. He is attached to a private university in the Kansai area that is undergoing structural reform. Dr Jenny Corbett remains at the Australian National University in Canberra, where she holds a professorial position, but expects to return at the end of 2003. With the retirement of Professor Stockwin, the Institute will lack a full time teaching position in Japanese politics, but this will be filled on a part-time basis during next academic year. We are grateful to Dr James Roberson of Oxford Brookes University for substitute teaching on Japanese society in the absence of Dr Goodman.

The Nissan Fellows are Dr Jenny Corbett (economist, currently on leave), Dr Roger Goodman (social anthropologist), Dr Marcus Rebeck (economist), Professor J.A.A. Stockwin (political scientist), and Dr Ann Waswo (modern historian). The language instructors are Mrs Yôko Gutch, who retires at the end of the 2002-3 academic year, Ms Junko Hagiwara and Ms Hiroe Kaji, while the following are associated with the Institute: Dr Brian Powell (Keble and Antonian, also President-elect of the European Association of Japanese Studies), Dr Phillip Harries (Queens), Dr Bjarke Frellesvig (Hertford), Dr Oliver Impey (Ashmolean Museum, retiring at the end of the 2002-3 academic year), Dr Andrea Boltho (Magdalen), Professor Mari Sako (Said Business School), Professor Joy Hendry and Dr James Roberson (Oxford Brookes University). The Librarian of the Bodleian Japanese Library, located within the Nissan Institute building, is Mrs Izumi Tytler, assisted by Mrs Yuki Kissick, Mrs Rie Williams and Mrs Hitomi Hall. The Secretary of the Nissan Institute is Miss Jane Baker.

On 18 March 2003 the Nissan Institute hosted a Japan-UK Seminar, organised by the Refugee Studies Centre, on the theme: "Peace Building, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Return of Refugees".

Seminars

Michaelmas Term 2002: Professor J.A.A. Stockwin, 'On writing a Dictionary of Japanese Politics: A Lexicographer Reflects'; Professor Quansheng Zhao, 'Sino-

Japanese Relations in the Context of the US-China-Japan Triangle’; Professor Hans Baerwald, ‘The Allied Occupation of Japan as an Exercise in ‘Regime Change’: Reflections after 50 years by a Participant’; Professor Mitsutoshi Itô, ‘The Japanese Prime Minister’s Leadership Re-examined by comparison with his British counterpart’; Professor Naohiro Ogawa, ‘Japan’s Population Problem’; Dr Susan Townsend, ‘Miki Kiyoshi and the New Order in Asia: Globalisation, Culture and Hegemony’; Professor Kazutoshi Kase, ‘The Unemployment Problem under Globalisation: Why does Japan suffer so much from it despite having the same unemployment rate as Britain?’; Dr Stephen Day, ‘Recognising the value of foreigners – Kawasaki City and the Foreigners Representative Assembly’.

Hilary Term 2003: Professor Hiroshi Oda, ‘Reform of Corporate Law in Japan, 2001-2002: More Freedom, Less Discipline?’; Professor Shinya Yamada, ‘Transformation of Funeral Rituals and Popular Perception of Death in Contemporary Japan’; Professor Susumu Yamauchi, ‘Analysis of the Efficacy of Special Taxation Measures in Japan’; Dr Sachiko Hatakenaka, ‘Higher Education Reform in Japan: A Historical Perspective’; Professor Akio Watanabe, ‘US-Japan-China Relations’; Dr Mikiko Ashikari, ‘Urban Middle-Class Japanese Women and their White Faces: Gender, Ideology and Representation’; Professor Hidekazu Kawai, ‘Japanese Politics in Comparative Perspective’.

Trinity Term 2003: Mr Jôji Kijima, ‘The Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek: A Genealogy of “Returning Virtue for Malice”’; Professor R. Keller Kimbrough, ‘Exemplary Poets and Cautionary Tales: Heian Women Authors in the Literature of Mediaeval Japan’; Mr Kazuhiko Tôgo, ‘Japan and Russia: Past Failures and Future Prospects’; Professor J.A.A. Stockwin, Valedictory Lecture: ‘Why Japan Still Matters’.

The following books were published during the year in the Nissan Institute RoutledgeCurzon Japanese Studies series (as it is now called): Reinhard Drifte, *Japan’s Security Relationship with China: from Balancing to Bandwagoning*; James E. Roberson and Nobue Suzuki (eds), *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan: Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa*; Stephen P. Osborne (ed.), *The Voluntary and Non-Profit Sector in Japan*. The following Nissan Occasional Paper was published during the year: Rachel M. Payne, *Meiji Theatre Design: From Communal Participation to Refined Appreciation* (No. 34).

Activities and Publications of Fellows

PROFESSOR R.H. BARNES, Faculty Fellow and Professor of Social Anthropology, gave a talk on ‘Community Diversity and Unity in Witihamā, Adonara’ to the 3rd International Symposium of the Journal *Antropologi Indonesia*: ‘Rebuilding Indonesia, a Nation of “Unity in Diversity”: Towards a Multicultural Society’ in Denpasar, Bali, in July and spoke on ‘Indigenous Use and Management of Whales and Other Marine Resources in East Flores and Lembata, Indonesia’ to the

Monbukagakusho International Symposium 2002: 'New Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Indigenous Use and Management of Migratory Marine Resources' at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan in December. His publications for this period included 'Structuralism' in N. J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds, *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, (Oxford: Pergamon); (as translator from the Indonesian) 'Murder Ritual on Adonara, Indonesia: A Cultural Analysis' by Karolus Kopong Medan [Lewokeda], *Anthropos* 97; and 'Ba Naruq: an Eastern Indonesian Narrative', *Anthropos* 97. In Trinity Term he was on Special Research Leave.

PROFESSOR LOUIS CHA, Honorary Fellow, continued as Dean of Arts and Humanities at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, China, where he holds a Chair in History and Literature.

DR JENNY CORBETT is Reader in the Economy of Japan and Faculty Fellow at St Antony's College. She is a specialist in current macro-economic policy issues in Japan and in Japanese banking and finance. She has also written on the Asian financial crises of 1997 and her current research interests include developments in electronic finance in the Asia Pacific region. While on leave in Australia she managed a research project for the APEC Finance Minister's Working Group on Electronic Finance and has held several research grants to further that research. She also attended conferences in Tokyo and China and contributed to an ANU research project on East Asian Financial Integration. Her recent publications include an edited volume with Magnus Blomstrom, Fumio Hayashi and Anil Kashyap, *Structural Impediments to Growth in Japan*, Chicago University Press for NBER. She is on the editorial board of the *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies* (Academic Press) and the editorial board of OUP's (New York) book series 'Japanese Business and Economy'. She also holds a position as a Research Fellow of the Centre for Economic Policy Research (London), and as a Research Associate of the Centre on Japanese Economy and Business at Columbia University (New York). She took leave from Oxford from 2001-03 to become Head of the Japan Centre in the Asian Studies Faculty and Professor of Economics at the Australian-Japan Research Centre in the Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government at the Australian National University.

DR DAVID FAURE, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in Modern Chinese History, served as a member on the Visiting Committee for the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan in October, gave a public lecture at the Hong Kong Central Library and visited Hainan Island in December, was author and participant at the Conference on New Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Culture and Society held by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation at Princeton, and gave a lecture at the Colloquium Series, Council on East Asian Studies, Yale University in March. He published 'Recreating the indigenous identity in Taiwan: cultural aspirations in their social and economic environment,' in David Blundell (ed.) *Austronesian Taiwan, Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*, Berkeley and

Taipei: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, and Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines.

PROFESSOR ROSEMARY FOOT is the Sir John Swire Fellow in the International Relations of East Asia. She began the academic year with a term's sabbatical which took her to the Center for the Pacific Rim, University of San Francisco, where she held the post of Kiriya Distinguished Visiting Professor. During her time in the United States she gave papers at the University of Chicago, the University of California's Berkeley and San Diego campuses, at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and at the University of San Francisco. In February, she visited the University of Technology in Sydney to act as discussant at a conference on Pacific Rim Regionalism, and in the following months gave papers in London, Geneva, and Kuala Lumpur. Publications this year include two co-edited books with Oxford University Press, the first with Dr Andrew Hurrell and Professor John L. Gaddis called *Order and Justice in International Relations*; the second with S. Neil MacFarlane and Michael Mastanduno entitled *US Hegemony and International Organizations*. She has also published 'The UN System as a Pathway to Security in Asia: A Buttress not a Pillar' in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.) *Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features* (Stanford University Press, 2003); 'The UN System's Contribution to Asia-Pacific Security Architecture', in *Pacific Review* (Spring 2003); 'Credibility at Stake: Domestic Supremacy in US Human Rights Policy', in David M. Malone and Yuen Foong Khong (eds) *Unilateralism and US Foreign Policy: International Perspectives* (Lynne Rienner, 2003); and 'Bush, China and Human Rights', in *Survival*, vol. 45 no. 2, (Summer 2003). Later in the year should see the publication of her *Adelphi Paper*, 'Human Rights and Security in US-Asia Policy: the effects of 11 September 2001' (Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies).

DR ROGER GOODMAN (Antonian), Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in the Social Anthropology of Japan, enjoyed a year in which a large number of long-term editing projects finally came to fruition. The papers from a workshop he organised in Osaka in 1999 were published by Cambridge University Press under the title *Family and Social Policy in Japan: Anthropological Approaches*; the papers from a 4-day conference held in Kobe which he co-organised with Professor Ceri Peach (St Catherine's) in April 2001 were published in English by RoutledgeCurzon under the title *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Minorities and Overseas Communities* and in Japanese by Showado as *Kaigai ni okeru Nihonjin, Nihon no naka no Gaikokujin*; and the papers from a seminar series he ran at the Nissan Institute during Hilary Term 2002 with Professor David Phillips (SEH) were published by Symposium Books with the title *Can the Japanese Change their Education System?* Other publications in the course of the year included: 'Can Welfare Systems be Evaluated Outside their Cultural and Historical Context? A Case Study of Children's Homes in Contemporary Japan' in Marc Blecher, Bob Benewick and Sarah Cook (eds), *Asian Politics in Development*,

London: Frank Cass. During the course of the year, he gave talks about aspects of his current research at a number of institutions including Asia Pacific University (Beppu); St Catherine's College, Kobe Institute; and the Anglo-Japanese Daiwa Foundation (London).

He completed his term as a member of the College's Management Executive Team with the joint responsibilities of Tutor for Admissions and Dean; he was Chairman of Examiners in the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology; and he served on the first ever Court of Summary Jurisdiction, a form of tribunal established under the University's new governance structures to hear cases involving junior members. More widely, he continued as Chair of the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee, chaired the ESRC's Social Anthropology Postgraduate Awards Committee and was a member of an international committee asked to review the state of Japanese Studies at the University of Singapore. From April 2003, he began a year of sabbatical fieldwork in the Kansai area of Japan where he is studying the reform of the university system currently taking place in Japan. In October, he will succeed Arthur Stockwin as the second Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies.

DR NANDINI GOOPTU, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in South Asian Studies, has been researching the social and political consequences of economic structuring and urban labour market changes in India, and in particular their implications for democratic politics, religious fundamentalism and urban violence. With a case study of Calcutta jute mill workers, she is investigating the impact of 'informalisation' or 'casualisation' of labour on changing political perceptions, identities and social relations of urban working class men, women and youth. Based on this research, she has presented seminar and conference papers at the London School of Economics and at the Annual Conference of the British Association of South Asian Studies, where she also convened a panel on economic reforms and labour in India. She participated in a conference on 'The meaning of the local: Revisiting the urban neighbourhood in India' at the University of Sussex and attended a meeting of Global Labour History at the International Institute of Social Studies in Amsterdam. She presented a paper on the state and religious identities in India for the Ethnicity and Identity seminar series at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Her research on the social, cultural and political dimensions of HIV/AIDS health intervention among sex workers in Calcutta will come to an end this year, and a paper has been published in J. Heyer, F. Stewart and R. Thorp (eds), *Group Behaviour and Development* (OUP, 2002). She is co-editing (with Professor Douglas Peers, University of Calgary) the India volume of the *Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford University Press).

DR ERIC HOTUNG, Foundation Fellow, was appointed an Ambassador at large by the government of East Timor. He has also continued his philanthropic work worldwide.

PROFESSOR TAPAN RAYCHAUDHURI, Emeritus Fellow, has had a new edition of his

Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal published by OUP, Delhi. He delivered lectures on his current subject of research, history of *mentalité* in nineteenth century India, at Chicago and Johns Hopkins University. Calcutta University conferred on him the D.Litt. degree *honoris causa*. On this occasion he delivered a lecture entitled 'Misused terms and misinterpreted histories : comments on the contemporary discourse on Hindu communalism'. The lecture is to be published as a pamphlet by Calcutta University.

DR MARCUS REBICK, Faculty Fellow and Nissan Lecturer in the Economy of Japan, was on leave during Michaelmas and Hilary Terms. He spent most of this time writing a book on the changes taking place in Japanese labour markets since 1990. He also co-organised (with Antonian Ayumi Takenaka) a conference on 'The Changing Japanese Family in Comparative Perspective' which was held at St Antony's College in mid-November. The conference was co-sponsored by the Asian Studies Centre, the Nissan Institute and Oxford Brookes University. The conference, which included the visiting Italian Fellow at St Antony's, Professor Francesca Bettio, as well as participants from Japan and the United States, was very lively and a conference volume is planned. In other work, Dr Rebick published a paper with Hiroshi Ono on 'Constraints on the Level and Efficient Use of Labour in Japan' as a book chapter in a volume co-edited by Dr Jenny Corbett entitled *Structural Impediments to Growth in Japan*. He also published short commentaries in the *Social Science Journal Japan* and in the *Japanese Journal of Labour Studies*. He is now a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies* and continues to serve as editor of the *Nissan Institute Occasional Papers Series*.

PROFESSOR VIVIENNE SHUE, Fellow and Professor of Contemporary Chinese Studies, has spent much of her time since taking up her appointment in August 2002 helping to recruit new faculty and research staff in the field of Chinese studies. Four appointments of young colleagues who will be joining her in research and teaching at Oxford's Institute for Chinese Studies in 2003-4 have now been made, in the fields of human geography, economics, social anthropology, and political economy. In November she contributed a lecture titled 'Chinese State/Chinese Religion: Collaboration/Competition' as part of the Ethnicity and Identity series at the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology. That month also she presented a major new research paper entitled 'Charity, Order and Connection: Notes from the Tianjin *Guangrentang*' at an international conference on Chinese 'Cities in Motion' at the University of California, Berkeley. In the spring, she served as discussant on a panel entitled 'The Rise of the Regulatory State in China' at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Convention in New York, and at the invitation of the Institute for Chinese Studies at the University of Edinburgh, she gave a formal lecture entitled 'Donation and the Nation: Altruism and Patriotism in 20th Century China'. Since accepting her Fellowship at St Antony's, Professor Shue has published a paper entitled 'Global Imaginings, the State's Quest for Hege-

mony, and the Pursuit of Phantom Freedom in China', in C. Kinnvall and K. Jonsson, eds, *Globalization and Democratization in Asia: The Construction of Identity* (Routledge). She was honoured also to be elected to membership of the Executive Committee of *The China Quarterly*, the scholarly journal of record in the field of contemporary Chinese studies, and to receive an individual grant for research for 2003 from the American Council of Learned Societies. She is utilising the time released from normal duties by that grant to pursue research on the foundations and limits of political authority in China.

PROFESSOR J.A.A. STOCKWIN, Professorial Fellow and Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies, experienced his final academic year before retirement. During the year he gave the following papers: 'Japanese Politics in a Global Context', at Tôhoku University, Sendai in September; 'Is Two-Party Alternation in Power a Viable Model for Japan?', to the Modern Japan Seminar, University of Leiden, November 2002; 'Recent Trends in Relations between Japan and North Korea, and Future Perspectives', Freie Universität Berlin, December; 'Japanese Politics', University College London, January; 'Governance, Democracy and the Political Economy of the Japanese State', at a conference on the Political Economy of Governance in Japan, University of Sheffield, January; 'Dilemmas of Japanese Politics in the 2000s', University of Warwick, February; 'Japan and North Korea', at the Asia-Pacific Society, University of Oxford, May; 'Does Japan Still Matter?', Valedictory Lecture, University of Oxford, May; 'Negotiating the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Australia and Japan (Nara Treaty), 1973-1976', and 'Does Japan Still Matter?', at the Japanese Studies Association of Australia Conference, Brisbane, July; 'Reforming Japanese Politics: Possible or Impossible?', Malaysian Association of Japanese Studies in Kuala Lumpur, and again in Kota Kinabalu, July. In September 2002, he organised the 10th annual Japanese Politics Colloquium at the Nissan Institute, and also attended a reception given by the Japanese Antonians in Tokyo. In September, and again in December and June, he attended meetings in Tokyo of the Tokyo University Administrative Advisory Committee. In April 2003 he participated in the annual Conference of the British Association of Japanese Studies at the University of Sheffield. In May he attended a Ditchley Conference on 'Japan in the 21st Century', and in June he participated in a Colloquium at the University of Leiden on 'The Left in the Shaping of Japanese Democracy'. During the year he published *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Japan* (RoutledgeCurzon). He remained General Editor of the Nissan Institute/RoutledgeCurzon Japanese Studies Series, and continued to organise the Nissan Institute Seminar. In September/October 2002 he chaired the selection committees for the Swire/Cathay Pacific scholarships in Japan and Korea.

DR STEVE TSANG (Antonian), Louis Cha Senior Research Fellow and University Reader in Politics, continues as Director of the Taiwan Studies Programme. He stood down as Director of the Asian Studies Centre in September 2003 after six years. He completed a typescript for a new collaborative work, *Peace and*

Security Across the Taiwan Strait, which is now in production with the publisher Palgrave. In the course of the year he read the following conference papers: 'Finding a Sustainable Basis for Peace Across the Taiwan Strait' at a Track Two Conference on the Taiwan Question at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies; 'US Taiwan Relations' at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies; and 'Beyond Imperialism: British Impact on the Chinese People Through the Crown Colony of Hong Kong' at Waseda University. He also contributed to a briefing for the all party parliamentary group on China at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and took part in the global scenario planning conference at Shell. He further spoke at a Ditchley Foundation conference on 'Japan in the 21st Century'; a Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies roundtable on 'Focus on the US'; and an International Institute for Strategic Studies workshop on 'The People's Republic of China after the 16th Party Congress'. Among 8 guest lectures/seminars he gave in the UK, Tübingen (Germany), Shanghai (China), and the Pacific Ocean he lectured on the following topics: 'Britain's Policy Towards Taiwan and China'; 'Democratization in a Chinese Community: Lessons from Taiwan'; 'Foreign and security policy of China'; 'Chinese Foreign Policy'; 'International relations during the era of the Cold War: China and the World, 1945-1989'; 'Chiang Ching-kuo, the Nature of the Kuomintang and the Democratic Breakthrough in Taiwan'; and 'Asia and the US'. The most memorable of these seminars was the last which was held under the auspices of Amphibious Squadron One of the United States Navy on board USS Boxer in the Pacific Ocean. In addition to publishing several commentaries on current affairs in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the *South China Morning Post*, he published a book, an article and a book chapter. They are: *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (I.B. Tauris); 'A Sustainable Basis for Peace between China and Taiwan', *American Asian Review* vol.XX, no.4, (winter 2002); and 'The Rise of a Hong Kong Identity' in Taciana Fisac & Leila Fernandez-Stembridge (eds), *China Today: Economic Reforms, Social Cohesion and National Identities* (RoutledgeCurzon). An article originally published in 1997, 'Changes in Continuity: Government and Politics in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region,' has also been reprinted in Benjamin K.P. Leung (ed.), *Hong Kong: Legacies and Prospects of Development* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

DR DAVID WASHBROOK, Professorial Fellow, Reader in Modern South Asian History and Director of the South Asian Studies Programme, was on leave in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms during which he spent much of the time in India. He gave papers at Kerala History Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, Institute for Social and Economic Change at Bangalore and the University of Mangalore.

DR ANN WASWO, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in Modern Japanese History, will continue as Sub-Warden until January 2004 and hopes to be able to present revised College Statutes to Governing Body in Michaelmas Term. She will become Director of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies in October 2003 and looks forward to working with her colleagues in enhancing both the Institute's

financial position and its role in promoting the study of modern Japan in Oxford and beyond. Her co-edited book *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan* was published early in 2003 and will appear in Japanese translation in a few years' time. She was interviewed about Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1867), for a television series on 'Dynasties' to be shown on the History Channel in future, and has agreed to be a script consultant for a joint Trans World International/NHK television production on 'Japan at War in Colour,' which will use recently discovered Kodak film footage from the time and contemporary letters, diary entries, etc. to portray life in Japan immediately before and during the Asian Pacific War.

Visiting Fellows and Other Attachments in Asian Studies

Dr Ruth Barnes, Senior Associate Member, presented a paper and chaired a session at the conference 'Communities and Commodities: Western India and the Indian Ocean (11th to 15th centuries CE)', held in November at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. On this occasion she also lectured in the University of Michigan's Department of History of Art. In December she was invited to India for a book launch of her publication *Trade, Temple and Court* and gave a lecture at the British Council in Mumbai. In January she gave three lectures for the British Museum Diploma in Asian Art (South-East Asia module). In May she was invited to give a seminar on radiocarbon dating textiles, at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. In June she lectured at the American Museum in Bath on the Robert Shaw Collection in the Ashmolean Museum. At the Ashmolean, she curated the exhibition 'An Englishman in Egypt. Edward Lane in Cairo (1825-35)' (on view April to July 2003). In Trinity Term she organised a seminar series with seven invited speakers for the ASC, entitled 'Islam in Asia'. Her publications in the last year include: *Trade, Temple and Court. Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection*, co-authored with Steven Cohen and Rosemary Crill (Mumbai: India Book House); and 'The Present Through the Past: The Ernst Vatter Collection in Frankfurt a.M.' in *Treasure Hunting? Collectors and Collections of Indonesian Artefacts*, Reimar Schefold and Han F. Vermeulen, eds, (Leiden: Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde No. 30).

Professor Judith Brown is Beit Professor of Commonwealth History, Fellow of Balliol College and member of the Asian Studies Centre Management Committee. She completed her new study of Jawaharlal Nehru during her sabbatical in Hilary and Trinity Terms 2002: it is due to be published in September 2003 with Yale University Press, entitled *Nehru. A Political Life*. In 2002 a volume co-edited by her and Professor R.E. Frykenberg of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, was published by Eerdmans and RoutledgeCurzon, *Christians, Cultural Interactions and India's Religious Traditions*. In this she wrote the Introduction. During the year she lectured in the University of Leiden, and at a public conference in Bavaria; and delivered the Yoder Dialogues on non-violence in the Uni-

versity of Notre Dame (USA). She also visited the Library of Congress, Washington DC, in September 2002, for a meeting of the Scholars' Council of the Kluge Centre, and at the invitation of the Librarian of Congress spent some extra time doing research in the Library for her new work on Nehru. In February she gave a paper at the LSE in a conference on Indians and Globalisation, and in March she visited India as a Trustee of the Charles Wallace (India) Trust, and spent some time at the Nehru Memorial Library in New Delhi to choose illustrations for her new book and to work in the archives. She also visited India in October 2002 for a meeting of the Indo-British Round Table, and attended a further meeting in May 2003 held in England. She remains a Governor of SOAS, University of London, and of Bath Spa University College. Within Oxford she is Interviewer for the Commonwealth History group of graduates within the Modern History Faculty.

Dr Peter Carey, Fellow of Trinity College and member of the Asian Studies Centre Management Committee, has published a number of articles during the past year: 'Sudostasien: Die Gefährliche Terror-Front' (Southeast Asia: The Dangerous Terror Front), *Suddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), 24 October 2002 (on the regional implications of the Bali bombing of 12 October 2002); 'Indonesia in Transition', Review Article, *Asian Affairs* XXXVIII (October 2002); and 'Dark Side of Paradise', *World Today* 58 no.12 (December 2002) (on the Bali bombing). He also completed a study of the younger generation of East Timorese who came of age during the Indonesian Occupation of East Timor (1975-99) entitled 'Third World Colonialism and the Birth of a New Nation: Indonesia through East Timorese Eyes. 1975-99', which is currently under consideration for publication with the Cornell journal *Indonesia*. He will be spending the next academic year in East Timor.

Dr Chang Jia-chung, Associate Professor at Nanhua University in Taiwan, was a Senior Associate Member attached to the Taiwan Studies Programme for the whole academic year. At the College he researched for a book on the subject 'Taiwan's Arms Procurement in the 1990s: Politics, Diplomacy and Strategic Design'. He also revised the typescript for his forthcoming book entitled *The Decline and Rising of Hiroshima City – A view from Japan's Militarism*. In addition to taking part in seminars at the Centre Dr Chang also served as a discussant at the Taiwan Studies Programme roundtable 'The Balance Sheet of Democratization in Taiwan'.

PROFESSOR M. ZAFAR IQBAL CHEEMA, Senior Associate Member and Quaid-i-Azam Visiting Fellow, presented a paper at the international conference on 'Escalation Control in South Asia' organised by the Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington D.C. but held in the UK; he also presented papers at the International Roundtable Conference on 'North Pakistan at the Crossroads of Central and South Asia' in March jointly organised by the Centre for South Asian Studies and the Graduate Institute of Development Studies in Geneva, and on the topic of 'Pakistan's Perspective' at the South Asia Session of the Wiston House Conference in June on

'Missile Proliferation, Missile Defences and Space Security: Confronting and Addressing New Challenges'. In Oxford, he took part in a panel discussion in May with Dr Rahul Roy-Chaudhary of King's College London on 'Nuclear Weapons and the Use of Force in South Asia' as part of the South Asian Studies Programme at St Antony's, and in Michaelmas Term he organised three special seminars as detailed in the report on the South Asian Studies Programme. During the year he gave the following lectures: guest speaker at 'Quaid-i-Azam Day' in January and Pakistan Day in March both organised by the Pakistan Society of Harrow, and at the Cambridge University Union Debate in March on the topic 'This House would force International Intervention in Kashmir'; and speaker in the Roundtable on Higher Education in Pakistan organised by the OU Pakistan Discussion Forum in April. His publications included a paper on 'Terrorism in Central and South Asia: A Pakistani Perspective', *Daxiyangguo*, 1:3 (2003) (Portuguese Journal of Asian Studies), and a further paper on 'Nuclear Doctrine, Declaratory Policy and Escalation Control in South Asia' has been commissioned by the Henry L. Stimson Center.

Dr Roy Giles, Senior Associate Member, started his research programme in Hilary term; he is examining military factors relevant to the current China-Taiwan relationship. In Trinity he continued as convenor-administrator of the seminar series 'Intelligence and International Relations'. Extramurally, in February 2003 he was appointed Author to the County of Oxfordshire Emergency Planning Unit, for whom he is researching and writing a series of exercises to test the County's reaction to a large-scale disaster; he was Exercise Controller for the first of these tests in June. He is currently planning a Study Day for the emergency services, local government departments, and the voluntary services. On the same theme he was Oxfordshire's delegate to the national Homeland Security and Resilience Conference held at the Royal United Services' Institute in London. He continues working on a documentary film about British intelligence activities in the Cold War. His monograph 'The essential soldier', case studies of British military involvement with insurgency and terrorism, was published in the Summer 2003 edition of *The Journal of International Security Affairs* (Washington DC). His review of Oren's *Six days of War* (OUP 2002) had appeared in the previous issue of the same journal. *Defense and Security Analysis* (Carfax) published his review of Mitrokhin's *KGB Lexicon* (Frank Cass 2002).

Dr Anita Inder Singh joined as a Senior Associate Member in January 2002. Her interdisciplinary work includes democracy, nationalism and security issues in South Asia and post-Communist Europe. She has published 'Europe's lesson for South Asia' in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 2002) and 'Only game in town' in *The World Today*, (August 2003). Her work on post-Communist Europe includes 'Minorities, justice and security in post-communist Europe', *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, (4/2002) and 'Human security in the OSCE area' for the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Hu-

man Rights. On behalf of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance in Stockholm, she is co-author of a paper entitled 'Strengthening representative democracy: parliamentary and electoral systems and institutions' for the Fifth UN International Conference on New and Restored Democracies to be held in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, in September 2003.

Professor Catherine Jones Finer (Senior Associate Member) has finally received published copies of her edited book *Social Policy Reform in China* (Aldershot: Ashgate), a product of the international workshop held at St Antony's in October 2001. She is currently still co-editing *Social Policy and the Commonwealth: Prospects for Social Inclusion* (for Palgrave/Macmillan), this being the book of the international conference attended in Brisbane September/October 2001 (see previous issue of the *Record*). As a member of the EU-funded APPLE project (Ageing Populations – Policy Lessons from the East), she spent October 2002 visiting facilities and consulting with policy-makers in Hong Kong and Taiwan. She also contributed a paper on 'Prospects for Pragmatism: trading policy lessons between east and west' to an international conference on 'New Society, New Social Policy' at National Chi Nan University, Taiwan. More recently, she helped organise the workshop for this project at the University of Birmingham (March 2003) and is currently engaged in editing the book of the project for Ashgate publishers. Meanwhile, as member of an international team recruited by SISWO (the leading established social research centre on social security issues in the Netherlands) to advise on social welfare prospects in the context of EU harmonisation, she attended a two day introductory workshop in Amsterdam in March. Finally, she continues to be responsible for editing 'regional' issues of the journal *Social Policy & Administration*. Latest such issues include 36.2 on the Mediterranean (Turkey, Palestine, Jordan, Greece and southern Italy) and (forthcoming) 36.4 on Asia Pacific.

Dr Tetsuo Ogawa was a Senior Associate Member in the year 2002-3, and has been a Research Associate at the Oxford Institute of Ageing. He has had a fruitful academic year covering global ageing issues across states in both Europe and Asia. In July 2002, he was elected as Executive Member of the ISA Research Committee of Ageing. In September 2002, he visited some leading academic institutions in Beijing, including the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, where he initiated a session for the IIS's 35th World Congress of Sociology (2004). He has since been organising a panel of 12 academics to work on this session. In late September 2002, he gave a lecture at Toyo University on China's Social Security Reform. The major conferences he attended include: 'the Asia and Pacific Regional Seminar' held in Shanghai, P.R. China in September 2002, to which he was invited by the UNESCAP and the Chinese National Committee on Ageing. At the conference he was interviewed by the Chinese Central Television on social policy issues; and the workshop held in the University of Birmingham in March 2003, on 'The Ageing Populations: Policy Lessons from the East' funded by the EC 5th Framework Programme. At this workshop he presented a paper entitled 'Genera-

tional Equity and Social Solidarity: Japan's Search for the Integration of Ageing Policy'. His contributions to books and journals include: 'Population Ageing and Social Security Reform in P.R. China', in Hiroi, Y. and Komamura, K. (eds) *Social Protection in Asia* (University of Tokyo Press, forthcoming), 'Population Ageing in East Asia, the Impact on Social Protection and Social Policy Reforms in Japan, Korea and Taiwan' (co-authored with Ko and Oh) in the journal *Social Policy Studies* (OUP, forthcoming), and 'Ageing in Japan: An Issue of Social Contract in Welfare Transfer or Generational Conflict?', in Lloyd-Sherlock, P. (ed.), *Living Longer: Ageing, Development and Social Protection* (Zed Books, forthcoming).

Dr Masahiro Satô, Professor at Hitotsubashi University and Nissan Associate Member in 2003-4 (Japanese academic year), has been researching the history of census recording in Victorian Britain and Ireland, and comparing it with the first Japanese census recorded in 1920. The research so far has been focused on two research questions: 1) How did the leaders of the states build their consensus to take a population census by the influence of statisticians? And what was the role of statisticians in the process? To better understand this issue, the analysis will compare the understanding of the non-statistician leaders about the need of population statistics. It will also examine the persuading procedures taken by the statisticians; 2) What was the popular perception of the census? And what was the reaction to the census recording? He has already analysed this issue in Japan by using household schedules of a village in Hiroshima Prefecture. In Britain and Ireland he plans to research on several enumerators' districts by using the Census Enumerators' Books as well as other documents written by the enumerators.

Dr Janice Stargardt is Senior Research Fellow and Affiliated Lecturer, Department of Geography, Fellow and Acting Senior Tutor of Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, Director of the interdisciplinary Cambridge Project on Ancient Civilisation in South East Asia, and a Member of the Management Committee of the Asian Studies Centre, St Antony's College. In January 2003, she was on fieldwork and archival research in Thailand, where she continued work on the dominant tree species of the semi-evergreen and evergreen rainforests of South Thailand, many of which were extremely valuable items in the ancient incense trade across the South China Sea between South Thailand and South China in the Song period. In March 2003, Dr Stargardt organised the second international workshop under a 5-year grant from the British Academy on 'Relics and Relic Worship in the Early Buddhism of India and Burma'. She is also using the long perspectives of her research on the relations between societies and their environment in the service of contemporary development projects in Thailand, on a Gender and Development grant by the Department for International Development (DFID). With colleagues from the Prince of Songkla University, she is completing a year's work on the alleviation of poverty in female-led households in South Thailand. Her publications in the academical year 2002-3 are: 'Mapping the Mind; some

cultural cargos of the South East Asian Sea-Trade, 5th – 12th century’ in *Fishbones and Glittering Symbols; Proceedings of the Eurose AA Conference 2002* (eds) Kallen, A. & Karlstrom, A., Stockholm (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, due 2003); ‘City of the Law, City of the Ancestors: spatial symbolism in a Pyu royal city of Burma’, *Indo-asiatische Zeitschrift* (Berlin) 6/7, in press due 2003.

Professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam was appointed Professor of Indian History and Culture at the Oriental Institute in Michaelmas Term 2002. He delivered his Inaugural Lecture in Oxford in February 2003, entitled ‘The Window that was India’. He is also Fellow of St Cross College and member of the Asian Studies Centre Management Committee. His main interests include the history of early modern South Asia and of the Iberian empires, comparative imperial history, and economic history (particularly of long-distance trade). During the year he gave a Plenary Lecture at the Annual Conference on South Asian Studies, Madison, University of Wisconsin in October on ‘The Place of South Asia in Early Modern History’, presented seminar papers in the Commonwealth History Seminar at Oxford in March, in SOAS (London), and the EHESS (Paris), as well as the University of Chicago. He also acted as discussant on two occasions in the Comparative Seminar on Africa and South Asia at St Antony’s in Michaelmas Term, and organised and took part in a joint St Antony’s/Oriental Institute seminar entitled ‘Variations on an Emperor: a reconsideration of Krishnadevaraya (1509-29)’ in June. His recent publications include a book he co-edited with Claude Markovits and Jacques Poucheпадass, *Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750-1950*, (New Delhi: Permanent Black); his edited book *Land, Politics and Trade in South Asia, 18th - 20th Centuries: Essays in Memory of Dharma Kumar*, (Delhi: OUP), forthcoming; and the following articles: ‘Making sense of Indian historiography’ and ‘Profiles in Transition: Of Adventurers and Administrators in South India, 1750-1810’, both in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 2-3 (2002); (with Muzaffar Alam) ‘Letters from a Sinking Sultan’, in Luís Filipe F.R. Thomaz, ed., *Aquém e Além da Taprobana: Estudos Luso-Orientais à Memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*, Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar; (with Jorge Flores) ‘Rei ou bode expiatório: A lenda do Sultão Bulaqi e a política mogol do Estado da Índia, 1629-1635’, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, Vol. III (2002); and ‘Turning the Stones Over: Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges’, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XL, No. 3 (2003).

Professor Masanori Yokoyama, Waseda University, was a Senior Associate Member of St Antony’s College attached to the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies for the academic year 2002-3. His main research interests lie in international economics including international trade theory and open macroeconomics, especially theoretical and empirical analyses of effects of economic policies in the framework of open economy, and he has also been conducting a macro-analysis of the Japanese economy from a viewpoint of internationally economic interdepend-

dence. During a sabbatical leave in Oxford, he could complete writing a Japanese book, *Kaihô makuro keizaigaku to Nihon keizai* (Open Economy Macroeconomics and the Japanese Economy), as a result of his research, which will be published by the end of 2003.

EUROPEAN STUDIES

The European Studies Centre

The European Studies Centre (www.sant.ox.ac.uk/areastudies/european.shtml) at St Antony's is dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of Europe. It has particular strengths in History, Politics and International Relations, but also brings together economists, sociologists, social anthropologists and students of culture. We see ourselves as a meeting place for the whole Oxford community of those interested in European Studies.

Beside its permanent Fellows and Senior Associates, the Centre has Visiting Fellows from several European countries, as well as research students from all parts of the world working on European affairs. Seminars and workshops on European topics are held regularly in the Centre's seminar room, and announced in advance in the College *Calendar* and on the Centre webpages. Special lectures, often bringing distinguished practitioners as well as analysts to Oxford, are offered to a wider audience under the auspices of the Centre.

The Centre was founded in 1976 with a generous grant from the Volkswagen Foundation. It is housed in a handsome Victorian house at No. 70 Woodstock Road which contains a large seminar room, Centre office and workrooms. It has annexes in 83/85 Woodstock Road. The seminar room has a small reference library and a selection of current European newspapers. The main library holdings on Europe are located in the central College library, where there is an extensive collection of books and periodicals relating to European politics and recent history.

Since he took over as Centre Director in 2001, Timothy Garton Ash has devoted some time to improving communication and cooperation between the University's many centres and institutions involved in European Studies. There is now an informal grouping, 'European Studies at Oxford', which brings together representatives of the European Humanities Research Centre, the European Studies Centre at St Antony's, the Institute for European and Comparative Law, the Maison Française, the Modern European History Research Centre, the Politics Department and the Russian and East European Centre at St Antony's. The members of this Steering Committee are:- Dr Othon Anastasakis (St Antony's), Dr Andreas Busch (St Antony's), Mr Richard Clogg (St Antony's), Dr Anne Deighton

(Wolfson College), Mr Timothy Garton Ash (St Antony's), Dr Ruth Harris (New College), Dr David Hine (Christ Church), Prof. Catriona Kelly (New College), Dr Kalypso Nicolaidis (St Antony's) and Dr David Rechter (St Antony's). We prepare a consolidated termly programme of events, circulated by email, and have a joint 'gateway' to European Studies on the University web site (www.europeanstudies.ox.ac.uk). The Centre was one of the main organisers of a conference in April on 'Whose Europe? National Models and the Constitution of Europe'. This brought together members of all the participating institutions, other scholars in Oxford, and scholars from abroad. Keynote speeches were delivered by Dr Denis MacShane, Britain's Minister for Europe, and Professor Bronislaw Geremek, the historian and former Polish Foreign Minister. The academic papers from the conference will be published in a forthcoming pamphlet.

The second annual European Studies Centre lecture was delivered by the Greek Foreign Minister, Mr George Papandreou, on 6 May. This coincided with the Greek presidency of the European Union, just as the inaugural ESC lecture, by the Spanish Prime Minister, coincided with the Spanish presidency. Mr Papandreou's lecture also celebrated the very successful first year of the South East European Studies Programme, on which Dr Othon Anastasakis reports in more detail below.

The traditional Centre Evening, with which we welcome our new Fellows and Associates in Michaelmas Term, was addressed by Professor Dieter Roth, the Chairman of the Forschungsgruppe Wahlen in Mannheim, who gave a detailed and fascinating post-mortem on the German federal elections. Among the innovations at the Centre this year were a series of brown-bag lunches organised jointly with Dr Ruth Harris of the Modern European History Research Centre and Professor Catriona Kelly of the European Humanities Research Centre. We also had a packed and spirited discussion on 'Giscard's Draft Constitution for Europe: Let's Talk About It!' led by David Hine, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Stephen Weatherill.

We were very happy to work with the Austrian Cultural Forum and the Oxford Austrian and Central European Studies Society to bring Prof. Anton Pelinka to the Centre to talk about the second great subject of European discussion this year, eastward enlargement. Prof. Pelinka spoke on 'The EU after Enlargement: an Austrian Perspective'. The third great subject of European political discussion this year was, of course, relations with the United States, and this was reflected in many discussions in the Centre: concluding with a spirited and informal student debate in the garden of the Centre on a beautiful summer afternoon, with three student speakers from, respectively, the United States, Europe and Canada. The motion, adopted from Robert Kagan's controversial book, was that 'Americans are from Mars, and Europeans are from Venus', but we concluded that in fact we are just one large unhappy family. Beside these special events, there were a great many regular speaker seminars and classes. These included:

Greek Studies Seminar, Michaelmas Term 2002, organised by Richard Clogg

(St Antony's), addressed by Nikolaos Kalogerakos (St Antony's) on 'US-Greek Relations and the 1964 Cyprus Crisis: Deconstructing the Foreign Interference Myth', Milthiades Potts (St Antony's) on 'Suliot: Myth and Reality', Katerina Lagos (St Antony's) on 'Press, Censorship and Media Depictions of the Jews During the Metaxas Dictatorship', Dimitris Livanios (Birkbeck College, London) on "'In the Beginning Was the Word": the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Question of the Translation of the Bible into Modern Greek in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

New Dimensions in Italian Public Policy Seminar, Michaelmas Term 2002, organised by David Hine (Christ Church) and Francesca Bettio (St Antony's), addressed by Vincenzo Visco (Universita' di Roma) on 'Tax Reduction and Budgetary Consolidation', Rosy Bindi (former Italian Minister of Health and Member of the Chamber of Deputies) on 'Health Care Reform', Carolo dell'Aringa (ISFOL) on 'Labour Market Deregulation', Giovanni Carolsio (Banca d'Italia) on 'Italy, Europe and Financial Market Regulation', Paola Manacorda (Communications Regulatory Authority) on 'Media and Telecommunications', Senator Stefano Passigli (author of numerous parliamentary bills on conflict of interest regulation) on 'The Politics and Legislation of Conflicts of Interest', Fabrizio Barca (Ministry of Finance and the Economy) on 'Regional Policy: the South'.

Brown-Bag Lunches – Foreigners in Europe, Hilary Term 2003, organised by Ruth Harris (New College), addressed by Daniel Gordon (St Antony's) on 'Guarding the Borders of the Nation-state: the deportation of politically-active foreigners in twentieth-century France', Katerina Lagos (St Antony's) on 'Paradigms of Inclusion and Exclusion: Greek Jewry and Hellenism, 1936-1941' (joint session with Modern European Jewish History Seminar), Larissa Douglass (St Antony's) on 'The Double-Edged Sword of the 1907 Austrian Electoral Reform: The Problem of Jewish Representation in the Czech Lands'.

Seminar in Modern European Jewish History, Hilary Term 2003, organised by David Rechter (Oriental Institute), addressed by Katerina Lagos (St Antony's) on 'Greek Jewry and Hellenism: Paradigms of Inclusion and Exclusion, 1936-41' (joint session with Brown-Bag Lunches), David Sorkin (University of Wisconsin/All Souls College) on 'The Three Regions of Emancipation', Jason Heppell (Warwick University) on 'Jews, Communism, and Modernity: A New Perspective', Derek Penslar (University of Toronto) on 'Zionism and Post-Colonialism', Shira Schnitzer (St John's College) on 'How to be "A Worthy Citizen of England, a True Son of Israel": Instructions from the Anglo-Jewish Clergy During the Boer War, 1899-1902', Abigail Green (Brasenose College) on 'Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885): New Perspectives', Nils Roemer (University of Southampton) on 'Mapping Jewish Identities in Nineteenth-Century Germany'.

Citizenship and National Minorities in Europe: History, Theory and Practice Seminar, Hilary Term 2003, organised by Jennifer Welsh (Somerville College), Kalypso Nicolaidis (St Antony's) and Randall Hansen (Merton College), addressed

by Richard Crampton (St Edmund Hall) on 'Nationalism in the Balkans', Ioana Tanase (Université de Paris I Sorbonne) on 'Defining National Minorities: Old Criteria and New Minorities', Javier Moreno (CEACS, Instituto Juan March) on 'Peripheral Nationalism and European Integration: The Case of Spain and the Basque Country', Abby Innes (London School of Economics) on 'The End of Czechoslovakia: Velvet Divorce or Unwarranted Partition?', Simon Green (University of Birmingham) on 'The German Nation', Walter Kemp (OSCE HCNM) on 'Minorities in an Enlarging Europe: Double Standards or No Standards?', Guy Haarscher (Université Libre de Bruxelles) on 'Turkey and the Kurdish Minority', roundtable with David Miller (Nuffield College) and Andrew Geddes (University of Liverpool) on 'National Minorities and European Citizenship'.

Britain and Germany in the 20th Century Seminar, Hilary Term 2003, organised by Manfred Görtemaker (St Antony's), Timothy Garton Ash (St Antony's), Jonathan Wright (Christ Church), addressed by Jörg Duppler (Military History Research Centre, Potsdam) on 'Rivals at Sea: Anglo-German Naval Policies before World War I', Bernhard Fulda (University of Cambridge) on 'Lloyd George and the Weimar Republic', Marie-Luise Recker (University of Frankfurt/Main) on 'Appeasement Revisited: Chamberlain, Hitler, and the Policy of Munich', Beatrice Heuser (King's College London) on 'The Silent Alliance: British-German Cooperation in NATO 1977-1987', Detlef Junker (University of Heidelberg) on 'The United States, Germany and Europe in the 20th Century', Lothar Kettenacker (German Historical Institute, London) on 'The British in Germany: Foes and Friends 1945-1955', Manfred Görtemaker (University of Potsdam/St Antony's) on 'The Case of Rudolf Hess: A Chance for Peace?', Karl-Rudolf Korte (University of Duisberg) on 'Kohl-Thatcher: Discord over German Reunification'.

Germany After the Elections Seminar, Hilary Term 2003, organised by Andreas Busch (St Antony's), included a roundtable with Peter Pulzer and Andreas Busch on 'What Is Special About Germany? The Political System in International Comparison', with addresses by Thomas Saalfeld (Kent) on 'End of the Catch-All Model? Change and Continuity in the German Party System', Andreas Busch (St Antony's) on 'Struggling to Extend Civil Rights: The Cases of Citizenship, Gay Partnership and Immigration', Reimut Zohlnhöfer (Heidelberg) on 'Destination Anywhere? The Schröder Government's Inconclusive Search for a "Third Way" in Economic Policy', Anke Hassel (MPI Cologne) on 'Dysfunctional Tripartism? Why the "Alliance for Jobs" Didn't Work', Charlie Jeffery (Birmingham) on 'Discovering Territory in German Federalism', Roland Czada (Osnabrück) on 'Unification: the Ongoing Challenge', Ambassador Thomas Matussek on 'Germany in Europe'.

Cyprus: from Ottoman Province to European State Seminar, Trinity Term 2003, organised by Richard Clogg (St Antony's), addressed by Rolandos Katsiaounis (St Cross College) on 'The Ottoman Period, 1571-1878', 'British Rule: Ethnic and Social Aspects, 1878-1931', 'The Anti-Colonial Movement, 1931-1959', and

‘The Republic, 1960-2003’.

The Balkan Crises of the 1990s, M.Phil. Class, Michaelmas Term 2002, Prof. Richard Crampton (St Edmund Hall).

International Political Economy, Open Class, Michaelmas Term 2002, Dr Kalypso Nicolaidis (St Antony’s).

European Integration, M.Phil. Class, Hilary Term 2003, Dr Anne Deighton (Wolfson).

European International History, M.Phil. Class, Hilary Term 2003, Dr Anne Deighton (Wolfson).

History and Politics of Central and Eastern Europe Since 1945, M.Phil. Class, Hilary Term 2003, Prof. Richard Crampton (St Edmund Hall).

European Integration, Class, Trinity Term 2003, Dr Hartmut Mayer (St Peter’s College), Dr Lauren McLaren (Politics and International Relations).

European Integration, Revision Seminars for second year EPS M.Phil. students), Trinity Term 2003, Dr Anne Deighton (Wolfson).

Truth and Record, Class, Trinity Term 2003, Dr Anne Deighton (Wolfson), Prof. Richard Crampton (St Edmund Hall).

Game Theory and Negotiation, Class, Trinity Term 2003, Dr Kalypso Nicolaidis (St Antony’s).

The day-to-day business of the Centre continued to be run with exemplary efficiency by the Centre Secretary, Mrs Janet Pearson, ably supported by the South East European Studies Programme Secretary, Mrs Ulli Parkinson, while Ms Gillian Shrewsbury continued as Centre Scout.

Activities and Publications of Fellows

DR ANDREAS BUSCH is University Lecturer in German Politics and a Faculty Fellow. He is now also an Adjunct Professor (Privatdozent) in the Department of Political Science of the University of Heidelberg, following the successful defense of his Habilitation there last summer. In September and October, he was a Visiting Professor at the Heidelberg Centre para América Latina in Santiago de Chile, where he taught a course on “The Comparative Political Economy of Western Europe, 1945—2000”. But he also gave papers and talks closer to home, including presentations at the Science Centre in Berlin, the Universities of Hamburg and Munich, as well as conferences in Heidelberg, Barcelona, at the London School of Economics, and in Arnoldshain and Mannheim in Germany.

Thanks to support from the Department of Politics, he was able to organise (together with Vivien A. Schmidt and Claudio Radaelli) an international workshop in November on “Opening the Black Box: Europeanisation, Discourse, and Policy Change”, the results of which will be published as a special issue of the

journal *West European Politics* (1/2004). Dr Busch was also one of the convenors of the conference “Whose Europe?” in Oxford in April 2003, a multi-disciplinary attempt to analyse the proceedings and outcomes of the European Convention.

In the College, Dr Busch was the convenor of a speaker seminar on “Germany after the elections” in Hilary Term, in which a distinguished group of scholars from the UK and Germany (including himself) presented analyses on the performance of the first Schroeder government and the outlook for its second term. The series was topped off with a talk by the new German Ambassador in London, Thomas Matussek, who gave a presentation on German foreign policy only a few days before the start of the Iraq war.

Dr Busch was re-elected to the executive of the Association for the Study of German Politics and continues to serve on the Board of Examiners for the M.Phil. in Politics. He was one of two College representatives on the selection committee for the University Lectureship in Economic History which is associated with St Antony’s College.

His publications over the last year include a chapter analysing domestic reforms of the red-green government in Germany in the book *Das rot-grüne Projekt. Eine Bilanz der Regierung Schroeder 1998–2002*, edited by Christoph Egle, Tobias Ostheim and Reimut Zohlhoefer (Westdeutscher Verlag 2003), and a book on *Staat und Globalisierung. Das Politikfeld Bankenregulierung im internationalen Vergleich* (State and Globalisation: Banking Regulation in a Comparative Perspective) which will be published with Westdeutscher Verlag in September 2003.

Following his election to an Official Fellowship in Politics at Hertford College and his appointment as University Lecturer in Comparative European Politics, Dr. Busch will resign his Fellowship at St Antony’s in September of 2003.

RICHARD CLOGG, Senior Research Fellow, was, in January 2003, Stice Lecturer at the University of Washington in Seattle. In this capacity he delivered lectures on ‘Defining the diaspora: the case of the Greeks’, Ancient Greece and the Movement for Greek Independence, 1770-1821’ and ‘Greeks bearing gifts: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraeas Chair’ and participated in seminars on Greek and Turkish topics. He also lectured to the Greek community of Vancouver on the history of the Greek diaspora under the auspices of the Chair of Hellenic Studies at Simon Fraser University. In October 2002 he lectured to the Cambridge University Greek Society on his experiences in writing the history of Greece and participated in a round table at a conference on the Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece organised by the Centre of Modern Greek Studies of the National Research Foundation in Athens. In November he gave a lecture on ‘The Greece of Fred Boissonas’ in connection with an exhibition of photographs taken by the Swiss photographer during the early years of the 20th century and held at the Hellenic Centre in London.

Principal publications included *Greece 1940-1949: Occupation, Resistance,*

Civil War: a documentary history (London: Palgrave Macmillan) and *Minorities in Greece: aspects of a plural society* (Hurst & Company) which he edited and to which he contributed an introduction. This last was based on the papers delivered at a workshop held at St Antony's. The Greek translation of the second edition of his *Concise History of Greece* was published as *Synoptiki Istoriatis Elladas 1770-1821* by Katoptro. He also published an article on the oral history archive of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in *Kathimerini* (2 June 2002) and 'Old Byzantine practices' in *The Oxford Magazine* (Eighth Week Hilary Term 2003), an anatomy of some of the oddities that can occur in the making of academic appointments. He organised seminars on Greek and Cypriot history in the Michaelmas and Trinity Terms.

TIMOTHY GARTON ASH is Centre Director and Gerd Bucenius Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary History. His own research this year has concentrated on the relationship between Europe and the United States, and Britain's troubled position in between. This is a subject on which he is currently writing a book. As a preliminary study for the book, he wrote a major article on 'Anti-Europeanism in America', *New York Review of Books* (Volume 50, No. 2, 13 February 2003). He spoke at conferences or gave lectures on this and related subjects in Pontignano (the regular Italian-British conference, co-organised by St Antony's), Prague, Berlin, Paris, Warsaw, Madrid, Cambridge, and London. He involved in this work a research team of graduate students both from Europe and North America, who work closely with him in collecting materials and debating transatlantic matters.

He also actively participated in the public debate on these issues through his fortnightly commentaries in the *Guardian*, often translated and reprinted in other European newspapers. He addressed Robert Kagan's arguments in a review article in *Prospect*, March 2003. As general editor of the *Central European Classics*, he saw the short stories of Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz into the press – the last volume in the series – and as general editor of the *German Historical Perspectives* series he oversaw the preparation of two volumes arising from seminar series held at the Centre.

TONY NICHOLLS, retired as Professor of Modern German History in September 2001 and is an Emeritus Fellow of the College.

His main fields of research are the recent history of the Federal Republic of Germany and in particular the development of Anglo-German Relations, 1945-2001. In May 2003 he was awarded an Emeritus Fellowship by the Leverhulme Trust to help finance archival research in Britain and Germany. The Fellowship will commence in January 2004 and extend over a two year period.

On 22 September 2002 he delivered a lecture on 'Germany on Election Day' to a Conference at the University of Edinburgh organised by the DAAD, the German Academic Exchange Service. On 28 October he lectured at the History Faculty of the University of Marburg on 'Die deutsch-britischen Beziehungen 1945-2000:

Betrachtungen zu einem schwierigen Verhältnis' [German-British relations 1945-2000, reflections on a difficult relationship] . This lecture was chaired by Professor Wolfgang Krieger (OA) and the visit was co-hosted by Professor Eduard Mühle (OA), the Director of the Herder Institute for East European Studies in Marburg. Two days earlier, Wolfgang Krieger organised a very convivial dinner for German Antonians at which Tony Nicholls was able to make an informal report on the achievements of the College since his retirement.

On 4 July 2003 he delivered the Keynote Speech at a Conference in Berlin on the 'Third Way in the era of the Cold War'. The conference was organised jointly by the Berlin branch of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte and the German Historical Institute in London.

On 23 July he received an honorary doctorate from the Faculty of History at the Ludwig-Maximilians University in Munich. Numerous Antonians were present and the main address was given by Professor Gerhard A. Ritter, one of the earliest German students in St. Antony's and an Honorary Fellow of the College.

During period 2002-3 he published: 'Die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands, Die britische Perspektive', in Jürgen Elvert and Friedrich Krüger (eds), *Deutschland 1949-1989. Von der Zweistaatlichkeit zur Einheit*. Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 2003; 'Federalism in History: Some Afterthoughts', in Maiken Umbach (ed.), *German Federalism. Past Present, Future*, Palgrave, 2002; and 'The Academic Community: Modern and Contemporary Historians' in Jeremy Noakes, Peter Wende and Jonathan Wright (eds) *Britain and Germany in Europe 1949-1990*, Oxford University Press, 2002

DR KALYPSO NICOLAIDIS is University Lecturer in International Relations. She presided over the first year of the new Programme on Southeastern Europe launched under the auspices of the European Studies Centre. Under the energetic leadership of its new director Othon Anastasakis the programme sponsored events and research on the region, including in cooperation with the programme on contemporary Turkey at the Middle East Centre. The programme also organised the European Studies Centre annual lecture by Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou. She taught her usual courses for the Department of Politics and International Relations (thesis seminar, International Political Economy, international relations after 1945, game theory, European integration). In College, she gave seminars and lectures on Convention, Turkey's European identity, The impact of Iraq on the Convention (Alistair Buchan club). She also attended various conferences at NYU (Global Governance, Regulating Transnational Market), France (Globalisation and its critics), EUI, Florence (Comparative Federalism). Throughout the academic year Dr Nicolaidis was also an advisor to George Papandreou on the Greek Presidency of the EU and on Convention on the Future of Europe. She was also asked to head an international group of experts on these issues. In this capacity she prepared and attended meetings of the plenary and the Praesidium in Brussels and

engaged thoroughly with the Constitution-drafting process. She also published two Op-eds in the weekly *European Voice*, on Federalism and on the rotating presidency.

This year, Dr Nicolaidis published inter-alia: 'This is my Utopia': Narratives as Power,' with Robert Howse, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Special Anniversary issue, 2003; and 'Order and Justice Beyond the Nation-State: Europe's Competing Paradigms' with Justine Lacroix, in Rosemary Foot and Andrew Hurrell, eds, *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2003); 'Enhancing WTO legitimacy: Constitutionalization or Global Subsidiarity', with Robert Howse in *Governance* (January 2003). There was also a reprint of her book: *The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the US and the EU* (Oxford University Press, 2001), co-editor with Robert Howse. These can be found on her web page: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ssfc0041>.

DR DAVID RECHTER, Research Fellow, University Research Lecturer, and Fellow in Modern Jewish History at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies was on sabbatical leave in Michaelmas term, working on a history of the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina. He was Director of Studies of the new M.St. in Jewish Studies (formerly the Graduate Diploma), and convened a seminar in Modern European Jewish History in Hilary Term at the European Studies Centre. Speakers included Prof. David Sorkin (University of Wisconsin, Madison), Dr Nils Roemer (University of Southampton) and Dr Abigail Green (Brasenose College). He also convened, with Prof. R. J. W. Evans and Prof. R. Crampton, a Modern History Faculty seminar on east and east-central Europe. He was invited to join the Executive of the Leo Baeck Institute, London and the Committee of the British Association of Jewish Studies. He published 'Western and Central European Jewry in the Modern Period, 1750-1933', in Martin Goodman, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (Oxford University Press), and 'German Jewry and the Search for Normality', (with Rainer Liedtke) in a volume that he edited with Rainer Liedtke, *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry* (Mohr Siebeck).

The South East European Studies Programme (SEESP)

The South East European Studies Programme (SEESP) (<http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/areastudies/southeasteur.shtml>) focuses on contemporary politics and society in the post-communist Balkans, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. It seeks to foster academic and policy relevant research and discussions on the dynamics of post-conflict reconstruction and transition emphasizing the role of the European Union. Through a series of activities such as conferences, workshops and seminars, the production of commentaries and policy papers the programme has focused during its first year on some of the most topical issues in the region. The SEESP has organised a workshop on "EU conditionality in South East Europe" (November 2002), a conference on "Turkey, the EU and the 2004 Milestone: Is this time for real?", (March 2003), was involved in the organisation of the European Studies

Annual Lecture delivered by Mr George Papandreou, Greek Foreign Minister on “Europe after Iraq” and was one of the sponsors of the Oxford University Balkan Society Conference on “Border Crossings in the Balkans”. The Programme has also organised a series of public lectures on Balkan, Turkish and Cypriot related issues. It is also a subcontractor in the two-year research project on “Functional Borders and Sustainable Security in the Balkans” together with a number of academic institutions in the UK and abroad.

DR OTHON ANASTASAKIS has been the Programme’s first Director since June 2002. Besides coordinating the activities of the programme, he has also created the Greek Turkish Network, bringing together experts from Greece, Turkey and third countries, and conducting an on-going electronic debate on issues of concern to both countries. He also organised the first meeting of the members of the network in March 2003. Dr Anastasakis has delivered presentations on Balkan regional co-operation in Forli, Italy June 2002 and at the LSE in London, December 2002; on EU and the Balkans in Zagreb May 2003; on Greek and Turkish Balkan policies in Istanbul June 2003; on Euro-Atlantic relations in Hydra July 2003. His publications include: *Balkan Regional Co-operation and European Integration*, The Hellenic Observatory, LSE, London 2002 (with Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic); ‘The Former Yugoslavia After Milosevic’ in *Regional Surveys of the World: Central and South Eastern Europe 2003* (Europa Publications, London and New York 2002); ‘Towards Regional Cooperation in the Balkans; An Assessment of the EU Approach’ in *Regional Cooperation in South Eastern Europe: The Effects of Regional Initiatives – Conference Proceedings*, edited by Dusko Lopandic (European Movement, Belgrade 2002); ‘EU conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing commitment to the process’ (SEESP Policy Paper, Oxford 2003); and forthcoming ‘Greece as a Regional Power in the Balkans’ in *Security in South East Europe*, edited by Aleksandar Fatic (Belgrade 2003).

The Alistair Horne Visiting Fellow

DR DANIEL GORDON, the Alistair Horne Fellow for 2002-3, has been writing his first book, *Immigrants and the New Left in France*. The book is the first full account of the rise and fall of the relationship between immigrants and the New Left in France during and after the turbulent events of May 1968. Based on extensive research using newly opened archives, it uncovers the hidden history of attempts by migrant workers from North Africa and Southern Europe and their French supporters to campaign for equal rights and better living conditions, at a time when political activity by foreigners was largely illegal and immigrants were isolated from mainstream society. The book is partly based on his D.Phil. thesis completed at the University of Sussex in 2001, which he has been editing and using Oxford’s library facilities to add in new material setting the book in a wider geographical and chronological context.

On a related subject, he has also written an article on ‘The back door of the

nation state: political expulsions and continuity in twentieth century France', based on a paper he presented to the Brown-bag seminar at the European Studies Centre in January 2003. During the year he published "Il est recommandé aux étrangers de ne pas participer": les étrangers expulsés en mai-juin 1968', *Migrations Société*, 88 (May-August 2003), and book reviews in *H-France* and *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*. In June 2003 he made a return visit to attend a conference on Cosmopolitanism in the Mediterranean at the University of Nice where he worked in 2001-2. In Hilary and Trinity terms he also worked as part-time Lecturer in History at Jesus College, teaching courses in modern European and world history. He has also tried to do his bit for international understanding by writing a report on the antiwar movement in Britain for his colleagues in France, and has enjoyed participating in seminar discussions at St Antony's and elsewhere in Oxford.

The Basque Visiting Fellowship

DR SANTIAGO LEONÉ spent Hilary and Trinity terms as the Basque Visiting Fellow at St Antony's College. During this time his research focused on nineteenth-century foreign (particularly British) travellers' accounts about the Basque Country. In addition to that, he prepared (together with the anthropologist Jeremy MacClancy, from Oxford Brookes University) a workshop dealing precisely with that topic. Its title was "Imaging the Basques: Foreign Views on the Basque Country" and it took place at the European Studies Centre on 30th May. Apart from Prof. MacClancy, five other scholars participated in it: Francisco J. Caspistegui, from the Universidad de Navarra; Alex Drace-Francis, from the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies, University College London; Joseba Gabilondo, from the University of Reno, Nevada; Edorta Jimenez, who is a writer; and Coro Rubio, from the Universidad del País Vasco. The paper Dr Leoné presented at the workshop was the result of his research in Oxford.

The Deakin Fellowship

DR GILLES BERTRAND, Deakin Visiting Fellow, is a research associate of the South East European Studies Programme (SEESP) and works on Cyprus and on Greek-Turkish relations, topic of his Ph.D. (a shorter version will be published in French in September 2003). During the academic year, he edited 'La partition: Bosnie-Herzégovine, Caucase, Chypre', *Cahiers d'Etudes sur la Méditerranée orientale et le Monde turco-iranien* (34, December 2002), and wrote the introduction: 'La solution au conflit identitaire? La partition en question'. He also published 'Chypre : vers une solution européenne?', *Questions internationales* (1, 2003); 'Le rapprochement helléno-turc et l'adhésion de la Turquie à l'Union européenne', *Mesogeios* (17-18, 2002). 'Cypriots in Britain: Diaspora(s) Committed to Peace?' will be published in *Turkish Studies* (5:1, 2004). For the SEESP website, he wrote 'Could UN "Basis for Agreement" have solved the partition of Cyprus?' and actively participates to the discussions of the Greek-Turkish Network. He wrote

papers for the websites of the Observatory of European Foreign Policy, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and of the Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik on Cyprus and Greek-Turkish relations.

He gave the following lectures: ‘Cyprus: is UN “basis for agreement” the last chance to solve the problem?’ for OU Balkan Society, at the European Studies Centre, 4 December 2002; ‘Le rapprochement gréco-turc: dirigeants charismatiques, opinion publique et intégration régionale’, Conference on Balkan Studies, Paris, 20 December 2002; ‘Le plan Annan est-il une solution pour la question chypriote ?’ Conference on Greek-Turkish relations, INALCO, Paris, 28 January 2003 and ‘Chypre : et maintenant ?’, Conference ‘The Future of Greek-Turkish Relations and the European Union: Problems and Perspectives’, IHEI, Geneva, 20 May 2003. He presented a paper ‘The European Dimension of the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement’ at the workshop “Conceptualizing the EU’s foreign and security policy: new questions and new approaches”, European Consortium for Political Research workshops, Edinburgh, 2 April 2003.

‘Dire oui au nom de l’Europe’, written with Dr Kalypso Nicolaidis, was published in Turkish in the daily *Radikal*, 13 May 2003. The Deakin Fellow was interviewed by Radio France Culture on the Turkish elections (4 November 2002), by Radio Notre-Dame on the Cyprus issue after the Copenhagen Summit (12 December), by Radio France International on the presidential election in Cyprus (17 February) and by the Turkish daily *Dünya* (20 June 2003).

The Monte dei Paschi Italian Visiting Fellowship

PROF. FRANCESCA BETTIO, the Monte dei Paschi Italian Visiting Fellow for 2002-3, co-organised with Dr David Hine of Christ Church the seminar series ‘Innovations in Italian Public Policy’. The series featured distinguished speakers, often combining scholarship with the experience afforded by membership in government or Parliament. The topics ranged from pressing economic concerns like fiscal consolidation, labour market and health care reform, to issues of institutional and political engineering such as legislation on conflicts of interest and new regulatory approaches to the media sector and the funding of regional development. Speakers were encouraged to situate the specific Italian concerns in a broader European context and the text of each presentation is posted on the European Studies Centre web pages. Her main areas of research are labour market and the economics of gender, and research in Oxford develop along, respectively, the relationship between family structure and fertility choices and the economic implications of different organisation of care work. She contributed the paper ‘Familism under new guise? The puzzles of the Italian family’ to the conference organised by the Nissan Institute and Oxford Brookes ‘Changing Japanese Family in International Perspective’: the paper will be included in an OUP book based on this conference. She also continued to work on the article ‘Care Regimes in Europe’ under revision for the journal *Feminist Economics* and initiated a European based

project on the costing and financing of Long Term Elderly Care, making contact with scholars of the Oxford Institute of Ageing.

The Stifterverband Visiting Fellowship

PROFESSOR MANFRED GÖRTEMAKER, Professor of Modern History at the University of Potsdam, was the Stifterverband Visiting Fellow for 2002-3. His most recent books, all published in 2002, are *Geschichte Europas 1850-1918* (Kohlhammer), *Weimar in Berlin. Porträt einer Epoche* (be.bra), *Gleichschaltung unter Stalin? Die Entwicklung der Parteien im östlichen Europa 1943-1949* (Schöningh) and *Kleine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Beck). His other publications include *Unifying Germany, 1989-1990* (Macmillan), *Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leske) and, in cooperation with Arnulf Baring, *Machtwechsel. Die Ära Brandt-Scheel* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt). Prof. Görtemaker is probably best known, however, for his major volume *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Von der Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Beck), published in 1999.

He is currently preparing a biography of Rudolf Hess and used his time in Oxford to do extensive research on the British aspects of the matter, particularly Hess' flight to Scotland in May 1941 and his subsequent imprisonment in Britain and at the Allied prison for war criminals in Berlin-Spandau. During his year at St Antony's, Prof. Görtemaker also completed a book about Orte der Demokratie in Berlin and gave several talks, including lectures at the German Historical Institute London on the collapse of the GDR and at the Otto von Bismarck Foundation in Friedrichsruh on "Bismarck's General: Helmut von Moltke and the Prusso-German General Staff."

In Hilary Term he organized his seminar on "Britain and Germany in the Twentieth Century," with Timothy Garton Ash and Jonathan Wright (Christ Church) as co-convenors. Among the speakers were Commander Dr Jörg Duppler, head of the Military History Research Center in Potsdam, Prof. Dr Marie-Luise Recker from the University of Frankfurt/Main, Prof. Dr Detlef Junker, the former director of the German Historical Institute Washington, now at the University of Heidelberg, Prof. Dr Lothar Kettenacker, the deputy director of the German Historical Institute London, and Dr Norbert Himmler, historian at the Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF) in Mainz. Sir Michael Quinlan (Ministry of Defense), Prof. Dr Beatrice Heuser (King's College London) and Dr Bernhard Fulda (Cambridge) completed the list of experts who dealt with a wide range of issues: the Anglo-German naval rivalry before World War I, Lloyd George and the Weimar Republic, the appeasement policy of the 1930's, the British in Germany after the Second World War, British-German cooperation in NATO and, last but not least, the Kohl-Thatcher discord over German reunification, among others. The papers given will be published in the spring of 2004 in the German Historical Perspectives series.

Other Senior Members associated with the Centre

Professor Richard Crampton, St Edmund Hall and a member of the Centre's Steering Committee, who teaches regularly at the Centre, taught a new course on 'The Balkan Crises of the 1990s' in Michaelmas 2002. In Hilary 2003 he gave classes in 'The History and Politics of Central and Eastern Europe since 1945', a course which has now been redesigned and retitled, 'Eastern Europe under Communist Rule'. In the Trinity Term he joined Dr Anne Deighton for a highly enjoyable and very popular series of seminars on 'Truth and Record' in which graduate students and practising writers such as Prof. Avi Shlaim and Godfrey Hodgson took part. Richard Crampton wrote an introductory essay for an edition of *The Journal of Sports Studies* which is to be devoted to Eastern Europe.

Dr Anne Deighton, Wolfson College, is a member of the Centre's Steering Committee and Jean Monnet Lecturer in the history of European integration. She has continued to teach on the European Politics and Society M.Phil. 'European Integration' core course, and to run her option on 'European International History'. Although she did not run a European Integration visiting speaker seminar this year – the European Studies Centre's programme has expanded so dramatically that competition for the seminar room was too intense! – she has given many talks in the UK and in 'applicant' Europe on European security. She contributed 'The past in the present: British imperial memories and the European question' to Jan Werner Mueller's edited volume on *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe* (CUP, 2002); and '911 and NATO' to Lawrence Freedman's edited *Superterrorism: Policy responses* (Blackwell, 2002); as well as an article, 'Reassessing the fundamentals: the European Security and Defence Policy' to the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, (40/4, November 2002). Next year Anne will be on leave from Oxford and will be working at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Avenue de la Paix, Geneva (www.gcsp.ch): Antonians are more than welcome to call by when in Switzerland.

Dr Ruth Harris, Fellow of New College and Tutor and Lecturer in Modern History, has begun a revisionist study of The Dreyfus Affair that will be published by Penguin Press. She will be on academic leave next year to further this project.

Dr David Hine is director of an ESRC-sponsored research project on Standards in Public Life in Western Europe, and Director of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Government, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford. He contributed to the Executive Inquiry of the Committee on Standards in Public Life (the Wicks Committee) and was consultant to the BMRB research project on public attitudes to the seven principles of public life, commissioned by the Wicks Committee.

Publications 2002-3: "Silvio Berlusconi, the media, and the conflict of interest issue" in P. Bellucci and M. Bull, eds, *Italian Politics: The Return of Berlusconi* (Berghan, 2003).

Professor Catriona Kelly, Fellow of New College, Professor of Russian and a member of the Centre's Steering Committee, continued to work on *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia, 1890-1991* (for Yale University Press). She also secured a contract for *Comrade Pavlik: the Life and Legend of a Soviet Boy Hero* (with Granta Books). In connection with these projects, she was awarded the following grants:

1. Leverhulme research grant F08736/A, 'Childhood in Russia, a Social and Cultural History', awarded July 2002. Dr Polly Jones takes up a post-doctoral fellowship under the grant in October 2003, and work has already started on an oral history project in St Petersburg (co-ordinated by Professor Albert Baiburin and Alexandra Piir) and Moscow (co-ordinated by Professor Vitaly Bezrogov and Julia Rybina). Work in Perm' is scheduled to start in 2004.

2. British Academy Small Research Grant for visits to Russia, 2003-4 (Moscow, St Petersburg, Ekaterinburg), awarded May 2003.

3. British Academy Visiting Professorship for Albert Baiburin, awarded March 2003 (Professor Baiburin will visit Oxford in October 2003 and give a lecture at a one-day New College Symposium, 'The Dangers of the Known World: Russian Popular Culture from 1800', 21 October 2003, at New College Oxford. The other speakers are Professor Caroline Humphrey FBA, Professor Steve Smith and Professor Faith Wigzell).

Professor Kelly also published articles in *Sotsial'naya istoriya*, *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, *Voprosy literatury*, etc., and reviews in the *Guardian*, *TLS*, *American Historical Review*, etc. She presented papers at the AAASS Conference in Pittsburgh, USA (November 2002), at the Prokofiev Centenary Conference in Manchester (February 2003), at an international workshop on globalisation in Eastern Europe (Budapest, February 2003), and at a conference on twentieth-century leader cult at the European University Institute in Florence. She acted as consultant for a BBC 4 profile of Vladimir Putin, and gave an interview for a Radio 3 interval talk about childhood in Soviet Russia, presented by Philip Bullock.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

The Latin American Centre

The University reform of the overall administrative and financial system has had major implications for the LAC. Most of them seem to involve a massive increase in administration and form filling for relatively little benefit so far. Partly in order to function as a 'cost centre' with a balanced budget, the LAC introduced a new one-year degree, the M. Sc. in Latin American Studies. As a result, the average

recruitment of about six students a year for the existing M.Phil. and M.Sc. in Public Policy rose to twenty new students. This has inevitably led to a heavy emphasis on teaching and on meeting the demands for shorter and more structured courses. The results have been encouraging. Worries about a possible decline in the academic level of the students have not been borne out. However, it has meant a considerable increase in time spent on teaching and the University required level of 288 units bears little relation to the actual number of 'units' taught (apologies for the cumbersome language, but that is how it is). How well we have done or not, may be revealed by the report of the University Committee of Enquiry into area studies when it becomes available early in Michaelmas Term.

I would like to pay tribute to the efforts of two new members of staff for their help with these increased demands. Alan Knight is on leave on a British Academy/Leverhulme Fellowship and has been replaced by Paulo Drinot a former member of the College and LAC and previously the Hewlett Research Fellow here. Rosemary Thorp, on leave to chair the Board of Trustees of Oxfam and to resume the temporary Directorship of QEH, has been replaced by Rodrigo Cubero, a former holder of the Falconer scholarship for students from Costa Rica. Both of them have responded fully and uncomplainingly to the increased demands. And Ana Covarrubias, although here principally to run the Mexico's Changing Place in the World programme, has filled a gap in teaching in International Relations. One other new Research Fellow is Line Schjolden, who has a Ph.D. in History from Berkeley and who has been appointed, jointly with ILAS in London, to the post in Law and Politics funded by the Hewlett Foundation.

At the LAC we rely a great deal on members of the University who though they have no formal obligation to us, are indispensable members, making a substantial contribution to teaching and research. Laurence Whitehead at Nuffield and Andrew Hurrell also at Nuffield have played key roles in the activities of the LAC. Colin Clarke, Professor of Geography, has similarly answered our needs for teaching on geography, and over the years has chaired the former University Inter-Faculty Committee (whose passing is more and more a matter of regret), and been an active member of our management committee. He retires this year having recently published a major work on the peasantry in Oaxaca, Mexico, and I would like to convey our thanks to him for all he has done for the LAC over the years

The LAC organised several conferences during the past year. In Trinity Term we held probably the first conference we have ever held on El Salvador, and looked at that country eleven years after the Peace Accords. Several special seminars were organised or given on the crisis in Argentina by the former Director of the Argentine Studies Programme, Celia Szusterman, who, although no longer a full time member of the LAC, continues to offer very welcome assistance in keeping us up to date with the fortunes of that complicated country. Roberto Garretón, a much respected human rights lawyer gave a seminar on the Human Rights situation in Chile. Several seminars addressed the Chavez phenomenon in Venezuela,

with contributions from the current Andres Bello Visiting Fellow, Leonardo Vera and German Utreras here for two years on leave from the Central Bank of Venezuela. Theoretically in the previous academic year but too late to be mentioned in the previous report was a conference on Caciques and Caudillos in Mexico, organised by Alan Knight in association with the University of Utrecht.

Ana Covarrubias has organised two in a series of three major conferences so far on Mexico's place in the world – one in Oxford and another in Mexico City. The Centre was inaugurated by President Vicente Fox during his official visit to the UK in November, and was preceded by a lecture at the Sheldonian Theatre on Mexico's democratic progress. The conference took place at St Antony's in February and academics from the UK, Mexico and the United States discussed major changes in the international system after the Cold War, and how they have affected Mexico's position in the world. A second conference on contemporary Mexican foreign policy and a workshop on democracy, human rights and Mexican foreign policy will take place in Michaelmas.

Our previous administrator Rachel Meyrick left in mid-year for a post in Material Sciences. Her patience and skilful management of the complexities of the transitional period in the new University financial arrangements has helped us to put our finances on a reasonable footing. We will miss her sense of humour and refusal to take academics too seriously (though I will be glad to miss her habit of pointing out the disasters that currently afflict Welsh rugby – probably anyhow a result of an attempt to apply the Resource Allocation Model favoured by the University). For an interim period we were fortunate to find Jenny Lunnon to help us. We have appointed Naomi Barbour, who previously worked at Brookes University, and hope that she too can survive OSIRIS, Oracle, ISIDORE, the Institutional Audit, Health and Safety regulations, compulsory Risk Assessments for those travelling to 'dangerous places' and so on. Fortunately we have retained the services of Elvira Ryan our secretary who is now indispensable when we have computer problems and who manages to remain cheerful at all times. The librarians, Ruth Hodges and Laura Salinas, have faced an uncertain year as the library is transferred to the University Library System (OULS), but have still managed to make the library a friendly and accessible place for its users. And as the current Director's term of office comes to a close he would like to draw attention to one successful major initiative – the purchase of a picnic table for the garden of the LAC.

Centre for Brazilian Studies

The Centre has now been in existence for six years. The programme continues to grow, as do the number of visitors. During the academic year we welcomed 13 visitors for periods of one term to one year. In addition we have had for the first time our very own students, doctoral students at Brazilian universities who have come to Oxford as Recognised Students. Our visitors, students and the students

enrolled in courses at the Latin American Centre and who attend our seminars and workshops, have made our Centre a lively and exciting place to work in.

During the year the Centre had, in addition to the Director, two salaried Research Fellows and three Research Associates. A new post has been created, a permanent Lecturership in Brazilian Studies, funded for the first five years by HEFCE and Oxford University's Research Development Fund. The postholder, Dr Kurt von Mettenheim, arrives in August. The other exciting news is that the Centre has published its first two books: *Brazil in British and Irish Archives*, Oliver Marshall (Centre for Brazilian Studies, 2002) and *The New Brazilian Cinema*, Lúcia Nagib (ed.) (I B Tauris in association with Centre for Brazilian Studies, 2003).

The main event of the Centre's year was the visit of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. This private visit to Oxford in November was the final trip of his 8-year period as President of Brazil. He received an honorary degree, Doctor of Civil Law by Diploma, from the University marking his outstanding contribution to Brazilian and Latin American intellectual and political life. While in Oxford he delivered the 2002 Cyril Foster Lecture (Towards democratic global governance: a Brazilian perspective) to a packed audience in Schools. Finally he visited the Centre and met both academic and administrative staff. Now we have a plaque on the wall to prove that he really did come. This event ensured that there was a proper spring clean in November and the Administrator defied anyone to find a spot of dust within 50 metres of the Centre on that particular day at least.

The pattern of our academic programme changed this year. We had fewer conferences and workshops, but more seminars. Conferences/workshops were held on such diverse topics as 'New approaches to the independence of Brazil', 'The fiscal reform of the Brazilian state' and 'Promoting human rights through good governance in Brazil' (in association with British Council). In addition to our weekly seminars (21 of them), we ran a special seminar series, with the Department of Educational Studies, on 'Education in Brazil' and the resulting book is currently being edited.

On the administrative front, Jocelyn Bradley has departed after four years as PA to the Director. We shall miss her elegance and charm. Sarah Rankin joined us and is rapidly learning the ropes. She has already proved her worth by sourcing some excellent wine for our summer party. We were pleased to have Alessandra Nolasco return from maternity leave, but this meant we lost her temporary replacement, Susana Christy. Ailsa Thom continues to perform a dozen tasks simultaneously and still smile. Her tall Dutch bicycle ensures that she stays well above the rest of us. Thanks are due to them all for their contribution to a lively Centre. Margaret Hancox spends time on her knees – we are not sure if she is praying or simply buckling under the University's exponentially increasing bureaucracy.

Activities and Publications of Fellows

Mr Alan Angell, University Lecturer in Latin American Politics and Director of the Latin American Centre spent most of the year in an attempt to deal with the increasing demands put on the LAC by the reform of the University system of administration and financing. However, he published two articles, 'The Politics of Education Reform in Chile' in L. Haagh and C. Helgoe (eds), *Social Policy and Market Reform in Latin America*, (Palgrave 2002); and 'The Pinochet Factor in Chilean Politics' in M. Davis (ed.), *The Pinochet Case* (Palgrave 2003). Another book chapter on 'Party Change in Chile' will appear in an OUP edited book early next year. He has continued to collaborate with Rachel Sieder of the Institute of Latin American Studies in London, on a research project funded by the Hewlett Foundation on Law and Politics in Latin America and there will be a major international conference on the topic next year. In December he undertook an evaluation of a Ph.D. programme in History in the Catholic University in Chile and enjoyed looking at the problems of other academics far from home for a change.

PROF. LESLIE BETHELL, Professorial Fellow and Director of the Centre for Brazilian Studies, devoted another year mainly to directing the academic activities of the Centre (conferences, workshops, seminars, publications - and the research of more than a dozen research fellows and associates, visiting research fellows and associates and visiting research students). He visited Brazil four times, primarily to raise funds for the Centre (an increasingly difficult task, despite the evident success of the Centre). He managed to make some progress on his own work for the final volume of his *Cambridge History of Latin America* (Brazil since 1930) and attended, on 1 January, the inauguration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva as the guest of the president-elect and in May the 15th Forum Nacional. Two volumes of chapters (revised and updated) from *CHLA* Vol. VIII (1991) were published in Spanish translation by Editorial Crítica, Barcelona - *Historia de América Latina* Vol. 15, *El cono sur desde 1930* (2002) and Vol. 16, *Los países andinos desde 1930* (2002) - together with further volumes of the paperback edition: *América Latina en la época colonial* (2 vols., 2003). A second (and much improved) Portuguese translation of his book *The abolition of the Brazilian slave trade* (1970) was published by the Senado Federal in its collection Biblioteca Básica Brasileira (2002). Finally, he completed a guide to Brazil in books by British and Irish authors to be published in 2003 by the Centre for Brazilian Studies to complement Oliver Marshall's *Brazil in British and Irish archives* (2002).

DR MIGUEL CARTER is Research Fellow in Politics at the Centre for Brazilian Studies. His current research interest is on the origins of Brazil's landless workers' movement (MST) and on a comparative review of land reform mobilisations in the Brazilian Amazon, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraguay.

DR ANA COVARRUBIAS is Research Fellow and Coordinator of the programme 'Mexico's Changing Place in the World' (MCPIW) of the newly created Centre

for Mexican Studies. She actively participated in organising the inauguration of the Centre by Mexico's president Vicente Fox. Her main task in the past year was to design the activities of the MCPIW programme which include a series of three international conferences on the international system and Mexican foreign policy. The first conference was entitled "Features of Contemporary World Politics Affecting Mexico", and took place in February at St Antony's. Prestigious academics from the UK, the United States and Mexico discussed the ways in which the international system has changed since the end of the Cold War and how this has affected Mexico. She also coordinated a special issue of the Mexican journal *Foro Internacional* on the domestic situation and international relations of Cuba (forthcoming, September, 2003). Her article in that issue deals with the transformations of Mexican policy towards Castro's regime. Another article accepted for publication is: "Mexico: The Challenges of a Latin American Power in the U.S. Backyard", in Frank O. Mora and Jeanne A. K. Hey (eds) *Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies* (forthcoming, Rowman and Littlefield, November, 2003).

Mr Rodrigo Cubero-Brealey was appointed in May 2002 to a three-year University Lectureship in the Economics of Latin America. This academic year he has been lecturing, teaching and supervising for the different graduate programmes at the Latin American Centre and at QEH. He has been to conferences in Manchester and Milan, and during the summer will be preparing a paper for this year's Latin American and Caribbean Economic Association (LACEA) Conference in Puebla (Mexico) in October. In the summer he will also be working to complete his Oxford D.Phil. thesis in Economics, on the macroeconomics of foreign direct investment in Costa Rica. He gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the Ronaldo Falconer Scholarship. By making possible the postgraduate studies at Oxford of several Costa Ricans over the last 15 years, the Scholarship has made a fantastic educational contribution to Costa Rica and facilitated the strengthening of academic links between Oxford and Central America.

MR MALCOLM DEAS writes: Wordwatch 2003: epiphany is fading, but raft is still afloat; this year you are advised to drop identity, contested and constructed, which tend to come along all together like those metropolitan buses; I read about another imagined community or imagined something else at least once a week; irritation also mounting with serious, seriously, serial, serially, distinguished, contrarian, 'to die for', astonishing (reviewer's word for fat), tectonic plates, cusp and vibrant. Nothing funny seems to have happened in the last academic year; academic life does not get happier with advances in governance, as Alan Angell will have written above. Something unusual happened last week, as I was thinking what on earth to say in this account: a bat entered the Latin American Centre, and frightened some of those there, who still believe that bats will with the little sharp hooks on their wings get tangled up in their hair. Countless nature programmes should have taught them that this never happens, but perhaps they thought that this was a particularly disoriented bat, as it had indeed entered a University office, and

if it was so disoriented it might then make for someone's hair. It was captured and released into the wild, and we hope it was none the worse for its experience. It did not have time to scan anything. I believe from the descriptions of those present that it was a British bat. This is the first time that any species of bat has entered the Latin American Centre, and this must, whatever its purpose may have been be accounted a considerable achievement by a protected species, for which special access has yet to be provided.

As for my academic work, I have been Convenor for Politics in PPE finals - last year, never again, d.v. I continue to read and even occasionally write in vacations, and anyone interested can contact me on malcolm.deas@sant.ox.ac.uk. I see that I have written on the history and significance of Latin American recruiting, on human rights and NGO's in Colombia, on the life of an enterprising nineteenth century native of Bucaramanga and on the early days of South American independence. It would be nice to be able to add and much, much more.

DR MAHRUKH DOCTOR is Research Fellow in International Political Economy at the Centre for Brazilian Studies and at St Antony's. Her most recent research was funded by an ESRC grant - 'Business, the state and economic reform – foreign direct investment in the Brazilian automotive industry'. This academic year, she organised a workshop ("Towards a New Export Promotion Agenda in Brazil"), published an article ('Obstacles to Institutional Modernisation: the Case of Port Reform in Brazil', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, May 2003) and a working paper (The Interplay of States and Markets: the Role of Business-State Relations in Attracting Investment to the Automotive Industry in Brazil, CBS-40-2003). She gave papers at a number of conferences, including LASA (Dallas, Texas) and ANPOCS (Caxambu, Minas Gerais), and was invited to speak at various venues, including the Institute for Latin American Studies, London, LSE Development Studies conference at Cumberland Lodge, Wharton Business School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and the Judge Institute of Management, Cambridge University. She is a member of the Mercosur Study Group at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House).

DR PAULO DRINOT began his appointment as Junior Lecturer in Latin American History in September 2002. In addition to his teaching duties, which included teaching a new series of lectures on the history of Latin America, he convened a research seminar in the history and politics of Latin America in Hilary Term 2003, which allowed doctoral students, visiting fellows and fellows working on Latin America in Oxford and beyond to come together to present and discuss new research. He presented papers on a variety of topics at the XIII Economic History Congress (Buenos Aires), the Latin American Studies Association Congress (Dallas), the Society of Latin American Studies Annual Conference (Manchester), the Peru Support Group Annual Conference (Oxford), and the Crisis in the Andes: Managing Regional Order conference (Oxford). Some of the topics covered in his conference papers ranged from discourses on eugenics and prostitution to politi-

cal decentralisation and the November 2002 elections in Peru and historical perspectives on the crisis of the Peruvian state. He published an article entitled 'Fighting for a Closed Shop: the 1931 Lima Bakery Workers' Strike' in the *Journal of Latin American Studies* and has several articles and book reviews forthcoming in a number of other journals. He continues to work on two book manuscripts and one edited volume. In May 2003 he visited Princeton University to discuss a possible joint project between Oxford's Latin American Centre and Princeton's Program in Latin American Studies on the theme of inequality; one issue, as we well know, that Latin America can teach the world a thing or two about.

DR VALPY FITZGERALD, Reader in International Economics and Finance, has spent the academic year 2002-3 engaged in two research projects related to Latin America. The first is the construction of a large computer-based data set (OXLAD) of economic and social statistics for 19 Latin American countries over the entire 1900-2000 period. This database is now available for public use through the Bodleian OXLIP website. This is the only database to present data series that are consistent over time and comparable between countries. This was done with the assistance of Ame Berges and Pablo Astorga, with whom he is preparing three journal articles analysing this data: these focus on living standards, productivity change and endogenous growth. Presentations of the database and analysis were made at ILAS (London), the LSE and the Latin American Economic Association meeting at Puebla. The second project is the construction of an econometric model of US bond purchases (both flows and spreads) from emerging market. The work includes simultaneous-equation models for Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. The results indicate that the influence of conditions on US financial markets (including not only Federal Funds rate but also risk appetite and junk bond yields) may have more influence on short-term capital flows to Latin America than was previously thought. Presentations of the work were made at the Judge Business School (Cambridge), the Cass Business School (London) and the Money, Macro and Finance Conference in Cambridge.

PROF. ALAN KNIGHT. During 2002-3 thanks to an AHRB Research readership, Alan Knight was able to focus on his research, dealing with state-society relations in 1930s Mexico. He conducted archival research in Mexico, Chicago and London. He also gave lectures/conference papers at the American Historical Association (Chicago), the University of California San Diego, Tulane University, Canning House (London), the Di Tella University (Buenos Aires), and Leiden University. He published the first two volumes of an eventual trilogy on Mexican history: vol. 1. *From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest* and vol. 2. *The Colonial Era* (CUP, 2002). Attractive and reasonably priced paperbacks, these make excellent gifts for the discerning reader.

Dr Line Schjolden. On 20 January 2003, Line Schjolden took up the position of Hewlett postdoctoral research fellow in Latin American law and politics at the Latin American Centre, Oxford, and the Institute of Latin American Studies, Uni-

versity of London, and also Senior Associate Member of St Antony's. She received her Ph.D. in history in December 2002 from the University of California, Berkeley, where she worked on issues of Argentine labour law and state-labour relations in the period between 1900 and 1943. Line is involved in the organization of the conference on the Judicialization of Politics in Latin America, jointly organized by the Latin American Centre at Oxford and the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of London.

MRS ROSEMARY THORP is University Reader in the Economics of Latin America and a Fellow of St Antony's. This year she has begun to work with Frances Stewart in the setting up of a new DFID-funded research centre at QEH, on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity. She will work on Peru and Bolivia, with partners in each country. She has also continued to work on the theme of groups and the part they can play in attacking poverty, and gave a paper on this at a conference on the politics of chronic poverty in Manchester. She has continued as Chair of Trustees of OXFAM, a post she will hold for five years.

Visiting Fellows and other Senior Members associated with the Centres

Ms Maria Cristina Dos Anjos, Itamaraty Visiting Research Associate at the Centre for Brazilian Studies in Michaelmas term, is a career diplomat. Her research was on Brazilian-Colombian relations and the impact of Colombia's internal conflict on Brazil.

Dr Luiz Carlos Cagliari, was a Visiting Research Associate for the academic year 2002-3 at the Centre for Brazilian Studies. In Brazil he lectures in linguistics at the State University of Campinas - UNICAMP. While in Oxford he worked on a linguistic approach to literacy in Brazil.

Dr Ronaldo Fiani was BP Research Fellow in Economics at the Centre for Brazilian Studies in Hilary and Trinity terms. In Brazil he lectures in economics at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. While in Oxford his research concentrated on a study of competition in energy industries in Brazil and the UK. He co-ordinated a workshop on the fiscal reform of the Brazilian state.

Prof. Paulo Krischke was a CNPq Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Brazilian Studies during Hilary term. He has recently retired from the Federal University of Santa Catarina. While in Oxford his research project was 'A theoretical overview of the approaches to political learning in new democracies'.

Dr Andre Lara Resende, Research Associate in Economics at the Centre for Brazilian Studies and Senior Associate Member at St Antony's for the academic year 2002-3, has worked on Brazilian macro-economic stabilisation and the modern devaluation of public life, with special reference to Brazil. He co-ordinated a workshop, with Professor Bethell, on 'The Lula administration: prospects and policies'.

Dr Fiona Macaulay, Research Associate in the Politics of Human Rights at the

Centre for Brazilian Studies, is also Lecturer in Political Sociology at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London. She has continued her work on the political and institutional challenges of reforming the Brazilian criminal justice system. She also works on gender, social policy, local government and the Workers' Party in Brazil. She co-ordinated a conference (in association with British Council) on 'Promoting human rights through good governance in Brazil', held at St Antony's College in June.

Dr Jurandir Malerba, from the Federal University of Paraiba, was a CNPq Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Brazilian Studies during Hilary and Trinity terms. His research project was 'Historiography of political emancipation in Brazil'. In May he co-ordinated a two-day conference on 'New approaches to the independence of Brazil', held at St Antony's College.

Mr Oliver Marshall, Research Associate at the Centre for Brazilian Studies, published his book *Brazil in British and Irish archives* (Centre for Brazilian Studies). He also carried out research for Professor Bethell's forthcoming publication on Brazil by British authors.

Dr Gladis Massini-Cagliari was a Visiting Research Associate for the academic year 2002-3 at the Centre for Brazilian Studies. In Brazil she teaches linguistics at the State University of São Paulo – Araraquara. In Oxford she worked on comparative historical linguistics: medieval Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese.

Prof. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz was Ministry of Culture Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Brazilian Studies in Trinity term. In Brazil she lectures in anthropology at the University of São Paulo. In Oxford her research topic was 'Academic art in Brazil during the nineteenth century'.

Dr Elide Oliver was Ministry of Culture Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Brazilian Studies during Michaelmas term. She is Associate Professor of Brazilian and Comparative Literature at the University of California at Santa Barbara. During her time in Oxford her research project was 'Time, death and immortality in the works of Swift, Machado de Assis, Borges and Drummond de Andrade'.

Dr Alexandre Parola, Visiting Research Associate at the Centre for Brazilian Studies in Hilary and Trinity terms, is a career diplomat. He has been working on Brazilian foreign policy during the 1990s.

Mr Marcos Rolim, journalist and former Deputy, spent Trinity term at the Centre for Brazilian Studies as Ford Foundation Visiting Research Fellow. He is working on a comparative study of police and prison reform in Brazil and the UK/EU.

Dr Simon Schwartzman, Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Brazilian Studies in Hilary term, researches at the Academia Brasileira de Ciências.

While in Oxford he co-ordinated the seminar series 'Education in Brazil' in association with the Department of Educational Studies. He is co-editing the forthcoming book on the series. He also continued his own research on social policy

issues in Brazil, with special reference to education.

Senator Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy, spent time at the Centre for Brazilian Studies as a Visiting Research Associate during Hilary term. He gave several special seminars on his current area of interest - minimum guaranteed income in Brazil.

Dr Milton Tosto, Visiting Research Associate at the Centre for Brazilian Studies in Hilary and Trinity terms, recently completed his doctorate at the University of Westminster. He worked on preparing for publication his doctoral thesis on liberalism in Brazilian political thought.

Dr Germán Utreras is Senior Associate Member for 2002-4. The scope of his two-year project is related to the study of the International Reserves in Venezuela, as a macroeconomic variable and also as a financial asset. Through a comprehensive coverage of all the relevant topics, it is expected that the research will provide the appropriate references to understand the importance of these subjects. Additionally, it is intended to identify alternative combinations of macroeconomic objectives assigned to the international reserves, with the consistent guidelines required to manage them as financial portfolios, in order to accomplish the best results in both fields for a country like Venezuela.

Since the nature of the topics is very wide, during the first academic year most effort was dedicated to the searching and reading of documents with the most updated information and approaches on the subject of international reserves. From those revisions it was possible to draw more clearly the content and the boundaries of the research. There was also time spent on certain aspects related to the management of such international assets, particularly the trends among central banks, due to the fact that the Central Bank of Venezuela assigned high priority at the completion of the current restructuring process on that area.

DR LEONARDO VERA, Andrés Bello Fellow and Associate Professor in the School of Economics, Universidad Central de Venezuela, investigated both the impact of fiscal rules in oil-dependent economies in the framework of a structuralist open economy macro-model, and the economic rationale of economic policy under the Chavez regime in Venezuela. He also completed two papers: "The Determinants of the Demands for Loans in Venezuela: A Multivariate Cointegration Analysis" and "Recession and Banking Debt Instability", both of which are now being refereed. Dr Vera gave a lecture at the Latin American Centre on "Inflation and Stabilization Efforts in Latin America" and two LAC seminars on the political conflict and the economic performance of Venezuela. In March he was invited to give a presentation on the roots of the Venezuelan economic and political crisis at Universidad Carlos III in Madrid, and in July presented a paper on the 'Demand for Loans in Venezuela' at 5th Annual Conference of the Association for Heterodox Economics, Nottingham Trent University.

MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES**The Middle East Centre**

Regional events have kept the Middle East Centre busy in a year of war in Iraq, reconstruction deferred in Afghanistan, a troubled road map in Israel and Palestine, and a tenuous peace process in Sudan. Yet the Centre Fellows managed to advance scholarship on the region beyond the crises of the moment, with a wide range of conferences, seminars and lecture series in the culture and politics of the Middle East.

The visit of President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, accompanied by leading ministers, capped an active year for the Afghanistan Studies Programme. President Karzai ended his state visit to the United Kingdom with a lecture on 6 June to a capacity crowd in the College's Lecture Theatre, and an outdoor audience of over 200 who listened through a public address system. The President and his entourage, including Finance Minister Ashraf Ghani, National Security Adviser Zalmay Rasool, Minister of Frontiers Mohammad Arif Noorzai and Minister of Rural Reconstruction and Development Mohammad Hanif Atmar, then dined with the Warden and Fellows at High Table before catching their flight back to Kabul. President Karzai requested the opportunity to speak at St Antony's because of our long-standing Afghanistan Studies Programme, headed by Dr Sayyid Askar Mousavi (SAM). The day conference Dr Mousavi hosted in November 2002, on 'Women in Post-Taliban Afghanistan,' continued this tradition of bringing Afghans and western scholars together to address the issues of the day.

The Centre organized a number of events to discuss the war in Iraq. In February, Visiting Iranian Fellow Dr Saideh Lotfian and Dr Bülent Aras, visiting scholar of the Programme on Contemporary Turkey, led a lunchtime discussion on 'The Crisis in Iraq: The View of Iran and Turkey.' The Centre organized a College round-table discussion at the start of Trinity Term, following the occupation of Iraq. Dr Eugene Rogan, Centre Director, chaired a panel of experts: Gen. Ali Shukri (SAM), Mr Foulath Hadid and Mr Ibrahim al-Marashi. Dr Ahmed Al-Shahi (SAM) gave a lecture on Iraq before the 1958 revolution, and Professor Peter Sluglett compared Iraq's past and present in a lecture entitled 'Iraq, Britain and the United States: New Perspectives, Old Problems.'

The Programme on Contemporary Turkey, headed by Dr Philip Robins, and chaired for most of the year by Dr Celia Kerslake, brought three visiting scholars to the Centre in 2002-3: Professor İlber Ortaylı in Michaelmas, Dr Bülent Aras in Hilary, and Dr Nuri Yurdusev in Trinity term. Each gave seminars on contemporary Turkey and played an active role in Centre life. The Programme also hosted a number of conferences. In November, Professor Michael Kaser convened a one-day conference on 'Turkish Relations with the Turkic Republics of the C.I.S.' In March the Programme co-sponsored a conference with the South East Euro-

pean Studies Programme on 'Turkey, the EU and the 2004 Milestone: Is this time for real?' The Programme also sponsored a workshop organized by Dr Rogan on 'History and Memory of the Great War in the Ottoman Empire' in July.

Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi continued to promote Israel studies at the Centre. He organized a film series in the Michaelmas term, and a seminar series in Hilary with papers by Ilan Peleg, Sergio della Pergola, Alon Kadish, Ze'ev Khanin, Avner de-Shalit and Binyamin Neuberger. Dr Ottolenghi contributed analysis of the 2003 Israeli elections both to his own seminar series and to a special brown-bag seminar, with Professor Avi Shlaim.

The Friday Seminars remained the Centre's primary forum for distinguished speakers on a specific topic. In Michaelmas, Avi Shlaim, Philip Robins and Dr Louise Fawcett of St Catherine's College convened the seminar on 'The International Relations of the Middle East.' The speakers, all contributors to Dr Fawcett's forthcoming edited book of the same title, were Raymond Hinnebusch, Peter Sluglett, Ilan Peleg, Rosemary Hollis, F. Gregory Gause III, Augustus Richard Norton, Clement Henry, as well as Dr Fawcett herself.

In Hilary, Dr Walter Armbrust, Celia Kerslake, Dr Robin Ostle of St John's College and Dr Zeynep Uysal of the Oriental Institute convened the seminar on 'The State of the Arts in the Middle East,' with Sabry Hafez on current Egyptian literature, Deniz Derman on Turkish cinema, Murat Belge on Turkish literature, Sonja Mejcher, Shiva Balaghi on gender in contemporary Iranian art, Monia Hejaiej on Tunisian storytellers, Elisabeth Kendall on early modern travel writing in Egypt, and Haggai Ram on political posters of the Iranian Revolution. Also in Hilary, Dr Ostle and Dr Kerslake convened a fortnightly seminar on Middle Eastern literatures with papers by Dr Uysal, Ali Souleman, Otared Haidar and Ruth Whitehouse.

In Trinity, Dr James McDougall and Dr Cathie Lloyd of Queen Elizabeth House convened a multi-media seminar entitled 'Algerian Stories.' Film-makers Jean-Pierre Lledo (*Chroniques algériennes*, 1993) and Marie Colonna (*Harki: un traître mot*, 2001) led discussions following screenings of their films. Four papers were presented on modern Algeria by Jim House, Phil Luther, Mike Colyer, as well as by Dr McDougall himself.

In addition to regular seminars, the Centre held a number of occasional seminars. Emmanuel Sivan revisited his analysis of 'Radical Islam' and Sir Alan Munro spoke on 'Saudi Arabia: Between Islam and the West.'

In many ways, the most memorable lecture of the year was given by Dr Derek Hopwood, who marked the decade since the death of Albert Hourani in January 2003 with an intellectual tribute entitled 'Albert Hourani: Islam, Christianity and Orientalism.' (The lecture is reprinted in the Special Articles section of this *Record*). The lecture was followed by a dinner attended by Centre Fellows and Mrs Odile Hourani. The dinner was to be for most of us our last evening with Mrs Hourani, who passed away last spring.

The Centre hosted several important conferences over the year. In March we marked the centenary of Iranian novelist Sadeq Hedayat's birth with an international conference of the leading scholars of his works, most famously *The Blind Owl*. The conference was convened by Professor Homa Katouzian, author of an intellectual biography of Hedayat.

In April, the College hosted the second of a series of Princeton-St Antony's conferences on the impact of the events of 11 September 2001 on the Muslim World and the Warden writes about this in his report. The full text of the proceedings has been published on the College web site at <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/princeton/index.shtml>.

In May, the College held its second annual conference on 'the Prospects for Conflict Resolution in Sudan.' These conferences have been generously supported by Mr Anis Haggag. Dr Al-Shahi and Mr Bona Malwal (SAM) convened the second conference in close consultation with the Warden, who has played an active role in Sudanese peace negotiations in the past year. Like its predecessor, this year's conference was remarkable for bringing together all sides in the Sudanese civil war for a frank and open discussion of views.

The twentieth Hamid Enayat Lecture was given by Professor Ehsan Yarshater of Columbia University. His lecture was entitled 'The Two Phases of Islamic Civilization.'

The twenty-eighth George Antonius Lecture was given by renowned architect Zaha Hadid. Her presentation was entitled 'Fluid Terrains: The New Complexity of Civic Space.'

The Centre held launches for two books by Centre Fellows. In May, Philip Robins' new study, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy Since the Cold War* was celebrated. In June, Dr McDougall's new edited book, *Nation, Society and Culture in North Africa*, was given its public launch.

The Walter Zander Prize for best performance in the M.Phil. examination in 2003 was awarded to Dominic Coldwell.

Ibrahim al-Marashi was awarded the Ali Pachachi Doctoral Studentship.

The staff members at the Centre are Elizabeth Anderson, secretary, Mastan Ebtehaj, librarian, Debbie Usher, archivist and Susan Godfrey, housekeeper.

Middle East Centre Library

The library continued to serve the research and teaching community of the University, and scholars worldwide.

In the current academic year the library was proud to announce its updated Web page offering many features including: details of library policy on different issues; links to available relevant resources, and an on-line searchable Reading List for M.Phil. students. Putting the reading list on the Web page is a small step

toward our wider project with reference to e-learning and user education. The next step will be digitising, when funds are available.

We are grateful to the following for their book donations during the past year:- Butrus Abu-Manneh, Mohammed M.A. Ahmed, Bülent Aras, Mustafa Badawi, Columbia University Press, S. El-Karanshawy, Michael M. Gunter, Derek Hopwood, Mrs Odile Hourani, Richard Lawless, Douglas Johnson, Eugene Rogan, Hayat Shararah and Sir Denis Wright. This list of donors and their book donations can also be seen on the Web page to demonstrate the MEC library's appreciation: www.sant.ox.ac.uk/areastudies/middle-east-library.shtml

The Web page has certainly raised the library's profile, with numerous positive responses as a testimony to the fact.

Middle East Centre Archive

On 31 January 2003 the MEC steering committee formally approved a change in the Archive's name from 'Private Papers Collection' to 'Middle East Centre Archive'. It was considered important that the subject matter and institutional affiliation of the Archive should appear in its name.

During the past year 71 readers have made 197 visits to the Middle East Centre Archive and consulted 618 items. The archivist, Debbie Usher, has answered 226 enquiries and supplied 4,312 photocopies and 45 photographic prints. In addition she has catalogued the Sir Percy Cox, Deane-Drummond, Edward Sykes, Avi Shlaim, Jordan: British Ambassador's Annual Reports, Content Productions Ltd, Percy D'Erf & Grace Wheeler papers, as well as creating handlists for the Tibawi and Sinderson papers. A *Guide to the Photographic Collection: Named Collections* has also been created, an introduction has been added to the Archive's online Guide which has been updated to include the Oman Archive material and several new accessions. Much work has also been carried out in cataloguing the Palestine Police Old Comrades Association Papers and upon improving the catalogue to the Philby papers.

In October 2002 the Archive joined the Oxford Conservation Consortium (OCC). The OCC is a joint project between eight Oxford colleges that provides this Archive with 60.5 days of Conservators' time and access to expert advice on preservation and conservation matters, including support in the compilation of funding bids for conservation work. The OCC has this year carried out important conservation work on the Philby and Sinderson collections. In conjunction with the OCC the Archive submitted on 1 April a funding bid for £32,000 to the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust for work on the Philby papers. The purpose of the bid is to provide additional funds for the purchase of acid free archival boxes and folders, basic and advanced conservation work, as well as funding the microfilming of a significant part of the papers.

The Archive has also participated in the Mundus project, based at SOAS, by

contributing descriptions of its missionary collections, which can be viewed at: <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/35/index.htm>

New Accessions

Anglo-Omani Society – Minutes, agenda, reports, and administrative material relating to the society and articles on Oman collected by the Society. 1970s-1999.

Besse – Illustrated book *Les Derniers boutres d'Aden* commissioned by the Besse family, received from John Seed.

Butt, Charles (Oman Archive) – additional material on Oman. 1975-1976.

Content Productions Ltd - Video, research interviews and the text of the documentary 'Promises & Betrayals: Britain and the Struggle for the Holy Land' produced in 2002 considering Britain's first world war promises and their consequences.

Deane-Drummond (Oman Archive) – Material on the operations of '22 Special Air Service' in Muscat and Oman during 1958-1959.

Edwards, Stephen – Personal papers of a Palestine Policeman, 1936-1948

Jordan, British Ambassador's Annual Reports - Photocopies of Annual Reports by the British Ambassador in Jordan, 1951- 1970.

Palestine Police Old Comrades Association – additional material received consisting of personal papers, correspondence, mandate period material and photographs. 1930s-1940s.

Shlaim, Avi - Unedited typescript of the book *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, which is about 30,000 words longer than the published version. 1995-1999

Smiley (Oman Archive) – additional material received from Roger Woodiwiss.

Sykes, Edward – Photographs of construction work in the late 1930s of the railway from Abadan to Tehran and a small amount of personal papers 1942-1944.

Taylor, William – Palestine police material, 1940s.

Activities and Publications of Fellows

DR WALTER ARMBRUST, Albert Hourani Fellow and University lecturer in Modern Middle East Studies, saw the publication of 'Islamists in Egyptian Cinema' in *American Anthropologist* 104 (3). A review of Melanie McAlister's *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (University of California Press, 2001) is forthcoming in the journal *Diplomatic History*. Two chapters in edited volumes are in progress. One is an analysis of historiographical issues raised by mass media in the modern Middle East, forthcoming

in a volume edited by Israel Gershoni. The other is 'Cultural Intimacy on a National Stage: Egyptian Cinema in History and Memory,' in Andrew Shryock ed., *Off Stage/On Display: Intimacy and Ethnography in the Age of Public Culture* (forthcoming). Dr Armbrust presented a paper on the use of the culture concept in Middle Eastern anthropology on the panel 'Social Theory Meets the Islamic Middle East' at the American Anthropology Association annual conference, on November 22, in New Orleans, and was discussant on the panel 'Transgressions Lived and Studied: The 'Vulgar' and Subversive in Middle East Popular Culture,' on 25 November at the annual Middle East Studies Association conference held in November in Washington D.C. Dr Armbrust presented seminar papers at Edinburgh University, at Exeter, and New York University. In Trinity term Dr Armbrust became director of the M.Phil and M.St. courses in Modern Middle East Studies.

DR M.M.BADAWI is Emeritus Fellow. His publications include a new Arabic translation (with a critical introduction) of William Shakespeare's King Lear to be published soon by The Higher Council for Culture in Cairo. Also to be published by The Higher Council is a commissioned revised Arabic translation (with critical introduction) of I.A. Richards' two books: *Principles of Literary Criticism and Science and Poetry*. Still to appear are 'A Turning Point in Arabic East/West Fiction', a contribution to the forthcoming *Festschrift* in honour of Professor Sasson Somekh and the chapter on Modern and Contemporary Literature in Culture and Learning in Islam, commissioned by UNESCO.

DEREK HOPWOOD, Emeritus Fellow, was given the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies' Award for Services to Middle Eastern Studies at the Society's annual conference in Exeter. He attended the first World Conference of Middle East Studies held at the University of Mainz where he delivered a paper on the scholarly achievements of the late Albert Hourani. This paper was later expanded and delivered in the College in January 2003 to mark the tenth anniversary of Mr Hourani's death in the presence of his widow Odile Hourani, to whom it was dedicated. Sadly she has since died and the appreciation will now be published in her memory in the *British Journal of Middle East Studies* and it is included in this edition of the *College Record* in the Special Articles section. His 2000 Antonius Lecture on the end of the British Empire in Middle East was published in the same Journal in November 2002. He spent some time at the Department of Politics in the University of Florence where he took part in *viva voce* examinations of students of Middle East politics. He also lectured to students on the MA course in Middle East politics at the University of Urbino. He published an entry on the history of Iraq for the BBC's history Website. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the European Society for Middle Eastern Studies and of the newly formed Anglo-Arab Organisation. In his village he composed and helped perform the music for the production of a locally written medieval mystery play.

DR C.J. KERSLAKE, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in Turkish, submitted to Routledge a complete first draft of *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*,

which she has written with Dr Aslı Göksel. The publishers sent this out for review, and the text is now being revised for final submission in autumn 2003. An article by Dr Kerlake entitled 'Does Turkish prefer events to states?' appeared in the journal *Turkic Languages*.

PROFESSOR G.L. LEWIS, Emeritus Fellow, has at last (after two years) come to the end of helping Uppsala University choose a Professor of Turkish and Turkic Languages. He has just been elected President of the Anglo-Turkish Society. At present he is devoting every spare moment to writing his memoirs.

PROFESSOR W. R. LOUIS, Honorary Fellow, completed his term as President of the American Historical Association but continues to serve as Chairman of the AHA's Planning Committee on a National History Center in Washington. He holds the Kerr Chair in English History and Culture at the University of Texas, where he is also Distinguished Teaching Professor and Director of British Studies. With Steven Ashton he is co-editor of *British Documents on the End of Empire: the Labour Government, 1964-1970*, a work in progress. He published *Still More Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain* (I.B. Tauris, 2003) - a continuation of *Adventures with Britannia* and *More Adventures with Britannia*. In Trinity term 2002 he gave a Chichele Lecture at All Souls College on Leopold Amery, and the Antonius Lecture at St Antony's on the 'British Withdrawal from the Gulf'. He continues to draft chapters for *British Imperialism in the Revolutionary Middle East* (the sequel to *The British Empire in the Middle East*). He is a member of the Oxford History Faculty's External Advisory Panel, and a member of the US State Department's Historical Advisory Committee.

ROBERT MABRO, CBE is an Emeritus Fellow of St Antony's College, Director of the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, and a lay director on the board of the International Petroleum Exchange (IPE) in London. He is also the director of the Oxford Energy Seminar and the honorary secretary of the Oxford Energy Policy Club. In 2002, he presented papers at the 7th Arab Energy Conference held in Cairo in May, at a conference on the Saudi economy in Riyadh and at the International Energy Forum in Osaka.

DR PHILIP ROBINS, Faculty Fellow and Lecturer in the Politics of the Middle East, continued to serve as the Director of the Programme in Contemporary Turkey. His new book, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy Since the Cold War*, was published in March by Hurst/University of Washington Press. The book was launched with parties hosted by the MEC and the Turkish Students Society. Discussions are taking place about the possible publication of both a Greek and a Turkish translation.

Dr Robins was on special research leave in Hilary and Trinity Terms 2003. During this time he completed and published an article entitled 'Confusion at Home, Confusion Abroad: Turkey between Copenhagen and Iraq' in the Chatham

House journal *International Affairs*. He also continued his narcotics related research, undertaking two field trips to Turkey. In September 2002, he gave a paper to the 'World Forum Drugs, Dependencies', an international conference convened in Montreal, based on his article published in *The Middle East Journal*, 'Anti-Narcotics Responses in Jordan' in summer 2002. The last year has also seen the publication of an extended chapter by him, entitled 'Turkey and the Kurds. Approaching a Modus Vivendi?', in a book edited by Morton Abramowitz, *The United States and Turkey. Allies in Need* (The Century Foundation Press).

Dr Robins was involved in some of the debates and policy discussions surrounding the Iraq war, its lead-up and its aftermath. He was a member of the Bertelsmann Foundation Middle East Task Force, which met on four occasions between September 2002 and March 2003. He took part in a Bertelsmann conference in Bologna on the background to and course of the war in late March/early April. He participated in a Rand Corporation organized seminar in Geneva a little later to look at prospects for a post-war Middle East. In May he delivered a lecture at the IMF/World Bank in Washington DC on the prospects for governance and reconstruction in Iraq. In June he took part in a Fujitsu Research Institute organized conference in Tokyo, giving presentations on both British policy and Iraq, and the implications of the war on Saudi Arabia.

DR EUGENE ROGAN, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in the Modern History of the Middle East, continued as Director of the Middle East Centre. He spent the Michaelmas term on sabbatical in Washington, D.C., where he enjoyed an affiliation with the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University. He spent the term advancing his research on the Damascus Massacres of 1860 and the reconstruction of the city. He presented his first findings on this subject in the European Association of Middle Eastern Studies conference in Mainz in September, and in a lecture to the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at Edinburgh University. He presented a paper to the Harvard conference on 'Myth and Narrative in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict,' and addressed the Fletcher School of Diplomacy at Tufts University on American Mid East policy since 9/11. He took part in a conference at Princeton on the impact of the events of 9/11 on the Muslim world, and was actively involved in organizing a sequel conference at St Antony's on Muslims in Europe since 9/11, convened in April 2003. He also attended the MESA meeting in Washington in November, and the BRISMES meeting in Exeter in July, where he took part in plenary sessions examining the consequences for Mid East scholarship of the events of 9/11. In August he convened a workshop at the Middle East Centre on history and memory of the Ottoman front in the First World War. His own essay, on the experience of exile in the Arab provinces, will be published in a collaborative book resulting from the workshop, to be published by the Cambridge University Press. He also contributed an essay on the emergence of the modern Middle East to the forthcoming book on the international relations of the Middle East to be published by Oxford

University Press. Throughout the year, he has contributed extensively to print and broadcast media addressing the numerous Mid East crises, with regular appearances on BBC radio and CNBC television and contributions to CNN, National Public Radio and the Voice of America.

AVI SHLAIM, Professor of International Relations, continued to do research for a political biography of King Hussein of Jordan. He wrote prefaces for Italian, Spanish, and Hebrew editions of *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*. For the Arabic edition he was not asked to write a preface because it was a pirate edition. His interview with Major-General Yigael Yadin on the 1948 war appeared in Hebrew in volume 11 of *Iyunim Bitkumat Israel* and his 'Interview with Abba Eban: 11 March 1976' appeared in the Spring 2003 issue of *Israel Studies*. He published Op-ed articles in the *Observer* and the *International Herald Tribune* and book reviews in the *Guardian*. He gave talks on the Arab-Israeli conflict at the Centre for Global Energy Studies, the Institute of Historical Research, the Foreign Service Programme, and Queen Elizabeth House. He gave a lecture in Austin, Texas on 'The Balfour Declaration and its Consequences.' He took part in the College debate on Iraq, boasting that he was in Baghdad before Blair and Bush were in their dads' bags! He was awarded a three-year British Academy Research Professorship to work on the Great Powers and the Middle East since World War I.

SIR DENIS WRIGHT, Honorary Fellow, had an article on 'British Travellers in Persia' published in the most recent fascicle of Columbia University's *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, together with an exhaustive bibliography of their travelogues, memoirs and letters. A collection of his essays on Iran, written since his retirement from the Diplomatic Service, is due to be published in September 2003 by the Iran Society.

The Centre for Lebanese Studies

Since the last *College Record* the Centre for Lebanese Studies has hosted four conferences. 'The Druze: Realities and Perceptions,' 12-14 July 2002, was organised in collaboration with the Druze Studies Foundation and the Middle East Centre with the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies in Jordan. Three other conferences were organised as part of the Centre for Lebanese Studies and Royal Institute of International Affairs' project on Palestinian Refugees in the Search for Middle East Peace: 'Host Country Rights in International Law,' Oxford, 6-8 September 2002; 'Regional Meeting on the Refugee Issue in the Middle East,' Cyprus, 14-16 March 2003; and 'Stocktaking Meeting on Refugees,' Minster Lovell, 2-4 May 2003.

The Centre for Lebanese Studies continues to organise an outreach programme of dinner/lecture series in London. The following speakers gave talks over the past year: Amb. Richard Murphy, Sir Marrack Goulding, Amb. Ghassan Tuani,

Serena Fass, Charles Glass, Prof. William Polk, Nassib Lahoud MP, Anton La Guardia, Marwan Hamade MP, Tim Llewelly, Sir David Gore-Booth, Yezid Sayigh, and Alan George.

The Centre has three main funded projects:

'Rehabilitation of ex-Prisoners and their families'. A European Commission funded programme to create projects in South Lebanon in collaboration with local NGOs.

'Palestinian Refugees in the Search for Middle East Peace'. Project funded by the European Commission, the International Development Research Centre (Canada) and the UK FCO.

'Prospects for Democracy in the Arab World'. Project funded by and in collaboration with the National Endowment for Democracy

The Centre has created a new category of Research Associates who are engaged in research at doctoral or post-doctoral level in subjects of interest to the Centre's programme. There are three research associates: David Russell from Democratic Dialogue in Belfast and York University working on a comparison between the Taif and Good Friday agreements. Youssef Chaitani, at the UN-ESCWA and Birkbek College, working on Lebanese Syrian Relations and Xerxes Malki, Worcester College, working on Lebanese emigration to Ghana.

Mr Nadim Shehadi, director of the Centre for Lebanese Studies, has been appointed as Associate Fellow of the Middle East Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He has co-authored a Briefing Paper on the Regional Fallout from the Iraq War published by RIIA and contributed articles to *The World Today*. He has also been asked to join the advisory board of the Lebanese Emigration Research Centre. He participated in the following events: 'Project for Democracy Studies in the Arab Countries' annual meeting, Oxford, 31 August 2001; 'Libya and the New International Environment' organised by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Marbella, 19-20 September 2002; 'Prospects for Peace in the Middle East,' Wilton Park, 23-27 September 2003; 'Discussions with President Bashar Asad of Syria,' RIIA, 6-7 December 2003; 'Libya in Regional and International Context,' organised by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Maidenhead, 10-12 December 2002; 'Middle East Task Force,' Berthelsman Foundation. London 6-7 March 2003; 'Muslims in Europe post 9/11,' St Antony's - Princeton Conference, Oxford, 24-26 April 2003; 'Regional Fallout from the Iraq War,' seminar organised by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 28 April 2003; 'The Future of the Arab World,' organised by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, 14 May 2003; 'Institute for Political and International Studies,' Tehran, 19-22 May 2003, organised visit and seminar; 'The regional impact of the War on Iraq,' Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), Beirut, 18 March 2003; 'Political Economic and Social Reform in the Arab World,' Wilton Park, 31 March to 4 April 2003; 'Lebanon Parliamen-

tary Group,' House of Commons, 7 April 2003 'Bringing the Somali Crisis Back to the Attention of the World,' London, 2 April 2003, organised by the Royal African Society and the Centre for African Studies at SOAS with the Somali Professionals' Trust; 'Stocktaking II Conference on Palestinian Refugee Research,' organised by the International Development Research Centre in Ottawa June 17-20, 2003; Department For International Development, London, 25 June 2003.

Other Middle East Centre Attachments

Dr Ahmed Al-Shahi is Senior Associate Member. In September he attended the conference on 'Understanding and Responding to the Islamic World after 9/11' held at Princeton University. He gave a paper in November on 'Poetry of the Shaygiyya Tribe of Northern Sudan' to the Sudanese Society in Newcastle upon Tyne; and co-organised in November a conference on 'Women in Post-Taliban Afghanistan' held at St Antony's College. He gave a paper in January on 'Folklore in Sudan – the Case of the Shaygiyya Tribe' to the Sudanese Society in Cardiff; and two papers in February to the Sudanese Society in Amsterdam: 'The Role of the Elite in the State – the Case of Sudan' and 'The Distinctiveness of Folk Oral Literature: The Case of the Shaygiyya Tribe of Northern Sudan'. He reviewed on Al-Jazeera TV channel in February 'In a Sea of Knowledge: British Arabists in the Twentieth Century' by Leslie McLoughlin.

He visited Sudan with the Warden in March and delivered three papers: 'The Link between St Antony's College and Sudan' at the University of Juba, 'The Shaygiyya Tribe of Northern Sudan' at the Ahliya University in Omdurman and 'The Sudanese in Oxford' at Ahfad University for Women in Omdurman. He also gave a paper in March to the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter on 'Shaikhdoms, Shaikhs and Rulership in the Gulf', the work of Peter Lienhardt.

He co-organised with the Warden and Dr Eugene Rogan, in May the conference on 'Muslims in Europe Post 9/11', a joint conference with Princeton University. Following the success of last year's conference on the future of peace negotiations in Sudan, he co-organised with the Warden and Mr Bona Malwal an international conference in May on 'The Prospects for Conflict Resolution in Sudan' which was attended by over 150 people, and sponsored by the Middle East Centre and the African Studies Centre. Various political parties and groups including a delegation from Government of Sudan attended the two-day conference and discussed future constitutional arrangements once the civil war has ended and a peace agreement is signed. It is hoped that further meetings dealing with various important issues in Sudan will take place.

He gave a paper in May on 'Cultural Conflict and Political Instability' in the series Burning Issues held at St Giles' Church, Oxford. He gave a paper in May on 'Iraq Before the 1958 Revolution: A Personal View' at the Middle East Centre, St

Antony's College.

Among his publications were 'Evans–Pritchard, Anthropology and Catholicism: Godfrey Lienhardt's View' in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, Vol. 30, No., 1999 and 'Sudan' – 2002 in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, Vol. 244, Keesing's Worldwide, LLC, USA.

He continued in his research on the anthropology of northern Sudan and on the work of Peter Lienhardt on the Gulf Shaikhdoms. He also continued to do some teaching at the College.

PROFESSOR SAIDEH LOTFIAN joined St Antony's College as the Iranian Visiting Fellow at the Middle East Centre in October 2002. Her field of specialization is Middle Eastern security studies with an emphasis on arms control and non-proliferation. In October, she gave a talk on 'Iran's External Policy,' at a conference, 'The Gulf Powers since 11 September 2001,' organized by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office in London. In November, she gave a lecture on the role of religion in Iranian politics in Dr Armbrust's M. Phil. Seminar, 'Modern Middle Eastern Studies.' In December, her paper on 'Iran's Threat Perception,' was presented at a workshop on 'Iran: Surrounding Regions and International Linkage,' held in Istituto Diplomatico Mario Toscano in Rome. In January, she gave a paper, 'Iraq- An Iranian Perspective,' at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies conference, 'Iraq: the Role of the Kurds,' in London. In February, she was an invited participant at an International Atomic Energy Organisation's seminar in Vienna, where she presented an Iranian view on 'Strengthening Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security'. She also presented a paper on 'Iran's Policies toward the Proliferation of WMD,' in a conference on 'Alternative Frameworks for Security in the Persian Gulf Region,' organized by the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin (in June). She gave a number of other public presentations on her research during the academic year, including lectures at the Gulf Cultural Centre in London (in February), and the University of Wales in Swansea (in March). She was an invited speaker at the conference on 'Iraq: Inspection or Invasion?' co-organized by the International Institute of Strategic Studies and Nixon Center in London (in January); at the Pugwash-Stockholm University's workshop on 'New Initiatives for a WMD-free Korean Peninsula', in Stockholm (in February); at the Dubai's Gulf Research Centre's conference on 'Formulating Arab Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention' (in May). She contributed a paper on 'Geostrategic Importance of Eurasia for Iran,' as a chapter in an edited volume, *Eurasia* to be published in Persian in October. She also completed a report, 'An Assessment of Iran's Nuclear Program,' for Oxford Analytica in May. More importantly, she spent much of her time working on a book tentatively entitled, 'Foreign Policy of Iran in the Era of Transition.'

Bona Malwal, Senior Associate Member, co-organized with Dr Ahmed Al-Shahi an international conference in May on 'The Prospects for Conflict Resolution in

Sudan' which was attended by over 150 people, and sponsored by the Middle East Centre and the African Studies Centre. Various political parties and groups including a delegation from Government of Sudan attended the two-day conference and discussed future constitutional arrangements once the civil war has ended and a peace agreement is signed.

DR JAMES MCDUGALL, Junior Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies took up a research fellowship at the Middle East Centre in Michaelmas Term. He has since worked on revisions to his doctoral thesis, which is being considered for publication by several university presses, and travelled to Tunisia and Algeria for new research on the local social history of the Maghrib. Over the course of the year he delivered papers at the World Congress of Middle Eastern Studies in Mainz, at the Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent in Paris, at the American Historical Association meeting in Chicago (as part of a panel with Antonians James Onley and Wm. Roger Louis), at the seminar on 'Language and History' at Oriiel College, at the University of Exeter's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and at the final meeting of a three-year research project on 'The Reform of the State in the Mediterranean Muslim World in the 19th-20th centuries' in Tunis. Together with Dr Cathie Lloyd of Queen Elizabeth House, he organised a seminar series entitled 'Algerian Stories' in Trinity Term, in the course of which he also presented a paper. In May, Dr McDougall's edited volume *Nation, Society and Culture in North Africa* was published by Frank Cass, both as a special issue of the *Journal of North African Studies* and as the sixth title in Cass's book series, *History and Society in the Islamic World*. He has chapters in two other, forthcoming edited volumes: *Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Ussama Makdisi and Paul A. Silverstein, went to review at Indiana UP, and *France and Algeria from Colonial Conflicts to Postcolonial Memories*, edited by James D. le Sueur and William Cohen, went to press at Nebraska UP. His article 'Myth and Counter-Myth: "the Berber" as National Signifier in Algerian Historiographies' was published in *Radical History Review* 86, 'National Myths in the Middle East', (Spring 2003). He additionally published or prepared book reviews and review articles for several journals, and was contracted to translate a chapter by Antonian Prof. André Raymond for Youssef Choueiri (ed.), *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*. He has also been doing a certain amount of teaching: in Hilary Term, Dr McDougall lectured on the History and Politics of North Africa since 1830, and he taught undergraduate tutorials in Middle East politics in Hilary and Trinity terms. In March, he was offered a post as Assistant Professor in the history department at Princeton University. He will be taking up this position in September 2004.

HOSSEIN MODARRESSI, the Golestaneh fellow, continued to work on the second volume of his *Tradition and Survival, a study of early Shi'ite Literature*. The first volume, which he wrote during his past four terms at the Centre, will be out this

August published by One World Publications (Oxford).

Dr Sayed Askar Mousavi, Senior Associate Member, organised a conference with Dr Ahmed Al-Shahi on Afghanistan entitled 'Women in post-Taliban Afghanistan,' on Saturday 23 November 2002. On 9-11 May 2003, he gave a lecture entitled: 'Education and Social conflict in Afghanistan' at the conference 'The Role of Education and Media in managing Ethnic and Religious Conflict in South Asia' organized by United State Institute for Peace (USIP) and Centre for Policy Alternative (CPA) in Colombo, Sri Lanka. He has completed for publication an article entitled: 'Ethnicity and State in Afghanistan' for a special issue of *Iran Nameh* on Afghanistan. He took part in a major research project entitled 'After September 11: TV News and Transnational Audiences,' undertaken by the University of Wales and the Open University.

DR EMANUELE OTTOLENGHI began his tenure as Leone Ginzburg Research Fellow in Israel Studies both at the Middle East Centre and at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies on 1 October, 2003. During Michaelmas Term 2002 he organized his annual series of Israeli films, which were shown at in the College's Lecture Theatre and followed by discussions. The films addressed various aspects of Israeli history, politics and society.

During Hilary Term 2003, he organised a guest lecture series that brought to the Middle East Centre various scholars of Israel Studies.

He continued to act as review editor for the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* and as Tutorial Secretary for the BA program in Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

He organised the new Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East Dialogue of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. This year's three lectures were delivered by Avraham Sela (February 2003), Shlomo Ben Ami (March 2003) and Shlomo Avineri (May 2003).

His research continued to focus on aspects of Israel's constitution, mainly the election system. He participated in a panel on Israel's elections at the New North London Community Centre and later at SOAS in January 2003, and presented an analysis of their results at London's Sephardic Centre, at the London Jewish Cultural Centre together with Israel's former Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben Ami, and at the Middle East Centre twice, as part of a panel debate with Professor Avi Shlaim the day after the elections and in a lecture format in his lecture series on Israel. In mid-February he gave a lecture on Israel's elections at Chatham House in London and in April he lectured on Israel's elections and public opinion in Ravenna, Italy, at the local political science department.

He lectured on various occasions on the current conflict in the Middle East, at the Department of Continuing Education and at Thames Valley Limmud conference in October 2002, the Oxford United Nations Society and the Limmud national conference in Nottingham in December 2002, in Turin at the Italy Israel Association in March 2003, and in various other Jewish community centres across

the UK. In November 2002 he gave a seminar on Israel's religious status quo for the Anthropology department's seminar on 'The Nation State and Religious Identity' and participated in a day Conference on 'Religion and Ideology in the post-9/11 world' at Chatham House; that same month he participated in a panel debate on anti-Semitism with the London *Times*' columnist Michael Gove; in January 2003 he attended a Ditchley Park conference on terrorism. In March, he participated in a panel debate on 'Israel and the Media' with the *Guardian* columnist David Hirst at Wolfson College. In April 2003 he presented Carlo Panella's biography of the former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein at a panel debate in Bologna, Italy. In May 2003 he delivered the annual memorial lecture at the Finchley Progressive Community Centre and travelled to Rome to participate in a seminar organised by the Italian magistrates' and barristers' association 'Magistratura Democratica', where he lectured on the Middle East after Operation Iraqi Freedom. In June 2003 he spoke at the Society for Jewish Study in London and gave a three session seminar in Birmingham on 'The Paradox of Israel: society, memory, identity and conflict'.

His recent publications include several Op-Ed articles on Israeli and Mideast affairs that appeared in *The Jerusalem Post*, Israel's English daily, on *The Daily Mirror* and *The Guardian*, on New York's *Newsday*, and on Italy's financial daily *Il Sole 24 Ore*. Since October 2002, he has contributed a weekly column to the Italian daily *Il Foglio*. He regularly appears on the Italian News Radio Channel Radio 24. He contributed to the on-line debate on the Middle East Road Map on the *opendemocracy.net* website. He published an article on the current phase of the Arab-Israeli conflict titled 'The Oslo Process and the Second Intifadah: reasons for failure' in the Italian quarterly *Afriche e Orienti*, a piece on electoral reform in Israel, 'Surviving without governing: Israel's direct elections of the Prime minister', which appeared in the Italian journal *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* (32,2, August 2002); an analysis of Israel's Supreme Court recent jurisprudence on national security and human rights—'Even in battle, a commander must respect the law'—appeared in the Italian quarterly *Quaderni Costituzionali* (23,1, March 2003); a chapter on Israel's constitutional system appeared in a volume edited by Dietmar Herz, Christian Jetzlspurger and Kai Ahlborn, *Der Israelische-Palaestinensische Konflikt*, in the Spring of 2003.

Forthcoming this summer is also 'Paradise Lost', a review essay on Post-Zionism for the journal *Israel Studies*, an analysis of the state of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict after Iraq in the Italian journal *Il Mulino*, an analysis of Israel's elections in the quarterly *Israel Studies Forum*, and a study of executive-legislative relations for a special issue of *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. He is writing a chapter on Zionism and one on post-Zionism for an edited volume by OUP, *Introduction to Modern Judaism*, by Miri Freud-Kandel and Nicholas de Lange, due in early 2004.

PROFESSOR G.T. SCANLON continued as Visiting Fellow, he has been engaged in research on two fronts: the relevance of glass bracelets within the context of Is-

lamic archaeology and art; and the vexing problem of the influence of Mongol Sultanabad pottery on the ceramic arts of Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk period. One aspect of the latter was published this year in the festschrift for Donald Richards.

DR RELLI SHECHTER, a lecturer at the Department of Middle East Studies, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, has spent the last academic year as the Junior Israeli Visiting Fellow in St Antony's. His main project during this year has been to finish a manuscript for a book tentatively titled: 'The Social Life of Commodities in the Middle East: The Egyptian Cigarette, Consumption, Production, Selling, and Culture, 1850-1960,' to which he added three new chapters and revised the remaining five. He also prepared for publication an edited volume *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Middle East: Houses in Motion* (Palgrave, forthcoming). He contributed an article 'From Journalism to Promotion of Goods: Why and How Did Press Publishers Establish Advertising Agencies in Egypt, 1890-1939?' to a special issue of *Journal of Semitic Studies* (forthcoming) on printing and publishing in the Middle East. He further prepared an entry on 'smoking in the Middle East' to a tobacco Encyclopedia to be published by Scribner. This academic year saw the publication of two articles: 'The Emergence of a Modern Market in Egypt: The Arrival of the Cigarette and the Transformation of the Tobacco Trade, 1850-1914.' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 35:1 (2003); and 'Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882-1956.' *Arab Studies Journal*, 10:2-11:1 (2003).

In addition to writing he gave five presentations: 'Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1890-1939' at a conference entitled 'History of printing and publishing in languages and countries of the Middle East,' Mainz, Germany, September 2002; 'Cigarettes in Egyptian Culture, 1920-1960' at the Arabic Texts Seminar, Oriental Institute, Oxford University, February 2003; 'On the Inter-Relations between Consumers, Producers and the State: The Creation of a Cigarette Market in Egypt, 1850-1914' at the Graduate Workshop in Economic and Social History, Nuffield College Oxford University, February 2003; 'Egyptian Cigarettes: Commodities, Consumption, and Advertising' at the Visiting Speaker Series, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, March 2003; and 'Israeli Scholarship on the Middle East: Past, Present, Future' at Post-Graduate Research Seminar, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, March 2003.

Throughout the year, Dr Shechter has further used his time in Oxford to attend lectures at the for Middle East Center, the College, and the University, to meet with old and new colleagues, to tap the rich resources of Oxford libraries, and to obtain a better sense of British academia in the process.

Dr A. Nuri Yurdusev of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey spent from 10 March to 30 June 2003 as a Visiting Scholar in the Contemporary Program on Turkey, at the Middle East Centre. He continued his research into

Ottoman Diplomacy and the identity question in Turco-European relations. His particular research activities focused on the Ottoman attitude toward the modern European diplomacy and the impact of politics of identity upon Turco-European relations. During the Trinity Term, Dr Yurdusev gave two lectures on 'Turkey and the modern European states system' and 'The identity question in Turco-European relations'. He also participated in the fourteenth annual symposium of Turkish Area Studies Group with a talk about 'How European is Turkey?'

RUSSIAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES

Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre

This has been a year of activity and change. A glance at the heading of this section - some of you might do a double-take at this point - reveals part of the story. After a decade's careful assessment of the implications of post-Cold War developments for our geographical focus, we decided that it was time for the name of the Centre to reflect the new configuration of Europe. With eight East European states poised to join the European Union next year and the rest looking to follow suit, the proper home of Eastern Europe in the world of St Antony's has now become the European Studies Centre. We will still be concerned with an important part of the history of Eastern Europe, including its post-communist transition. We will collaborate more closely than ever with our European Studies Centre colleagues on the development of the wider and more democratic Europe we have all worked to bring about over the last fifty years. This wider Europe includes Ukraine, to which we plan to devote more attention. It embraces Russia, the country that will remain our main focus; within the College we will continue to be known colloquially as the Russian Centre. The new full name, "The Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre" indicates our intention to develop coverage of the Caucasus and Central Asia, areas on which Centre Fellows and Associates have long done a good deal of teaching and research. The term 'Eurasian' was chosen as the most convenient way to denote geographical coverage and has no philosophical or political connotations. Developing our interest in the Caucasus and Central Asia will strengthen complementarities between the Centre and other parts of the College, especially the Middle East and Asian Studies Centres.

In order to build on the very considerable successes of the last fifty years (recorded in the brochure 'Russian and East European Centre: Fifty Years On' - on the Centre website and available from the Development Office) and to develop our resources for the next half century, we started preparations early in the year for a fund-raising campaign. Several Antonians and friends of the Centre kindly agreed to serve on a 50th anniversary Campaign Committee. The Committee is chaired by the Warden and comprises His Honour Judge William Birtles, Sir Bryan

Cartledge, Geoffrey Elliott, David Hoffman, Bridget Kendall, John Lloyd, Paul Newman, Dr Julie Newton, Tina Podplatnik, Dr Maxim Shashenkov, Dr Rair Simonyan and Sir Norman Wooding.

The Campaign has an overall target of £4.36 million, a sum which will enable us to do three things. First, to give the Centre an adequate and sustainable financial basis for its expanding work (cost: £2.2 million). Second, to remodel our Library area to keep pace with current needs. The Russian Library has remained untouched for nearly forty years and can no longer provide the shelf space we need or the modern working environment our students require. We commissioned an architect, Graham Bannell, who came up with an imaginative proposal which resolves both problems. This involves redesigning the main Library and remodeling the basement storage rooms to create a Lower library, including rolling stacks to provide the capacity we urgently need to house acquisitions (total cost: £1 million). (This proposal is reflected in the artist's impression of the new Russian Library in the Campaign leaflet, available from the Development Office.) Third, we want to strengthen our research capacity not only for the study of Russia, where the Centre has a world-class reputation, but also of Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia. We intend to raise £200,000 to make possible the appointment of a Max Hayward Research Fellow annually, rather than every other year as is presently the case. We also plan to establish four Research Fellowship programmes (running for five years at a total cost of £660,000) to provide a year at the Centre for outstanding younger and established scholars working on Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The Campaign was launched at a special Antonians' Weekend held on 4-6 July to mark the 50th anniversary of the Centre. The Weekend was a tremendous success, attracting a total of 170 Antonians, the overwhelming majority of whom had been associated with the Russian and East European Centre. The experience and skill of Polly Friedhoff and Janet Collyer, ably supported by Nicole Evans's graduate team, ensured that the Weekend ran smoothly in all respects. And the occasion did offer real variety. On Friday, there was an in-house concert of Russian music at which the audience heard performances of professional standard - Professor Gabriel Gorodetsky played Tchaikovsky on the clarinet (assisted by Philip Bullock at the piano) and Professor Jonathan Story sang Rimsky-Korsakov. Antonians were then exposed to a highly idiosyncratic and entertaining rendition of Russian folk songs by the Centre 'choir' (Polly Jones, Alex Pravda, Bob Service and Jackie Willcox). On Saturday, the Warden set the campaign needs of the Centre into a College context, Alex Pravda (Centre Director) recalled episodes from the first fifty years of the Centre, and John Lloyd (Editor, *Financial Times Weekly Magazine*) encouraged all to help the Campaign to ensure that the next half century sees even greater success.

The centrepiece of the Weekend was a major conference on 'Russia and Europe' which got off to an excellent start with a keynote address by Strobe Talbott,

President of the Brookings Institution, formerly Deputy Secretary of State (the 'Russia hand' in the Clinton administration) and, not least, a student of Max Hayward who supervised his dissertation on Mayakovsky. The quality and enjoyment of the discussion in this opening session was sustained throughout the six panels which ran in parallel pairs through Saturday. They covered 'Historical continuities and discontinuities' (Professor Robert Service, Dr Polly Jones, and Professor Gabriel Gorodetsky); 'Regional dimensions' (Dr Tomila Lankina, Dr Martha Merritt, and Dr Alexander Lukin); 'Russia and Western Europe' (David Gowan, Dr Alexei Gromyko, Dr Julie Newton, and Professor Caroline Kennedy-Pipe); 'East European connections' (Professor Leslie Holmes, Dr George Gömöri, and Dr Milan Hauner); 'Law and security issues' (Bridget Kendall, Dr Jeffrey Kahn, Dr Neil Melvin, and Dr Tiffany Troxel); and 'Cultural issues' (Dr Rosamund Bartlett, Dr Riitta Heino, and Professor Marilyn Rueschemeyer). There were two plenary sessions in which leading Russian scholars, all associated with the Centre, treated us to incisive and lively analysis of Russia's political and economic achievements and problems. Academician Nodari Simonia (Director of IMEMO, Russian Academy of Sciences) and Dr Lilia Shevtsova (Carnegie Center, Moscow) spoke in the session on 'Russian political and security perspectives'. The conference concluded with a vigorous debate about 'Russian economic perspectives' at a roundtable comprising Dr Igor Kostikov (Chairman, Federal Commission for the Russian Securities Market), Professor Vladimir Mau (Rector, Academy of the National Economy of the Russian Federation), Academician Nikolai Shmelev (Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences), and Dr Rair Simonyan (President, Morgan Stanley, Russia).

This intellectual banquet crowned a year of excellent academic fare. The Monday seminar series included talks by several scholars who were attached to the Centre for longer periods: Professor Zoltan Barany (University of Texas at Austin); Professor Anne Gorsuch (University of British Columbia), and Professor Jean-Pierre Massias (University of the Auvergne). We continued to benefit from the presence of longer-term Senior Associate Members: Dr Roy Allison (Head, Russia and CIS programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs,) Paul Bergne, and Dr Frank Cibulka (University of Singapore). The Centre organised several *ad hoc* seminars for guest speakers, including Professor Viktor Kuvardin (MGIMO and the Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow) who gave us an assessment of 'Putin's Presidency' and Dr Oleg Reut (Petrozavodsk State University) who spoke on 'EU-Russian Relations: New Brands and Old Borders'. While the Centre did not figure in the itinerary of President Putin's state visit in June, Fellows took part in some of the major social and conference events involved.

All Centre activities benefited from the presence of a record intake of students taking graduate courses in Russian and East European Studies. We are delighted to note that interest in the region continues to flourish. Student versatility continues to impress: Kirsten Schmidt was the first member of the Centre (junior or

senior) to write, direct and stage a play at the College. Joanna Gorska achieved a Distinction in the M.Phil. in Russian and East European Studies. She joined Toby Dougherty, Stefan Kirmse and Paradorn Rangsimaporn in the select group which managed to clear the increasingly difficult hurdle of transfer to doctoral studies. From next year there will be a new book prize for the student within the Centre writing what is judged to be the best economics or politics thesis (either M.Phil. or D.Phil.). This is the Michael Kaser prize, established by a gift from Professor Padma Desai (Columbia University, New York), a former Senior Associate Member of St Antony's. The generosity of Fay and Geoffrey Elliott continues to prove invaluable for St Antony's students pursuing doctoral work in the Centre. Six advanced doctoral students were awarded Elliott bursaries. The first Elliott scholarship student, Polly Jones, successfully completed her thesis this year. She is currently using her Max Hayward Research Fellowship to revise the thesis for publication.

The Centre library received a further generous donation of books from a previous major benefactor, Edward Orchard, making the need for restructuring even more urgent. The librarian and secretary, Jackie Willcox, would also like to thank the following for their gifts during the past year: Paul Bergne, Greg Glazov, Sergei Kondratiev, Galina Kruglik, Semion Lyandres, Aleksandr Rozhkov, Igor' Muradian, Robert Service, Harry Shukman, Univerzita Palackého, Eric Weaver, and Mordekhai (Mikhail) Zaretskii.

Seminars

Michaelmas Term 2002. Social Exclusion in Transition. Stephen Lovell (King's College London): 'Age and Exclusion: Old People in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia'; Birgit Beumers (University of Bristol): 'Back or Forth: Young People between Old and New in Recent Kazakh and Kyrgyz Cinema'; Adrian Smith (University of Southampton): 'Households in the Russian Transition'; Eleonora Ivanova (Conversion and Women, Moscow): 'Women in the Russian Military Industry: The Last Decade'; Judith Shapiro (New Economic School, Moscow): 'The Roma: Why the Transition to the Market has been Particularly Difficulty for Them!'; Nina Oding (Leontieff Centre, St Petersburg): 'Social Protection in Russia'; Dan Healey (University of Wales, Swansea): 'Duma Gay Sex Wars: The Chaotic Politics of Russia's Laws on Homosexuality'; Anne White (University of Bath) and Francine Pickup (London School of Economics): 'Urals Identity and Livelihoods in the Big City and the Small Town: The Case of Sverdlovsk Region in the Year 2000'

Hilary Term 2002. Under Western Eyes, Under Eastern Eyes. Silvio Pons (Istituto Gramsci, Rome): 'Italian Communists and the Soviet Union'; Matthew Kott (St Edmund Hall): 'Latvians and the Holocaust: The View from the West'; Arkady Ostrovsky (Financial Times): 'The Idea of Britain in the Russian Revolution';

Frank Cibulka (St Antony's): 'Western Perceptions of the Extreme Political Right in East Central Europe'; Peter Duncan (SSEES, University of London): 'Soviet Views of Britain since Lenin'; Philip Hanson (CREES, University of Birmingham): 'Western Commentaries and Postwar Soviet Economic Performance'; Robert Service (St Antony's): 'The West and the Totalitarian Diagnosis'; Robert Pynsent (SSEES): 'The British Woman in Czech Literature and Thought';

Trinity Term 2003. Russian Domestic and International Politics. Jean-Pierre Massias (University of Clermont-Ferrand): 'The Russian Constitutional Court: Real Judge or Political Actor?'; Peter Reddaway (George Washington University): 'Is Putin's Power More Formal than Real?'; Alexander Obolonsky (Institute of State and Law, Moscow): 'Reforming the Russian Civil Service'; Alexander Kokcharov (Christ Church): 'Russia as an Oil Power: International Policy Issues'; Paul Goode (St Antony's): 'Russian Borderlands: Regional Institutions and Political Order'; Anne Gorsuch (University of British Columbia and St Antony's): 'There's no Place like Home: Soviet Tourism in the Early Cold War'; Paul Chaisty (Pembroke College): 'Parliamentary Parties and Russian Economic Policy-Making'; Zoltan Barany (University of Texas at Austin): 'The Tragedy of the "Kursk": Crisis Management in Putin's Russia'

Activities and Publications of Fellows

PROFESSOR ARCHIE BROWN, Professorial Fellow and Professor of Politics, completed a two-year period as Director of Graduate Studies in Politics for the University at the end of August 2003 and will be on leave for the whole of the 2003-4 academic year. He remains a member of the Overseas Policy Committee of the British Academy and of the editorial boards of the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Post-Soviet Affairs* (Berkeley) and the *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Harvard) as well as of the International Advisory Boards of *Polis* (Moscow) and *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (UCLA). In April he was elected a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He participated in an international conference on 'Rethinking Modernity' in Moscow in late October 2002 and made a study visit to Russia in April 2003. Professor Brown chaired a session on 'Information Management in Putin's Russia' at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies conference in Pittsburgh in November and gave a paper on 'Ideas, Interests, and Institutions in the Russian Transition' at the annual conference of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies at Cambridge in March. Along with the two Visiting Parliamentary Fellows [see separate entry], Professor Brown organized the Hilary Term seminar series on 'Interests, Identities, and Interventions' and was one of the speakers in the session on 'Building democracy and building capitalism: conflicting or complementary goals?'. During the 2002-3 academic year he published 'Russia as a "Normal" Object of Study in International Relations' in Bengt Sundelius (ed.), *The Consequences of September 11: A Symposium on the Implications for the*

Study of International Relations (Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 2002); 'Political Culture and Democratization: The Russian Case in Comparative Perspective' in Detlef Pollack et al, *Political Culture in Post-Communist Europe* (Ashgate, 2003); and evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on the European Union, *EU Russia Relations* (Stationery Office, 2003, pp. 1-13). His journal article, 'From Democratization to "Guided Democracy"', was republished in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds), *Democracy after Communism* (Johns Hopkins University Press), and his co-edited book (with Brian Barry and Jack Hayward), *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century*, was published in paperback in 2003 by Oxford University Press in association with the British Academy. He also published several book reviews in the *TLS*.

DR CAROL SCOTT LEONARD, University Lecturer in Regional Studies of the Post-Communist States (Russian Federation, Central and Eastern Europe) and Fellow of St Antony's since January 1997, is engaged in teaching and research on regional aspects of the transition from Communism, with a focus on agrarian reform, the internet, and learning and economic growth. During the year 2002-3, she presented two papers, one on Russian agriculture for a ESRC-CEPR seminar on transition, and one on aid to war-torn economies for the Royal Institute for International Affairs. She published the edited volume, *Microeconomics of Post-Communist Change* (Palgrave), and completed work on *Russian Agrarian Reform: The Path From Serfdom*, to be published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 2003. She also published an article on resistance to agrarian reform in the *Festschrift* for Charles Feinstein, and she completed an article on the economic history of Russia in the late nineteenth century for a Russian volume.

DR ALEX PRAVDA, Faculty Fellow and University Lecturer in Russian and East European Politics completed his second and final year as Course Director for the M.Phil. in International Relations while continuing as Centre Director in an ever busier pre-50th anniversary year. Fortunately the collegiality of the Centre greatly lightened the administrative load; Archie Brown took on the lion's share of work relating to the conference on 'Russia and Europe'. Dr Pravda continues to be a member of the advisory board of the Russia and CIS programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and of the Editorial Board of *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. He presented a paper on 'Putin's foreign policy after 11 September' at a symposium on Russia, Europe and the Middle East organised by the Center for Applied Research at the University of Munich and held in Munich in January 2003. He gave a talk on 'Gorbachev's European Thinking and Policy' at a conference on 'Gorbachev and Europe', organised jointly by the Gramsci Institute, the Gorbachev Foundation and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and held in Rome in March 2003. His evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on the European Union appeared in *EU Russia Relations* (Stationery Office, 2003). He published 'Putin's Foreign Policy after 11 September: radical or revolutionary?' in Gabriel Gorodetsky ed., *Russia*

between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century (Frank Cass, 2002).

PROFESSOR ROBERT SERVICE, Faculty Fellow and Professor of Modern Russian History, was trying to keep his head when he was unexpectedly – was there fraud or a sinister Governing Body plot? – elected Dean and Tutor for Admissions with effect from January 2003. This deflected efforts from his favourite bedtime reading (Stalin, Russian poetry, tsarist country houses, Abkhazian and Georgian cuisines) towards the codices of College policy towards student recruitment, party organisation permission and a variety of disciplinary matters. As the full consequences of this election have yet to be registered across the College it is appropriate to delay a report on his activities in post until next year. In the meantime Professor Service has continued to burrow away in the Russian Centre Library and the Bodleian Library for his biography of Joseph Stalin. This work was enhanced by several weeks in Abkhazia and Georgia. He gave a course of lectures for the Abkhazian Summer University, organised from London by former Max Hayward Fellow Dr Rachel Clogg and Mr Jonathan Cohen of Conciliation Resources and held near Pitsunda by the Black Sea. This was the first time he had been couriered to an academic gathering by military escort or indeed by a creaking ex-Soviet helicopter. The Summer University was devoted to questions of inter-state and inter-ethnic reconciliation in the Caucasian successor states of the Soviet Union; it was attended by forty journalists, administrators and voluntary sector workers from most regions of the Caucasus. The trip provided an invigorating experience as well as an opportunity to inspect Stalin's dachas and talk to persons who either knew him or were related to those who had known him – and the Caucasian sections of the future Stalin biography have been sharpened and expanded. On return in September, Professor Service published *Russia: Experiment With A People, From 1991 to the Present* (Macmillan). His chapter in Dr Harry Shukman's forthcoming *Redefining Stalinism* is 'Stalinism and the Soviet State Order' (Frank Cass). He also prepared an updated and expanded edition of his Penguin Russian history, which will shortly appear as *A History of Modern Russia: From Nicholas II to Putin* (Penguin). Several more translations of his *Lenin: A Biography* have been published. Among them is a Russian one: this was a development he never in his dreams as a postgraduate in bleak mid-1970s Leningrad expected to experience. Another is the Italian edition, which was the subject of a day-long conference arranged by the Gramsci Institute in Rome's Biblioteca della Storia Moderna e Contemporanea in June 2003. In the Modern History Faculty he has continued to serve on the Research Committee and the Oxford Historical Monographs Committee. Papers given in the course of the year included 'Leninism in Power. From Lenin To Gorbachev: Problematic Continuities' in the SSEES UCL Series on the anniversary of the founding of St Petersburg and 'The USSR and the Totalitarian Diagnosis' in the History Seminar Series he co-convened with Dr David Priestland at St Antony's. He remains an advisory

member of the editorial boards of *Europe/Europa* and *Revolutionary Russia*.

DR POLLY JONES has held the Max Hayward fellowship since January 2003, during which time she successfully defended her D.Phil. thesis, 'Strategies of De-mythologisation in Post-Stalinism and Post-Communism: a Comparison of De-Stalinisation and De-Leninisation'. She completed two articles and is writing a third. The first, 'From Stalinism to Post-Stalinism: De-mythologising Stalin, 1953-56' will appear in the forthcoming volume, *Redefining Stalinism* (Frank Cass), edited by Harry Shukman. The second, 'De-Stalinising "Stalin's Town": Dismantling the Stalin Cult in Stalingrad, 1953-63', is under review by *Slavic Review*. The third, 'Conferring Distinction in the Stalin and Post-Stalin Eras: Continuity and Change in State and Military Symbols, 1945 to 1964', will appear in a special edition of the French journal, *Genèses* (Winter 2003), edited by Olivier Ihl.

As well as writing book reviews for *Cold War History* and *Slavic and East European Journal*, Dr Jones has also attended numerous conferences, several of which have been linked to the 50th anniversary of the death of Stalin, the beginning of the period of Soviet history in which she specialises. Conferences where she has given papers on her research have included a graduate Russianists' conference at Wolfson College, Oxford (Self-Reflection in Russian Literature and Culture, February 2003), a conference on Stalin's Cultural Legacy (Bristol University, March 2003) and the annual BASEES convention (Cambridge University, March 2003). She also helped to organise, and spoke at, a major international, inter-disciplinary conference at the European University Institute in Florence (May 2003), on 'Stalin and the Lesser Gods: Soviet Leader Cults in Comparative Perspective'. She will now be a co-editor of this conference's proceedings, currently under review by publishers.

In addition to editing this volume on leader cults, Dr Jones will also edit another volume, provisionally entitled 'The Dilemmas of de-Stalinisation: A Social and Cultural History of Reform in the Khrushchev Era', a collection of articles based on archival work on the Khrushchev era by both young and established scholars of the period. The volume is currently under review by Routledge and should come out in early 2004. She is also planning to turn her thesis into a book, and, after the end of her fellowship, will be moving to Worcester College, Oxford, to take up a non-stipendiary research fellowship while she is employed as a research assistant to Professor Catriona Kelly, on the Leverhulme Trust-funded project, 'Childhood in Russia: A Social and Cultural History'. She has greatly enjoyed being based in the Russian Centre at St Antony's, and was actively involved in the Centre's 50th anniversary celebrations in the summer.

PROFESSOR MICHAEL KASER, Emeritus Fellow, organised a conference in College on Turkish relations with the Turkic Republics of the CIS, inviting speakers from Kazakhstan, Turkey and UK business and universities, and chaired a panel at a conference in College on EU Enlargement (both November). He delivered papers

to two international conferences - of the Institut Français des Relations Internationales on the Caspian region (Paris, November) and of the Halle Institute for Economic Research on determinants of the productivity gap between EU and accession countries (Prague, June) - and chaired sessions and was panellist at conferences on Central Asia of the EuroAsian Centre of the University of Reading (January, May). As General Editor of the International Economic Association, he participated in its triennial Congress in Lisbon (September) and is editing the three volumes of its proceedings. In Oxford he lectured to four courses of the Department for Continuing Education and at Plater College, and in Birmingham to its Centre for Russian and East European Studies. He continued in Birmingham as Honorary Professor at the Institute for German Studies, all three of his doctoral students successfully presenting their theses. Remaining Chairman of the Central Asian and Caucasian Advisory Board of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, he gave a paper to its Kazakhstan Discussion Group (October) and participated in the FCO Briefing for the new Ambassador to Uzbekistan and in the annual gathering of the FCO Eastern Research Group (both July). Following his role as discussant to papers on growth accounting in Kiev in 2001, he was volume editor of the Global Development Network's *Explaining Growth*, which analyses factor productivity in some 90 developing and transition economies, 1960-2000. His national committee memberships were unchanged, save for retirement after eight years as Chairman of the Keston Institute, Oxford. He published an entry on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in *The Annual Register* 2002, and two studies of the Albanian economy - in *Regional Surveys of the World: Central and South-Eastern Europe 2003* (London, Europa) and in *Oesterreichische Osthefte* (Vienna); he contributed book reviews to the *Economic Journal* and the *Slavonic and East European Review*.

DR HAROLD SHUKMAN, Emeritus Fellow, continued as chairman of the editorial board of East European Jewish Affairs. His book on the National Service Russian Course, *Secret Classrooms*, co-authored with Geoffrey Elliott (HF), was published in November and a revised paperback edition has been prepared for publication in October. He edited and wrote an introduction to a collection of articles for a special issue of the journal *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, which will also be published in September as a book entitled *Redefining Stalinism*.

Dr Roy Allison, Senior Associate Member, continues to work as a Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for International Studies, Oxford University and as Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House). He remains on the Editorial Board of International Affairs and several other journals and a member of the Committee on Central and Inner Asian Studies of the British Academy. He is a co-recipient (with Professors Stephen White and Margot Light) of a new three-year £268,000 ESRC project award. In October 2003 he will begin to work for this new project, 'Inclusion without Membership: Bringing Russia, Ukraine and Belarus Closer to Europe', in

the Centre for International Studies.

In October he spoke at and co-organised a seminar in Chatham House on 'Responding to the Megapower: Military and Security Implications'; in January he organised a conference in Moscow on 'Russia and Regionalism in Central Asia in a Changing Geopolitical Context'. He gave presentations or papers at seminars in the Geneva Centre for Politics and Security (February); the University of Washington, Seattle (April); the Institute of International and Political Studies, Tehran, and at a conference of the US National Intelligence Council, Washington D.C. (May). He published 'Central Asian military reform: National, regional and international influences', in Sally Cummings, ed. *Central Asia: Oil, Geopolitics and Welfare* (Routledge, 2003) and wrote book chapters on conflict potential in the South Caucasus and Central Asia, on the Russian use of military force in regional conflicts, and on multilateral defence arrangements in Central Asia. In February 2003 he was decorated by the President of Finland with the honour of Knight, First Class, of the Order of the Lion of Finland.

Paul Bergne, Senior Associate Member, completed his study of symbolism in the Soviet cemeteries of Tashkent, which is shortly to be published by Durham University. In June he also chaired the first event under the auspices of The (new) Oxford Society for Central Asia (TOSCA), a colloquium held at All Souls on the history of Central Asia with presentations by scholars from Oxford, SOAS, Halle (Germany) and Indiana. His study of the genesis of the Tajik SSR sponsored by the Leverhulme Trust is also now complete and negotiations are ongoing for its publication.

Professor Anne Gorsuch (University of British Columbia, Canada) was a Senior Associate Member of St Antony's for Hilary and Trinity terms during which she conducted research, wrote, and spoke about her current project on Soviet tourism and travel. She is interested in the historical function and meaning of domestic and international tourism in the postwar and Khrushchev eras, and the ways in which tourism and its meanings were shaped by the larger international context of the Cold War. Although there has been increasing attention paid to the history of tourism in Western Europe and North America, and its contributions to questions of identity formation, political mobilization, nation building, consumption, and practices of daily life, there has been little published on tourism and its significance in authoritarian regimes such as that of the Soviet Union. A history of the explosion of mass domestic tourism during the late 1950s and 1960s provides insight into new, post-Stalin, preoccupations with consumption and "quality of life." International tourism to Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and North America provided some Soviet citizens with their first exposure to political and material cultures other than their own. In addition, because travel by its very nature crosses boundaries, a history of tourism is a good way to examine anxieties about "difference" and about the transgression of borders both real and symbolic. In Trinity Term Professor Gorsuch presented a paper at St Antony's entitled "There's no

Place like Home: Soviet Tourism in the Early Cold War.” A version of this paper will be published in *Slavic Review* (Winter 2003). While at Oxford, Professor Gorsuch also presented her work at the School for Slavonic and East European Studies, LSE, the University of Birmingham, and the University of Sheffield.

Professor Jean-Pierre Massias, Senior Associate Member, is Director of the Centre for Research on Constitutional Justice in former USSR in Faculty of Law of the University of the Auvergne (Clermont-Ferrand), where he teaches constitutional law in former socialist countries. He is editor of the *Review of Constitutional Justice in Eastern Europe* and works on the implementation of the rule of law in post-Soviet systems. He also works with the Council of Europe as an independent expert in collaboration with the Venice commission. Professor Massias gave a paper at an international round table in November in Clermont Ferrand on the impact of the European Court of Human rights on the activity of the constitutional courts in Eastern Europe. He also spoke at an international seminar in Bucharest (October) on the revision of the Romanian constitution and took part in a session of the Constitutional Committee of the Romanian parliament with the Council of Europe. He spoke at the Russian Centre Monday seminar in April on the conception of constitutional justice in Russia. He completed a book entitled *Constitutionalism in Putin's Russia: the new challenges of the constitutional court* and another called *Perestroika Ten Years After* in collaboration with Vadim Zagladin (Gorbachev Foundation). He also contributed an account of the constitutional evolution in East European countries for the *Revue de Droit Public*.

CROSS CENTRE AND OTHER ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES AND FELLOWSHIPS

Visiting Parliamentary Fellowship

The Visiting Parliamentary Fellowship continues to bring together all parts of the College, not least in the seminar series on Tuesdays in Hilary Term which has been a feature of the Fellowship programme from the outset. The Parliamentary Fellows in the 2002-3 academic year were Alan Duncan, MP, a Conservative front-bench spokesman on foreign affairs, and Gordon Marsden, a Labour MP who is Parliamentary Private Secretary in the Lord Chancellor's Office and a former editor of *History Today*. Together with Professor Archie Brown, the co-ordinator of the Fellowship, they ran a highly successful seminar series on 'Interests, Identities, and Interventions'. In addition, both MPs met St Antony's students for more informal discussions and welcomed a group of them to a tour of the Houses of Parliament.

Under the 'Interests, Identities, and Interventions' rubric, specific seminar topics included 'What are British interests now?' (speakers: Lord Hurd, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown and Professor Sir Adam Roberts); 'When is foreign military inter-

vention justified?’ (with General Sir Hugh Beach, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto and Sir Marrack Gouling); ‘Is American unilateralism out of control?’ (in which Glyn T. Davies, Deputy Head of Mission, American Embassy, London, was followed by Charles Wheeler, the former BBC Washington correspondent, and Professor Henry Shue); ‘Shifting sands: Iraq and its neighbours’ (with four speakers: Alan Duncan, MP, Bianca Jagger, Ernie Ross, MP, and Professor Avi Shlaim); and ‘EU and NATO: cousins or rivals?’ (at which the speakers were a former Minister of Defence, Michael Portillo, MP; a former Foreign Secretary, Lord Owen, and Dr Anne Deighton). There were capacity or near-capacity audiences for all the seminars and many good points were made from the floor as well as by the members of the distinguished panels of speakers.

For the forthcoming 2003-4 academic year we have been fortunate that a former Cabinet minister who at present also holds a position of great responsibility and a younger MP who is already making a mark as a foreign affairs spokesman have been elected to the Visiting Parliamentary Fellowship and have accepted this association with St Antony’s. They are the Rt Hon Ann Taylor, PC, MP (Labour Member for Dewsbury), a former Government Chief Whip and Leader of the House of Commons, who is now Chair of the increasingly important Intelligence and Security Committee of the House of Commons, and Mr Michael Moore, MP (Liberal Democrat Member for Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale), who, along with Menzies Campbell, speaks for the Lib Dems on foreign policy. With Archie Brown on leave during the 2003-4 academic year, a former Member of Parliament, Professor David Marquand, who was until recently Principal of Mansfield College and was elected this year to an Honorary Fellowship of St Antony’s, will liaise with the Parliamentary Fellows and will co-organise with them the Hilary 2004 seminar which is already well into the planning stage.

Intelligence Services in the Modern World

The weekly seminars in Trinity Term were followed as in previous years by small discussion-dinners. Speakers for the first six weeks were Professor Loch Johnson (Regents Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia) on ‘Mysteries, Secrets and Spies: U.S. Intelligence in the Aftermath of 9/11’; Professor Blaise Cronin (Rudy Professor of Information Science, Indiana University) on ‘Net-Centric Terrorism: the Organization of Intelligence Services in the Network Society’; Professor Wesley Wark (University of Toronto) on ‘The Official History of Canadian Intelligence: What Intelligence Does a Medium-Sized Power Need?’; Minister Paul Ionescu (State Secretary, Foreign Intelligence Service of Romania) on ‘Romanian Intelligence: Past, Present and Future’; Professor Richard Aldrich (Professor of Politics, Nottingham University) on ‘The U.S. and Intelligence Alliances after 9/11: a British View’; and Major General Graham Messervy-Whiting on ‘Intelligence and National Power: the Military Contribution’.

The final seminar was followed by a larger discussion-dinner attended by just

under forty supporters of the programme. The speaker was Professor Peter Hennessy (Atlee Professor of Contemporary History, Queen Mary College, University of London) on 'The History Of British Intelligence: Past, Present and Future'.

Subsidiary events in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms were a lecture by Peter Freeman (GCHQ) on 'How GCHQ Came to Cheltenham', and three discussion-dinners. Speakers were Commander Tom Mascolo USN (US Hudson Fellow) on 'Airborne Electronic Warfare Today: a Naval Aviator's Experience', Sir David Omand (Intelligence and Security Coordinator, Cabinet Office) on current counterterrorist preoccupations, and Dr David Burke (Cambridge) on 'The Spy who Came in from the Co-Op: the case of Melita Norwood'.

The European Investment Bank Fellowship

David Crush was the European Investment Bank Visiting Fellow for the academic year 2002-3. The bulk of his research was centred upon the UK's Private Finance Initiative/Public Private Partnership model and the opportunities that this form of funding offered for the EIB's future infrastructure lending under its new financing facility for the African Caribbean and Pacific States. Being based at St Antony's opened doors to policy makers in the UK Government, to researchers at other UK Universities and to PFI practitioners in the City. The College's high speed network access facilitated searches through the wealth of documentation on the subject available on the internet. During the year he also took courses at the University's Computer Centre, at the University Language Centre and attended seminars on a wide range of subjects at different venues throughout the University. During his time at St Antony's he also remained responsible for negotiation of the EIB's financial involvement in Mozambique/South Africa Natural Gas project which necessitated periodic visits to London, Luxembourg and Johannesburg.

Hudson Visiting Fellowship

Having left his previous appointment with the Warship Support Agency, Nick Roberts spent a hugely productive and inspirational year focussing on the strategic aspects of the international community's campaign against global reach terrorism. His initial work focused on developing a satisfactory definition of the phenomenon: the resulting paper entitled 'Defining Global Reach Terrorism' will be published in the *Journal of Defence Studies*, 3:2 (Summer 2003) and was also presented to the Oxford University Strategic Studies Group in All Souls College, Oxford in February. From these rather esoteric beginnings, his research has focussed on the strategic challenges facing the international community in attempting to frame a coherent international counter-terrorist policy and in particular on the systemic, legal and ethical limitations of the use of force. A short paper, entitled 'Some Limitations of Consensus on the Campaign against Global Reach

Terrorism' that outlines some of these principles, was presented to the Central European Academy of Science and Art's International Congress on the New Peace Architecture in Băile Herculane, Romania and will be published in the *CEASA Congress Proceedings* in June 2003. He has also been invited to contribute to *Haemus*, a Romanian academic review later in the year. Working with Professor Sir Adam Roberts of Balliol College and the Directorate of Force Development in MOD, his major piece of work, 'Countering Global Reach Terrorism: Limitations of the Use of Military Force' which explores more fully the utility of military force within the context of current international relations will be published as a Hudson Paper, and perhaps elsewhere (tbc). An active participant in the M.Phil. Strategic Studies Group, to which he presented some thoughts on maritime strategist Admiral Sir Julian Corbett, and a keen supporter of the Oxford University Strategic Studies Group, he has attended numerous conferences throughout the year. Leaving St Antony's with fond memories and many friends, he will assume a short-term appointment in the Defence Procurement Agency before taking up a post in the MOD Central Staff early in 2004.

U.S. Navy Hudson Fellowship

COMMANDER THOMAS MASCOLO, U.S. Navy Visiting Fellow for 2002-3, came to St Antony's after spending the previous nine years at sea in various flying assignments, his most recent being command of a squadron on board USS John F. Kennedy (CV 67) supporting operations in Afghanistan. He was an regular participant at lectures held at the College, but also was active with the Strategic Studies Group and presented a lecture to it on US Naval Strategy in the 21st Century. He could be found at All Souls every Thursday with Professor Hew Strachan's Strategic Studies course and presented lectures on Jomini and on the Law of War. Commander Mascolo presented a well received paper at Michael Herman's evening intelligence lecture series recounting his role in the war in Afghanistan. It was so well received that he was asked to present it again in London at the National Liberal Club entitled "Network Enabled Warfare in Afghanistan from a Naval Aviator's Point of View." During the year he travelled to Brussels with the Strategic Studies Group to visit NATO and learn how it was transforming with the addition of new members. He also went to UN Headquarters in New York to talk with the Peacekeeping Directorate about its role in Iraq. Ten years ago he was part of the UN peacekeeping force in Mogadishu and so had a keen interest in that subject. He felt lucky to have the Warden's experience in this area to guide him. His original idea to write on how post-war Iraq might be best managed was overcome by events but he hopes to publish a primer nonetheless on Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping for Military Officers in the coming months once he returns to the USA. It was an intriguing year to be at St Antony's while the war was actively being fought. Many guest lecturers were speaking about real-time events and it made for lively debates each term. He also taught a summer class to US

high school students on humanitarian intervention. In addition to academic pursuits, Commander Mascolo rowed with the College men's eight. Summer Eights are among his best memories. He leaves behind many new friends from the academic staff, the administrative staff and the student body and will keep the fondest memories of St Antony's. In June, he was selected for promotion to Captain and will report as Military Assistant to US Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld in the fall.

STUDENT ADMISSIONS**2002-2003**

NEW STUDENTS

| | <i>applications</i> | <i>admission offers</i> | <i>admitted</i> |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Men | 282 | 104 | 68 |
| Women | 245 | 91 | 57 |
| Total | 527 | 195 | 125 |

BY CITIZENSHIP

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|---|----------------|----|
| Argentina | 3 | Greece | 2 | Portugal | 3 |
| Australia | 1 | Hong Kong | 2 | Russia | 2 |
| Bulgaria | 1 | India | 2 | Senegal | 1 |
| Canada | 7 | Italy | 2 | South Africa | 4 |
| China | 4 | Japan | 6 | Switzerland | 1 |
| Colombia | 1 | Korea | 2 | Taiwan | 4 |
| El Salvador | 2 | Mexico | 2 | Thailand | 2 |
| Finland | 1 | Netherlands | 1 | Ukraine | 2 |
| France | 3 | Nigeria | 2 | United Kingdom | 16 |
| Georgia | 1 | Oman | 1 | United States | 35 |
| Germany | 7 | Pakistan | 1 | Zambia | 1 |

TOTAL 125

BY SUBJECT

| | 00/01 | 01/02 | 02/03 |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Economics | | | |
| M.Phil..... | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Research Degrees | 2 | - | - |
| Economics For Development | | | |
| M.Sc..... | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Educational Studies | | | |
| M.Sc..... | - | - | 1 |
| Research Degrees | - | 1 | - |
| Development Studies | | | |
| M.St. in Forced Migration..... | 5 | 9 | 7 |
| M.Phil..... | 6 | 9 | 10 |
| Research Degrees..... | 2 | - | 4 |

| | 00/01 | 01/02 | 02/03 |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| Geography | | | |
| Research Degrees..... | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| International Relations | | | |
| M.Sc..... | 1 | 2 | - |
| M.Phil..... | 5 | 11 | 6 |
| Research Degrees..... | - | 5 | 2 |
| Latin American Studies | | | |
| M.Sc..... | 7 | - | 7 |
| M.Phil..... | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| Law | | | |
| M.St..... | - | - | - |
| Research Degrees..... | 1 | - | - |
| Modern History | | | |
| M.St..... | - | - | 4 |
| M.Sc..... | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| M.Phil..... | - | 2 | 3 |
| Research Degrees..... | 9 | 11 | 5 |
| Oriental Studies | | | |
| M.St..... | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| M.Phil..... | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| Research Degrees..... | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Politics | | | |
| M.Sc. in Politics Research..... | - | 5 | 1 |
| M.Phil..... | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| M.Phil. in European Politics & Society..... | 4 | 6 | 3 |
| Research Degrees..... | 12 | 4 | 5 |
| Russian & East European Studies | | | |
| M.Sc..... | - | - | 2 |
| M.Phil..... | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| Research Degrees..... | 1 | - | - |
| Social & Cultural Anthropology | | | |
| M.St..... | 1 | - | - |
| M.Sc..... | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| M.Phil..... | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Research Degrees..... | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Sociology | | | |
| M.Sc..... | 3 | 2 | 10 |
| M.Phil..... | 1 | 1 | - |
| Research Degrees..... | - | 1 | - |
| Foreign Service Programme..... | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Visiting Students..... | 9 | 3 | 7 |

OBITUARIES

The College regrets to record the deaths of the following members notified during the period covered by this *Record*.

The Rt Hon Aubrey Jones (1911-2003) Senior Associate Member 1979-82, **Professor Branko Pribicevic**, Senior Associate Member 1973 and **Paul J. Friedrich** (1938-2003) Student 1972-7. An obituary for Paul is being prepared for the next edition of the *Record*. Any Antonians wishing to contribute, should contact The Development Office.

Professor Kurt Kluxen (1911-2003) Visiting Fellow 1969

Professor Kurt Kluxen, Visiting Volkswagen Fellow 1969, died in Erlangen on 16 April 2003 in his ninety-second year. He was for many years Professor of Medieval and Modern History at the University of Erlangen. He had a strong interest in British as well as German History and was a corresponding member of the Royal Historical Society. During his stay in St Antony's he impressed us with his conscientious commitment to Anglo-German academic co-operation and his willingness to assist our graduate students.

Anthony Nicholls

Professor Walt Rostow (1916-2003) Senior Associate Member 1984

Walt Rostow describes in his *Rich Countries and Poor Countries: Reflections from the Past, Lessons for the Future* (1987) the year during which he came to the College with his wife Elspeth as follows: 'Honolulu to Beijing, Seoul to Djakarta, New Delhi to Rabat, Vienna to Uppsala, Moscow to London and all intervening stops. On returning home on July 1, 1984 I set to work on the long-contemplated study.' The outcome was a series of essays and *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present with a Perspective on the Next Century* (1990). Aged 68 when he was here, he was no stranger to the University, having before the War been a Rhodes Scholar at Balliol between his first degree and his doctorate at Yale; when the War ended, he returned as Harmsworth Professor of American History 1946/47. His war service with Anglo-American forces involving the strategic bombing of Germany was acknowledged by an Hon. OBE in 1945. Among his many interests in international economics and politics were the regional organisations, initially through his nomination by the State Department to be Special Assistant to the Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, Nobel Laureate Gunnar Myrdal; France, the UK and the USSR made corresponding attachments. He served in Geneva from 1947 to 1949 and was

succeeded by his brother, the equally-renowned Eugene (who died just three months before Walt). His period there overlapped with the ECE's Deputy Research Director, Teddy Jackson, later a Fellow of St Antony's. His subsequent chairs - Economic History at MIT and Political Economy at the University of Texas, Austin - were the base for advice to US Presidents - Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson - and for multifaceted academic research. In politics he was a 'hawk' on the Vietnam War and defended that position for the rest of his life. In political economy he fulfilled a declaration he had made while a doctoral student at Yale: 'I shall one day answer Marx's theory of history'. His argument thereon was formulated first in a paper in the *Economic Journal* (1956) and then in the book for which he is best known, *The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960): it angered the Right for bypassing the role of the market and the Left for excising any role for the class struggle. Before coming to St Antony's, Rostow had completed at the Rockefeller retreat at Bellagio *The United States and the Regional Organization of Asia and the Pacific* (1985). Seeking a similar sanctum to re-examine the political economy of development, he wrote to Warden Carr, who became his College sponsor, that St Antony's, QEH and the Bodleian would be his principal searching grounds. The College Librarian testifies to his use of our book and journal resources, while participating in seminars akin to his many interests. Economic and demographic growth remained the theme of his later major books (1990 and 1998), even as his age advanced. His emeritus status after retirement did not diminish his activity and he continued teaching to the very eve of his death, on 13 February 2003, aged 86.

Michael Kaser (Emeritus Fellow) with Roger Louis (Honorary Fellow) and John Toye (Visiting Professorial Fellow)

Lord Jenkins of Hillhead (1920-2003) Honorary Fellow 1987-2003

The death of Roy Jenkins, at the age of 82, ends a career of classic distinction and manifold paradoxes. In Labour administrations, he held two of the three great offices of state; later, he became the first, and so far only, British president of the European Commission. He was the prime mover in the creation of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and its first leader. He became Chancellor of Oxford University, and was awarded the Order of Merit. He was also an accomplished biographer and award-winning journalist: his mellow, reflective and often funny autobiography, *A Life At The Centre* (1991), will be read with pleasure long after most examples of the genre have been forgotten - of his biographies, the best remembered are likely to be *Gladstone* (1995) and *Churchill* (2001).

In the phrase of his contemporary and rival Denis Healey, Jenkins was a politician with a hinterland. He liked good wine, good food, good talk, good books and fiercely competitive croquet - and he did not care who knew it. With his patrician manner and stylish epigrams, he seemed, by the end, to epitomise an easy-going

whiggery and measured rationality that had almost vanished from the political culture. Yet this persona concealed at least two other Jenkinse, each more complex and less comfortable than the first.

One was a mercurial, emotional, surprisingly vulnerable Celt. It was this figure - the Jenkins of Abersychan and Pontypool - whose incandescent rhetoric at a never-to-be-forgotten meeting of the parliamentary Labour party in 1971 ripped apart the leadership's sophistries over entry into Europe; who seemed, for a brief but brilliant moment, to embody a rallying of defiant social democracy against a new dark age of ideological fundamentalism; and who inspired more loyalty and affection from his own circle - as well as more exasperated indignation from his enemies - than any recent left-of-centre politician, with the possible exception of Aneurin Bevan.

Alongside that, however, ran a tough and dedicated professional, instinctively at home with the levers of power. The shifting combination of strong emotions and tough-minded professionalism holds the key to his contested place in history.

As much as any aristocratic grandee, Jenkins had high politics in his blood. He was born in Abersychan, into what he once described as the "working-class squirearchy". His father, Arthur Jenkins, was a Monmouthshire miner, who went down the pit at the age of 12, rose to the presidency of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and became MP for Pontypool and Clement Attlee's PPS. Jenkins himself went to Abersychan grammar school, studied for six months at University College, Cardiff, in 1937, and won a first in PPE at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1941. His war service in the Royal Artillery (1942-46) included a period as a Bletchley codebreaker. He stood unsuccessfully for parliament in Solihull in 1945, and, in 1948, was elected as Labour MP for Central Southwark, at the age of 28. From 1950 to 1976, he represented Stechford, Birmingham.

Following Labour's return to power in 1964, he became aviation minister. The next year, at the age of 45, he was the youngest Home Secretary since Winston Churchill; at 47, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer - and the second most powerful member of the Cabinet.

It is hard to recapture the excitement that Jenkins generated in the first of these two great offices, or the authority that enveloped him in the second. In part, they derived from a characteristic mixture of public flair and private assiduity. As a backbencher, he had not been a particularly outstanding debater. But he knew that the key to political power lay in mastery of the dispatch box; and, once a minister, he turned himself into the most accomplished and deadly gladiator on the Labour frontbench.

Yet style was less important than substance. As Home Secretary, Jenkins epitomised the mood of 1960s Britain, in revolt against stuffy conservatism and insularity. No doubt, the decriminalisation of homosexuality and abortion - the two great 1967 reforms of his time in office - were bound to come. In any case,

they were achieved through private members' bills, not government measures. But without Jenkin's adroit and resolute support in the background, the bills would never have reached the statute book.

The Treasury was a harder row to hoe. There, Jenkins's task was as simple as it was forbidding. After three years spent clinging to an overvalued exchange rate, the government had, in 1967, been forced to devalue. As Jenkins knew better than most, it had done so at the wrong time and in the wrong way. But that was now irrelevant; all that mattered was to make devaluation work - a task that required a policy of Crippsian austerity, followed with unyielding determination until the balance of payments moved into the black.

The will was there; and, albeit with aching slowness, the balance-of-payments fruits came forth. When the government went to the country in the summer of 1970, "surplus Jenkins" was Labour's greatest electoral asset. The party lost, but when the new House of Commons assembled, he was triumphantly elected as Labour's deputy leader, under Harold Wilson. It seemed only a matter of time before he inherited the leadership, and after that, the prime ministership.

It was not to be. As things turned out, the 1970 deputy leadership election marked a watershed - not only for Jenkins, but for British politics in general. Hitherto, he had been an insider: a wielder of power and taker of decisions. But, unrecognised by him, the system was beginning to dissolve. The long, postwar boom was spluttering to an end. The Keynesian social-democratic consensus was beginning to fragment - and, in an extraordinary display of doctrinal recidivism, both great parties were retreating to the dogmatisms of the past.

For Jenkins, the inside track was gradually closed off. To remain true to himself, he had to become an outsider, a radical rather than a whig. And to become an effective outsider, he had to unlearn the habits and assumptions of a political lifetime. His tragedy - and the tragedy of the British centre-left - is that he never quite completed the transition. Yet, by one of the greatest paradoxes of his career, he was to become a more significant force in British and European politics in the unhappy, sometimes anguished, years when he was shifting to the outside track than he had been as the eagerly rising insider of the 1960s.

The shift began with his defiant refusal to bow to the anti-Europeanism that engulfed Labour in the early 1970s. He saw that if he abandoned his European commitment, he would destroy the reputation for integrity that was his greatest political asset. He also saw that he would not be able to live with himself. Above all, he saw that he would betray his conception of political leadership, and deny the sense of history that underpinned it - that, in one of his favourite condemnatory phrases, he would be "falling below the level of events".

So, in the decisive vote on the principle of British entry into Europe in 1971, Jenkins led 68 pro-European Labour MPs into the Conservative government lobby, defying a three-line whip and a five-to-one vote at Labour's annual conference. It

was the most spectacular party split since the second world war, but it gave the European cause a cushion of moral authority without which it would almost certainly have foundered.

The sequel was sadly anti-climactic. In a moment of weakness, which he later regretted, Jenkins stood again for the deputy leadership. On the second ballot, he narrowly beat Michael Foot, only to resign six months later, in March 1972; he felt that the shadow cabinet's support for a referendum on Britain's European membership implied wings of the party campaigning against each other in the country, making life impossible for pro-European MPs.

When Labour unexpectedly won the 1974 election, Jenkins returned glumly to the Home Office, but he felt increasingly out of place in a cabinet that seemed to him incapable of standing up to either the unions or the Labour left. In the summer of 1975, he led the "yes" campaign in the referendum on community membership to a two-to-one victory, but it was only a momentary shaft of light in the encircling gloom. When Wilson retired from office in 1976, he came third in the first ballot for the leadership, behind Foot and James Callaghan: sensing that Labour MPs were in no mood to forgive the splitter of five years before, he then withdrew, and Callaghan won the second ballot.

But Jenkins's consolation prize turned out to be more substantial than it seemed at the time. In January 1977, he left Westminster for four years as President of the European Commission in Brussels. Soon after arriving, he told me that he dreamed of the House of Commons every night, and I doubt he was ever at ease with the Byzantine politics of the Berlaymont building. Yet during his Brussels years, Jenkins left a more enduring mark on European politics than had any British politician since Ernest Bevin.

Two achievements stand out. First, he slowly managed to reassert the political role of the commission and its president - reversing the slide in their authority which had continued since de Gaulle clipped the wings of the first president, Walter Hallstein, in the mid-1960s. This meant little to the general public, but was critically important for Europe's future. European integration is a quintessentially political process; it cannot make progress without a strong and politically authoritative commission. Had Jenkins been content with the technocratic role of his immediate predecessors, the much more spectacular activism of the Delors presidency in the 1980s would have been impossible.

Jenkins's second Brussels achievement was less arcane. With a mixture of boldness and adroit diplomacy, he put the project of European monetary union - moribund since the currency upheavals of the mid-1970s - back on the agenda. After much persuasion, an initially sceptical Helmut Schmidt was converted, not to fullscale monetary union, but at least to the creation of a zone of currency stability in Europe. The result was the European monetary system, which laid the foundations for the European Single Act of 1985, the European Union of the 1990s, and the single currency of today.

Jenkins's commission stint had another result as well. From his Berlaymont eyrie, he could survey the British scene - and even take judicious soundings on the way in which it was developing - while preserving an enigmatic silence about his own intentions. He was increasingly appalled by what he saw. A tide of sectarian bitterness seemed to be sweeping across British politics, engulfing the Labour party he had once hoped to lead, and endangering everything he stood for. Like a veteran warhorse scenting gunpowder, he slowly sensed there was a battle in the offing, from which he could not stand aside.

He broke his silence in the 1979 BBC Dimpleby lecture, appealing to the "radical centre" to save the country from the sterilities of left and right. Few political speeches have had a more electric impact. Jenkins had thought the unthinkable - and said it. In doing so, he transformed the framework of Labour party debate and, still more, the framework of possibility within which its beleaguered social democrats imagined their future. For the first time since the 1931 split, a senior Labour politician had defied the taboo that made the very idea of secession to the centre inconceivable. And once the taboo was broken, others started to think the unthinkable as well.

Like a slow-burning fuse, the lecture took time to produce results. The explosion came in 1981, when Jenkins and the so-called "Gang of Three" - Shirley Williams, David Owen and William Rodgers - set up the SDP, and ushered in a decade of party turbulence unequalled since the 1920s. In a sensational byelection that summer, Jenkins narrowly missed capturing Warrington, one of Labour's safest seats, for the new party. In March 1982, he was elected for Glasgow Hillhead, after a campaign of packed public meetings reminiscent of the age of Gladstone and Lloyd George. At the beginning of July, he defeated David Owen for the SDP leadership by 26,300 votes to 20,900. The veteran insider, it seemed, had become an even more successful outsider.

As so often in Jenkins's career, appearances were deceptive. Even before Hillhead, the SDP had passed its zenith. In April 1982, the outbreak of the Falklands war gave an immense boost to Mrs Thatcher and her government, and did commensurate damage to all the opposition: in May 1983, at the start of the general election, the SDP-Liberal Alliance stood at only 17.5% in the Gallup poll, against the Conservatives' 49% and Labour's 31.5%. Against that background, its campaign, in which the two parties' candidates avoided standing against each other, was triumphantly successful. It emerged with slightly more than 25% of the popular vote - the highest third-party share for 60 years. (By contrast, Labour's 28% represented its lowest share since 1918.) In its first real test, Jenkins's "radical centre" had done better than anyone could reasonably have expected.

But in politics - in the politics of the outside track, at any rate - reasonable expectations do not count. For the SDP, if not for the Liberals, any result short of a breakthrough was a failure - and, in the Commons, it had only six seats out of the Alliance's skimpy 17. Henceforth, its trajectory could only point down. Whether

Jenkins saw this, I do not know; if he did, he never said so. What is clear is that he emerged from the campaign tired, ill and demoralised. No sooner were the votes counted than David Owen threatened to force a leadership election unless Jenkins gave it up forthwith. With an almost audible sigh of relief, he resigned.

Henceforth, the history of the SDP was the history of David Owen's demonic energy, unsleeping will and strangely unrooted radicalism. Shirley Williams and William Rodgers had lost their seats, and Jenkins and Owen were the only two of the old Gang of Four still sitting in the Commons. But Jenkins sat as an elder statesman, not as a political force. Owen dictated policy, and personified the SDP in the eyes of the public. As much as Williams and Rodgers, Jenkins was sidelined. He was alarmed by Owen's drift to the right on economic policy, and appalled by his brusque contempt for the party's Liberal allies, but, in public, he permitted himself only the occasional, heavily coded warning.

In the 1987 election, he, too, lost his seat. In the bitter and destructive split over relations with the Liberals that followed, he was the leading champion of merger between the two parties the following year. After the inevitable translation to the Lords, he became leader of the Liberal Democrat peers. He made some notable speeches, and continued to champion the European cause; after the fourth consecutive Conservative victory in 1992, he also championed closer relations between the Liberal Democrat and Labour parties. But the non-political hinterland - writing, the Oxford chancellorship, family and friends - loomed ever larger. For all practical purposes, his career as a political mover and shaker had ended.

It remains an unusually difficult career to assess; and when the would-be assessor is proud to have been a Jenkinsite, the difficulties are all the greater. On four points, however, the verdict of history seems plain. As Home Secretary, Jenkins did as much as any other single person to make Britain a more tolerant and civilised country to live in. As leader of the Labour Europeans, he played an indispensable part in taking Britain into what is now the European Union. As President of the European Commission, he played an equally indispensable part in overcoming the forces of monetary disintegration that threatened to wreck the community.

With the SDP, he failed in his stated aim of breaking the mould of British politics. But the territory he staked out in his Dibleby lecture is the territory New Labour came to occupy 15 years later. Though there can be no proof, it is hard to believe that this would have happened without the shock of the 1983 result. The SDP's purpose was to create a broad-based social-democratic party, capable of speaking to middle England. In that, at least, it succeeded. The fact that the party was called the Labour party does not detract from the achievement.

David Marquand (Student '57, Research Fellow '62, Honorary Fellow)

(This Obituary was originally published in *The Guardian* on 6 January 2003.
We are grateful for permission to reproduce it here).

Sir Reginald Hibbert (1922-2002) Senior Associate Member 1982-4, Senior Common Room Member 1984-88

By the 1970s it became College practice for the Director of the Ditchley Foundation, the Oxfordshire venue for international conferences of decision-makers, to be offered membership of St Antony's during his tenure, as Reg Hibbert was in 1982. He had already lectured to a college seminar on Mongolia during a 1966/67 sabbatical at the University of Leeds, on return from opening the Embassy in Ulan Bator, where he was Chargé d'Affaires 1964-66. His College status changed to SCR member during his Visiting Fellowship at Nuffield College, 1984-88. He had read history at Worcester College in two stages, divided by war service which included fighting with SOE units in enemy-occupied Albania. He there saw, just as Warden Deakin did in neighbouring Yugoslavia, that the communist-dominated partisans were far more effective in guerilla operations than the resistance loyal to royalist governments-in-exile. The best account of that fierce military and political conflict is his *The Albanian National Liberation Struggle: the Bitter Victory* (1991), written during his retirement to Wales. Similar Soviet-supported communists were displacing a Western-supported royal government when he joined his first Foreign Service post, Bucharest in 1946. Security and military issues remained salient in his mid-career posts, Singapore (1967-71) and as 'number two' in Bonn (1972-5) - he was succeeded in the latter by Sir Julian Bullard (Honorary Fellow). Service in the Federal Republic at the time the UK negotiated to join the European Communities contributed to his EC expertise, culminating in his appointments as the FCO's Political Director and in 1979 as Ambassador in Paris (GCMG conferred in 1982). Ditchley conferences absorbed his and Ann's time until 1987 when he was called upon for leading roles in British relations with France. He chaired two British-French committees until 1999, as well as the Albania Society of Britain until 2002. He delivered major lectures in Oxford in 1982 and 1989; the latter can now be seen as apposite to the recent US-UK invasion of Iraq, for it drew on his membership of the Joint Intelligence Committee to warn against ministers 'becoming absorbed in a culture of secrecy, a culture where secrecy comes to be confused with truth'. His daughter Jane (Mrs Valeri Nicolov) too had links with the College as member of an SSRC-funded research team, 1970-76. He is survived by his wife, Ann, delightfully supportive and welcoming in their various houses and grandmother in a large family.

Michael Kaser (Emeritus Fellow)

Robin Hallett (1926-2003) Visiting Associate 1968-72

Born in Bihar, India, the son of the governor of the United Provinces, Robin Hallett was sent to school in England and attended Winchester before serving in the army, after which he read History at New College, Oxford. He honed his skills as a lecturer teaching extra-mural classes for the Workers' Education Association in

East Anglia, and then took an extra-mural post in Nigeria. It was at Ibadan University College and then in Zaria that his deep interest in Africa's history began. After two years working for the British Council in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, he returned to Britain, and began to do research into the British sources on West Africa. He moved to Oxford in 1965 when offered the post of Research Officer at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, and there organised an African History seminar at Queen Elizabeth House, at a time when African history was still a very young field and those involved in it felt all the excitement of being pioneers in opening up new territory. Kenneth Kirkwood, the Rhodes Professor of Race Relations, who was organising his own African Affairs' seminar, arranged for him to be made an associate of the College. But besides this St Antony's connection, Robin was given little recognition for the work he did to try to establish African history at Oxford, let alone a permanent post. He was therefore happy to accept an invitation to lecture at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 1972.

This came about as follows: I had been a member of his African history seminar at Oxford, and had returned to teach at UCT in 1970. The following year a young student, who now happens to be the current Rhodes Professor of Race Relations and Fellow of St Antony's, asked me if I knew someone whom the students could invite as a visiting lecturer. I immediately mentioned Robin's name. He not only visited, but returned to teach at UCT for seven years, and was then to return again many times thereafter on short visits, mostly to lecture at the University's annual Summer School. In his new home in Cape Town, he devoted himself mainly to teaching, but he wrote wonderfully perceptive articles on such topical issues as crime in Cape Town's history and the South African invasion of Angola. After returning to England from Cape Town, he moved away from Oxford, settling eventually in Shropshire, where he taught extra-mural classes, chaired the local United Nations' Association and wrote prolifically for South African newspapers. In 1993 UCT awarded him an honorary doctorate in recognition of his key role in establishing African History at UCT.

His failure to win acceptance at Oxford led him to regard the University with considerable scepticism, and he would probably react with some degree of irony to the idea of being remembered in these pages. But he was an African historian of great distinction. His initial work on European explorers into West Africa led to a number of publications, including a classic volume entitled *The Penetration of Africa* (1965), out of which came later a seminal chapter on European attitudes to Africa for the *Cambridge History of Africa*. He then agreed to write a survey of the history of the entire continent. His two large volumes on *Africa to 1875* (1970) and *Africa since 1875* (1974) constitute one of the great monuments in African historiography, a work noteworthy especially for the deep respect it showed for the creative achievements of Africans over the centuries. Robin was to be greatly saddened by developments in much of Africa in the decades that followed.

With catholic interests and strong opinions, he liked nothing more than to con-

verse with friends and members of his close-knit family. In Cape Town he soon attracted a group of devoted followers, who gathered regularly at his home for convivial discussions. I was fortunate enough to be one of those he mentored, when he and I taught African history together at UCT for many years. I marvelled at his wonderful ability to capture an audience; at his best he was a spellbinding lecturer. He kept up with the latest scholarship despite having to read by holding a magnifying glass close to the one eye through which he could see. On the only return visit he made to St Antony's in the 1990s, Robin participated in a lively seminar. Although in his last years he had little direct contact with the academic world, he never ceased to broaden his interests in literature and world affairs, and friends who visited him in his home overlooking Church Stretton found him stimulating company right up to the end. He continued writing articles, on an extremely wide range of subjects, for a liberal South African newspaper until shortly before he died, after a long battle with cancer, in February this year.

Christopher Saunders (Student '67)

Colin L. Smith (1927-2002) Student 1952-4

Colin died after prolonged spells of illness on 10 September 2002 in Eastbourne. He studied at the then University College of the South West, Exeter, where Professor W.N. Medlicott introduced him to the subject of his dissertation before he came to St Antony's College. Here he finished under the supervision of A.J.P. Taylor his doctoral thesis on 'The Embassy of Sir William White at Constantinople 1886-1891'. In this fine study of diplomatic history, which was published in the Oxford Historical Series by the Oxford University Press in 1957, he showed the importance of the man on the spot and his direct relations with the Foreign Secretary in shaping British policy.

Colin was much liked by his fellow students in the College, due to his dry humour. He participated in many of our activities. He particularly loved to play boule, a set of which had been given to us by Madame Besse. I also remember that he and Terry Ranger tried to inaugurate me and other foreigners into the strange game of cricket – unfortunately with little success. In the official College photograph of June 1954 he can be seen on the left standing on crutches. It was however not a game of cricket but a fall after a drunken frolic to celebrate Friday night which had led to this injury. Colin really was what the English call "a jolly good fellow." After his College years, he worked in local government with the education authorities. Starting his career in Plymouth, he went on to Hampshire, Worcestershire, Birmingham and West Bromwich before he finally settled in East Sussex. He was Chief Education Officer for the Borough of Eastbourne between 1971 and 1974. After reorganisation, he became Deputy County Education Officer for East Sussex County Council in Lewes. Due to illness he went into early retirement in 1985.

Throughout his adult life he took a great interest in international politics and recent history. He loved classical music, gardening and travelling. His letters are full of vivid descriptions of his many journeys to foreign countries. He had known his later wife Valerie – a warm-hearted teacher – already in his college days. He leaves his wife, two daughters, a son and grandson.

Gerhard A. Ritter (Student '52 and Honorary Fellow)

Pierre Marin (1927-2002) Student 1951-54

Pierre Marin, who died at his home in Orsay on 15 April 2002 after a brave fight against cancer, was one of a large group of French students who came up to St Antony's in its earliest days. His whole life was devoted to research in the field of nuclear physics, in which he achieved a status of considerable eminence.

He came to St Antony's under the auspices of Hans Halban, the distinguished Austrian scientist who had brought the French stock of heavy water to Britain after the defeat of France in 1940. Pierre's activities at the Clarendon Laboratory – along with those of Durand and Perez Y. Jorba, his French fellow nuclear researchers at St Antony's – were highly mysterious to all of us non-scientific graduates and filled us with – occasionally mischievous – awe. They involved spending whole nights at the lab so as to be able – so they claimed – to bring all the electrical capacities of southern England to bear, in the small hours, upon whatever atomic constituents they were concerned with. In the morning a notice dangled from the handle of Pierre's door: "Do Not Disturb", and he would emerge later in a state of bleary-eyed semi-stupor.

In 1955 Pierre followed Halban back to Paris and the Laboratoire de l'école Normale Supérieure. In December 1956 he married Léa Lévin, herself a researcher in biology. They were to have two daughters and one son. Progressively his brilliant pioneering career in the C.R.N.S. (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) developed. He was an extremely skilled technician – his earliest training had been at the Ecole Supérieure d'Electricité – a theoretician and a forceful creator and leader. He was responsible for the designing and establishing of several colliders. He was for a long period in charge of the Orsay linear accelerator (when I rang him at Orsay, his secretary would answer, to my intense amusement: "This is the accelerator speaking"). He also had numerous contacts with foreign research centres, notably in Italy, South America and Siberia. After his retirement he continued to take a keen interest in nuclear research. He campaigned vigorously – and successfully – against the cancellation, by the then Minister for Education and Scientific Research, of the plan to establish a new high-performance collider – the so-called *Projet Soleil*. He would talk to me about it at great length and with passion, on the phone or when we met in Paris, so that I myself came to be a staunch supporter of *Projet Soleil*.

Professionally, as his former colleagues and students report, he was strict and demanding – totally devoted to his work, so that he was known to have on several occasions spent three or four days uninterruptedly in the control room to keep watch over an experiment. This, I imagine, must have been upsetting for Léa. As I have known and loved him, he was fundamentally shy and retiring. He was also very generous. His generosity led him into a political commitment which he later realised was misdirected. Despite the disappointment of his hopes he retained his full capacity to feel and act for a better society. I remember a very long introspective walk in Paris, in the course of which he confided in me about this. My last vision of him is when he climbed out of the Odéan métro station, our usual meeting place, with a broad happy smile. The last time I heard him was on the phone, when he called to tell me how much better and how confident he felt. The news of his death was a great shock. My epitaph for him is Ruskin's for his father: "He was entirely honest."

Pierre Fontaney (Student 1950-53)

Professor Hitoshi Nakamura (1928-2002) Senior Associate Member 1982 and 1994-95

Professor Hitoshi Nakamura was Senior Associate Member of St Antony's during Hilary and Trinity Terms 1982, just after the Nissan Institute had been established, and again for the academic year 1994-5. Born on 5 September 1928, he graduated in political science from the Law Faculty of Kyôto University in 1952. In the same year he joined the *Mainichi Shimbun*, remaining with that newspaper until the 1980s when he entered academia. In his career as a journalist he covered many areas, including the police, universities, the Imperial Family, problems of mass communication, and at one stage was a roving correspondent in Latin America. From 1977 he was a Senior Editor, with his own column entitled "People", and he also became Chief Editor of the weekly magazine *Sunday Mainichi*.

In 1978 he was at the Institute of Education of the University of London, where he conducted research on the educational problems of Japanese children in Britain under the guidance of Professor Brian Holmes. Increasingly, his interests came to focus on problems of intercultural communication, and in 1983 he joined Asia University in Tokyo, becoming full Professor in its Faculty of International Relations in 1990. In 1991 he was sent by the Japanese Foreign Ministry to research the activities of Japanese overseas co-operation volunteers in Kenya, Zambia and Ghana. He also paid a number of visits to Korea, both North and South, and published extensively in Japanese on Korean issues. During his two periods of research at St Antony's he visited many Japanese companies operating in Britain, focusing especially on relations between Japanese managers and British employees. He was sensitive to problems between them having a cultural basis, and wrote about how such problems might be resolved. At seminar presentations and in informal discussion he exuded an infectious enthusiasm for the issues he was study-

ing, and for life in general. He was of the generation whose education straddled pre-war, wartime and post-war, so that he was acutely aware of the sensitivities in Japan's relations with the outside world.

I last encountered him at a Antonians' meeting at International House in Tokyo on 29 September 1992, when we had a lively discussion. But sadly and unexpectedly, he died on 30 November.

J.A.A. Stockwin

Professor Wilhelm Deist (1931-2003) Visiting Fellow 1978

Many of us with interests in German history were shocked and saddened by the news that Wilhelm Deist had died in June 2003 after a brave, and for several years apparently successful, struggle against cancer. Wilhelm Deist was one of the chief editors and authors of the monumental series of volumes on the military history of Germany during the Third Reich produced by the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, the historical research institute of the Bundeswehr in Freiburg/Breisgau. From 1988 until 1993 he was the senior historian at the Freiburg Institute, and he was also a professor of history at the University of Freiburg. In 1978 he came to St Antony's as Visiting German Fellow and used his time in Oxford, not only to deliver seminar papers, but also to write *The Wehrmacht and German Rearmament* (Macmillan 1981) which remains one of the best introductions to the controversial issue of nazi military planning before the war. Although dogged by ill health, Deist remained academically active as an emeritus professor in Freiburg after his retirement. He and his charming wife lived in a beautiful villa overlooking the Black Forest on the outskirts of Freiburg and they were always generous with their hospitality to colleagues and friends. He was a loyal Antonian and we shall miss him sorely.

Anthony Nicholls

Professor Tamara Kern Hareven (1937-2002) Senior Associate Member 1976

Tamara Kern Hareven, a social historian of the family and its place in contemporary society, died on 18 October 2002 at a hospital in Newark, Delaware. She was 65 and lived in Newark, where she was on the faculty of the University of Delaware.

A seminar writer in her field, Dr Hareven focused on the family's adaptation to the ups and downs of an industrial society, like that of New England. To that end she interviewed generations of families about their work and home lives.

Her interest lay in events like the closing of factories in New England or the social impact of World War II. She gauged how personal responsibilities, like caring for aging parents, affected people's lives.

Dr Hareven began her field work with the families who had worked and lived in the shadows of the old Amoskeag textile mills of Manchester, N.H. Her findings were documented in *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City* (Pantheon, 1978). Written with Randolph Langenbach, it was reissued in 1995.

In 1982, she complemented it with *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge University Press, reprinted by University Press of America, 1993).

She wrote *Families, History and Social Change: Life Course and Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Westview Press, 2000) edited *Aging and Generational Relations* (Walter de Gruyter, 1996) and co-edited *Family History Revisited: Comparative Perspectives* (University of Delaware Press, 2001).

For her comparative studies she observed the cultures of weavers in Kyoto, Japan; Lyon, France; and the textile centers of Austria, where skills, centuries old were passed from generation to generation. Her book *The Silk Weavers of Kyoto: Family and Work in a Changing Traditional Industry*, was published in 2003 by the University of California Press.

She was born in Chernivitsi, western Ukraine, in 1937, when it was part of Romania. She graduated from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1960 and received an MA from the University of Cincinnati in 1962 and a Ph.D. from Ohio State University in 1965.

That year she started her academic career as an assistant professor of history at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. She taught at Harvard University and at Clark University in Worcester, Mass., before joining the Center for Population Studies at the University of Delaware as a research associate in 1976.

She founded *The Journal of Family History* in 1975, editing it for 20 years. In 1995, she founded *The History of the Family: An International Quarterly*, of which she was co-editor.

At her death Dr Hareven was the Unidel Professor of Family Studies and History with a joint appointment in urban affairs and public policy. She had been a recipient of grants from the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Science Research Council, and the National Institute on Aging and has been a Fulbright scholar to India and Japan. In 1992, she received the Radcliffe Graduate Society Medal, and was President of the Social Science History Association in 1995. In June 1998 she was awarded an honorary doctorate at the University of Linköping in Sweden.

(Parts of this obituary were originally published in the New York Times)

John Kuhn (1978-2003) Student 2002-3

St Antony's suffered the loss of one of its brightest and most promising Junior Members this year with the death of John Kuhn, a Rhodes Scholar in his first year

of the M.Phil. Program in International Relations, on the twenty-sixth of March 2003. John died suddenly in Johannesburg less than a week after returning to South Africa to spend the Easter vacation with his mother, Madeleine. He was only twenty-four years old.

John spent just six months at St Antony's, but in his short time here he made a deep and lasting impression on the people whose lives he enriched. No sooner had John arrived in Oxford than he became a fixture in the life of the College. When he wasn't hosting one of the marathon conversations he used to have with his flat-mates in their kitchen on the ground floor of the Founders' Building, John could often be found playing a little pool in Late Bar, watching *Newsnight* on the television in the CCR, or attending meetings of the St Antony's Whisky and Cigar Society – which has now been named in his memory. John had an unmistakable presence about him, whether in the classroom or the common room. One knew instantly whether John had entered a room not only from his tendency to greet everyone he knew (that is, most everyone in college) by announcing their names as soon as he saw them, but also from the heartiness of his laugh, the mischievousness in his smile, and his brilliance which shone in his eyes.

It was John's boundless energy, however, which made him the extraordinary individual he was who accomplished more in twenty-four years than most of us will manage over several lifetimes. When John told me one day that he had a condition that made his body produce too much adrenaline, this seemed to me as good an explanation as any of his remarkable achievements, especially during his time as a student at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg.

John excelled in his studies at Wits, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in 2000, an Honours Degree in International Relations in 2001, and winning the university's prestigious Jan Smuts Award in that same year. Such was John's energy that he managed to complete a third degree from Wits – a Master of Arts in International Relations – last Christmas even as he worked towards his M.Phil. at Oxford!

As impressive as his academic accomplishments were, it was in the twin realms of politics and the media where John's talents shone most brightly. Dismayed with the domination of student politics in South Africa by its national political parties, whom he felt were oblivious to the concerns of students, John formed the non-partisan Independent Student Alliance and led it to victory in [three consecutive student elections from 1999] onwards. Even as he presided over the Student Representative Council at Wits as its Vice-President and later as its Chairman, John somehow found the time to host and produce a weekly talk show on Radio 702, Johannesburg's premiere news radio station.

His most spectacular venture, however, was the launch of *Get a Life* (widely known as GAL) in 1999, an overnight sensation which remains South Africa's premiere student website to this day. (The site can be viewed at www.gal.co.za) John's antics on GAL earned him both fame and notoriety as he mercilessly

skewered important (and self-important) figures in the computer games that he designed for his website. Perhaps the most infamous of these was a game in which players could squirt diesel on the Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe and thus rid the country he oppresses of his tyranny. The game attracted the attention of the South African media, *Time* magazine, and the South African Foreign Ministry, which pleaded with John to pull down the game to prevent damaging relations with its northern neighbor. When he refused, hackers who were found to be operating from government computers in Harare attempted to sabotage his website, but they failed to shut GAL down and to deter John from releasing several more games that took aim at Robert Mugabe.

GAL quickly grew from a simple web site into a full-fledged e-business, becoming the first company in South Africa to offer pay-as-you-go Internet access and providing services such as free email accounts, a housing locator, and a ride-sharing program. Just this February, John expanded his business once more by launching GALbooks, an academic bookstore offering over 1.2 million titles at stores in [Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Pretoria] and over the internet at www.galbooks.co.za.

For many entrepreneurs, success on the scale that John enjoyed with GAL would be the achievement of a lifetime – after all, how many people who started Internet businesses in the heady days of the late 90s managed to keep their companies afloat, let alone make them grow to compete with the likes of Amazon.com? John was justifiably proud of his entrepreneurial success, but he did not view his business as an end in itself. Rather, it was a means by which he could secure his financial future so that he could devote himself to greater things without having to worry about paying the rent. And that greater thing was the future of South Africa.

Last Christmas, I had the extraordinary privilege of visiting John and his mother at their home in Johannesburg, and it was then that I saw for myself just how committed John was to the uplift of his native land. Everywhere we went in the three days that I spent with him, John pointed to the injustices that persisted from the Apartheid era – injustices which he wished to dedicate his life to redressing. John was keenly aware of how the accident of his birth to white parents gave him opportunities and privileges that he did not earn, and plain spoken as he was, he never missed the chance to point out to other white South Africans that they shared a moral obligation with him to improve the lives of the people from whom their privilege was drawn.

After having been awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in recognition of his outstanding record of achievement in South Africa, John decided to read for an M.Phil. in International Relations here at St Antony's to learn about the world and thus better serve his country upon his return. His dream, which he shared with me just two weeks before his death, was to form a new political party with his contemporaries that would move South African politics out of the shadow of Apartheid and into a new, post-racial phase.

Critical to this vision John believed was the provision of higher education to the leaders of groups who had previously been denied such access and who were therefore unable to represent themselves as effectively as is possible. It is for this reason that Mrs Madeleine Kuhn, John's mother, and his brothers Charles and Cliff, have established the John Kuhn Memorial Fund at the University of the Witwatersrand to provide financial assistance to disadvantaged students demonstrating leadership ability with a record of academic achievement. Antonians have already contributed £800 to this living memorial to John, while a further £400 was raised to dedicate a bench and to plant a tree in memory of John in the quadrangle of the Founders' Building when Mrs Kuhn visited Oxford last May.

Upon hearing the news of John's passing, a professor of John's and mine told me that in reflecting on the lives of those who are taken away before their time, the best we can do is to ask whether there was anything more they could have done in the time they had with us. John's short life was lived to its fullest, but the tragedy of his death is that so much of his promise goes unfulfilled; for there is no doubt that he would have changed the world if he were only given the chance. The passage of time has done little to dull the pain that we feel at the loss of our friend and peer, but we must endeavour to celebrate his life by following his example and working each day to change the world for the better, in his memory.

He will be sorely missed.

Vivek Krishnamurthy