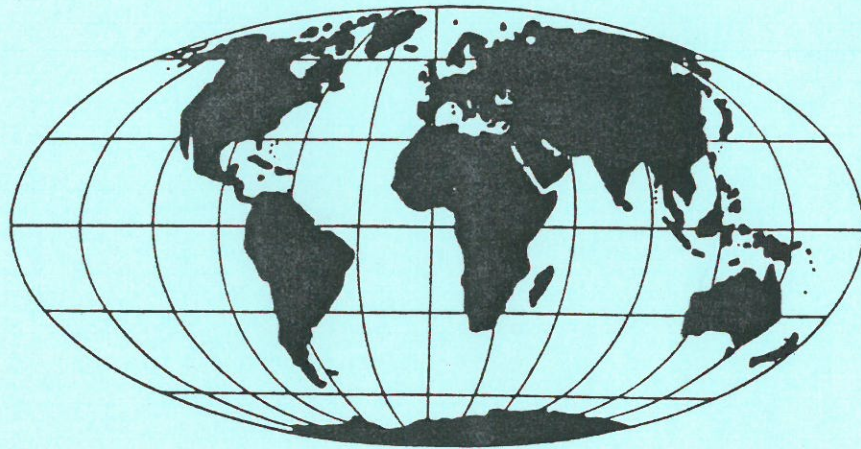


BRITISH INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE

*End of Empire*



University of Newcastle upon Tyne  
(Hosted by the East Asia Centre, Department of Politics)

17 - 19 December 1990

# Northumbrian Universities' East Asia Centre

Department of Politics  
The University  
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU  
Tel (091) 222 6444  
Fax (091) 222 8107

December 1990

Dear Colleague,

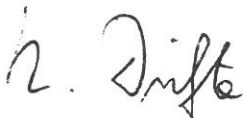
On behalf of the East Asia Centre and the Department of Politics and our students, may I welcome you to the 1990 Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association.

This is the first time that BISA has come to Newcastle and we are therefore particularly keen that the Conference will introduce you to our Department of Politics. Mike Clarke, Lecturer in International Politics, was instrumental in getting the Conference here, and when he left for a very challenging position at King's College, the East Asia Centre took over the organisation. In the meantime, Dr Ronen Palan has been appointed as his successor. We have the pleasure to announce that the Department of Politics is running a new MA course in International Studies, which compliments our existing MA in East Asian Studies.

The East Asia Centre is within the Department of Politics and has a heavy focus on international relations in East Asia and the political economy of the three East Asian countries China, Japan and Korea. Given this strong interest in International Relations on the part of both the Department of Politics and the East Asia Centre, we hope we can provide an appropriate framework for a BISA Conference. I would particularly like to thank Stephanie Laidler, who took upon herself the administrative tasks.

We all hope very much that you will enjoy the Conference and also your stay in Newcastle.

Yours sincerely



Prof R Drifte





## OUTLINE PROGRAMME

### MONDAY 17 December

3.00 pm onwards	Conference Registration: Henderson Hall
6.00 - 7.00 pm	Publisher's Reception
7.00 pm	Dinner
8.00 pm	Plenary Address by Professor Ken Booth "Security and Emancipation"
9.30 - Midnight	Bar

### TUESDAY 18 December

8.00 - 8.55 am	Breakfast
9.00 - 10.30 am	Panel Sessions I
10.30 - 11.00 am	Coffee
11.00 - 12.30	Panel Sessions II
12.20 - 1.00 pm	Reception for Postgraduate Students
12.30 - 1.30 pm	Lunch
1.45 - 3.15 pm	Panel Sessions III
3.15 - 3.45 pm	Tea
3.45 - 5.15 pm	Panel Sessions IV
5.30 - 6.45 pm	BISA Annual General Meeting
7.00 - 7.45 pm	Reception: The University of Newcastle
7.45 pm	Conference Dinner
9.30 - midnight	Bar

### WEDNESDAY 19 December

8.00 - 8.55 am	Breakfast
9.00 - 10.30 am	Panel Sessions V
10.30 - 11.00 am	Coffee
11.00 - 12.30	Panel Sessions VI
12.30 pm	Conference ends
12.30 - 1.30 pm	Lunch (optional)

**PANEL SESSIONS: SUMMARY**

1. PANEL Diplomacy and Foreign Policy III OHS, IV OHS
2. PANEL South Africa's Foreign Relations After the Release of Nelson Mandela I OH, II OH, III TV
3. PANEL Theory and World Politics in the 1980s I MR, II OHS
4. PANEL Articulating Alliances II TV, III OH
5. PANEL Empires Old and New in Central Asia V OHS, VI PHS
6. PANEL ROUNDTABLE Japan's Present and Future International Role I OHS
7. PANEL Historical Approaches to the Rise and Fall of Empires II TT, V TT
8. PANEL The Significance of Norms and Rule-Based Models in International Relations Theory IV SCR, VI SCR
9. PANEL New Developments in Northern Europe I SCR, II SCR, III SC
10. PANEL Food and Environmental Security V MR, VI MR
11. PANEL The State in the International Context III TT, IV TT
12. PANEL The 'Confetti of Empire': Small Developing States in International Politics I L, II L
13. PANEL Empires and Theories in International Relations I TT, VI T
14. PANEL The European Community and Sovereignty I OH
15. PANEL The United States and the End of Empire V OH, VI OH
16. PANEL European Interstate Relations 1914-60 III MR, IV L
17. PANEL The End of Empires: An International History Perspective IV MR, V SCR
18. PANEL Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict I TV, IV TV
19. PANEL The Soviet Union V TV, VI TV
20. PANEL Interwar Perspective on Peace III L, V L
21. PANEL International Organization II MR
22. PANEL ERSC Open Discussion VI L
23. The Founding Meeting for the Study Group of International Relations of Global Environmental Change

**KEY TO ROOMS**

OH - Old Hall  
 TV - Television Room  
 SCR - Senior Common Room  
 OHS - Old Hall Stage  
 TT - Table Tennis Room  
 L - library  
 MR - Music Room

**KEY TO TIME SLOTS**

I - Tuesday 9.00-10.30 am  
 II - Tuesday 11.00-12.30 pm  
 III - Tuesday 1.45- 3.15 pm  
 IV - Tuesday 3.45- 5.15 pm  
 V - Wednesday 9.00-10.30 am  
 VI - Wednesday 11.00-12.30 pm

PANEL SESSIONS

I TUESDAY 9.00 am

PANEL 2 (a): South Africa's Foreign Relations OLD HALL  
After the Release of Nelson Mandela  
Convener Geoff Berridge (Leicester)

Peter Vale (Western Cape)  
'South Africa's Foreign policy in the post-apartheid  
period: some preliminary thoughts'

Gregory Mills (Western Cape)  
'Southern Africa and a Post-Apartheid SADF'

André du Pisani  
'South Africa's foreign relations: a post-apartheid  
perspective'

PANEL 18 (a): Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict TV ROOM  
Convener Paul Wilkinson (St Andrews, Fife)

Gamini Samaranayake  
'Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka'

Dominic Lieuen (LSE)  
'Ethnic Conflict in the Soviet Union'

PANEL 13 (a): Empires and Theories in Inter TABLE TENNIS  
national Relations ROOM  
Convener Nick Rengger (Bristol)

Nick Rengger  
'Empire, Political Association and International  
Society'

Andrew Vincent (Cardiff)  
'Theories of the State and Empires as States'

PANEL 9 (a): New Developments in Northern Europe SENIOR COMMON  
Conveners Pertti Joenniemi (TAPRI, Finland) ROOM  
Clive Archer (Aberdeen)

Clive Archer  
'Arctic Cooperation'

David Scrivener  
'Arctic Cooperation'

PANEL 6 : Japan's Present and Future Inter- OLD HALL  
national Role STAGE  
Convener Stephen Gill (Manchester)

ROUNDTABLE Chair: Stephen Gill

Takehiko Kamo (Tokyo)  
Reinhard Drifte (Newcastle)  
Barry Buzan (Warwick)

**PANEL 3(a):** Theory and World Politics in the 1980s **MUSIC ROOM**  
Convener Mike Bowker

Richard Crockatt (UEA)  
'Europe and the Cold War: Theories of Stability'

Caroline Kennedy (Aberystwyth)  
'Explaining Soviet Policy'

Marysia Zalewski  
'Feminist Theory and International Relations'

**PANEL 12(a):** The 'Confetti of Empire': Small  
Developing States in International  
Politics **LIBRARY**

Conveners Tony Payne (Sheffield)  
Paul Sutton (Hull)

Paul Sutton  
'The Problems of small island developing states'

Ron Sanders (Oxford)  
'The Caribbean'

II TUESDAY 11.00 am

**PANEL 2(c):** South Africa's Foreign Relations after the Release of Nelson Mandela OLD HALL  
Convener Geoff Berridge (Leicester)

Margaret Doxey (Trent)  
'Commonwealth initiatives for change in the Republic of South Africa'

Scott Thomas  
'The ANC's foreign relations since the release of Mandela'

**PANEL 4(a):** Articulating Alliances TV ROOM  
Convener Mick Dillon (Lancaster)

Mick Dillon  
'Back to the Future: Re-articulating NATO'

Pertti Joenniemi (TAPRI)  
'The Warsaw Treaty Organisation Post Cold War'

**PANEL 7(a):** Historical Approaches to the Rise and Fall of Empires TABLE TENNIS ROOM  
Convener Barry Gills (Newcastle)

Barry Gills and Andre Gunder Frank  
'Cycles of Accumulation and the Rise and Fall of Empires'

Peter Taylor (Newcastle)  
'Resistance in the World System'

**PANEL 9(b):** New Developments in Northern Europe SENIOR COMMON ROOM  
Conveners Pertti Joenniemi (TAPRI)  
Clive Archer (Aberdeen)

Carl-Einar Stålvant (Stockholm)  
'Cooperation in the Baltic Sea region: a test for integration theory'

Ole Waever (Copenhagen)  
'The Dynamics of Security in Northern Europe: the interplay of region, subregion and protoregion'

**PANEL 3(b):** Theory and World Politics in the 1980s OLD HALL STAGE  
Convener Mike Bowker (Surrey)

Mick Cox (Belfast)  
'Radical Theories and Superpower Relations'

Nick Rengger (Bristol)  
'Superpowers, Great Powers and International Theory'

Fred Halliday  
'A Singular Collapse: The Soviet Union, Market Pressure and Interstate Competition'

**PANEL 21:** International Organisation  
Convener A J R Groom

**MUSIC ROOM**

Demetris Bourantonis (Reading)  
'The Role of the UN in Disarmament Affairs: Change  
or Continuity?'

Herman Prager (New Orleans)  
'The Physical State of the Ocean and Inter-  
governmental Organisations'

**PANEL 12(b):** The 'Confetti of Empire': Small  
Developing States in International  
Politics

**LIBRARY**

Conveners Tony Payne (Sheffield)  
Paul Sutton (Hull)

Norrie McQueen (Sunderland Poly)  
'Regionalism, Sub-Regionalism and Post-Colonial  
Adjustment in the South Pacific'

Jean Houbert (Aberdeen)  
'The Indian Ocean'



III TUESDAY 1.45 pm

**PANEL 4(b):** Articulating Alliances  
Convener Mick Dillon (Lancaster)

OLD HALL

David Campbell (Johns Hopkins)  
'Re-articulating Alliances: Challenges to US  
political identity'

Malcom Chalmers (Bradford)  
'Pan-European Security Structures'

**PANEL 2(b):** South Africa's Foreign Relations After  
the Release of Nelson Mandela  
Convener Geoff Berridge (Leicester)

TV ROOM

Adrian Guelke (Queens)  
'External mediation and the transition in South Africa'

Graham Evans (Swansea)  
'South Africa, Namibia and Walvis Bay'

**PANEL 11(a):** The State in the International  
Context

TABLE TENNIS  
ROOM

Convener Ronen Palan (Newcastle)  
Chair Susan Strange  
Discussant André Gunder Frank

Ronen Palan  
'The Political process in International Relations'

Kees Van Der Pijl (Amsterdam)  
'Transnational Class Strategy and German  
Reunification'

**PANEL 9(c):** New Developments in Northern Europe  
Conveners Pertti Joenniemi (TAPRI)  
Clive Archer (Aberdeen)

SENIOR COMMON  
ROOM

Vladimir Kozin (USSR)  
'Prospects for a Nuclear Free Baltic'

Aare Raid (Estonia)  
'Security Developments in the Baltic Region'

**PANEL 1(a):** Diplomacy and Foreign Policy  
Convener Ron Barston (LSE)

OLD HALL

Paul Rich (Bristol)  
'How Liberal is Diplomatic Theory'

Raymond Cohen (Hebrew University)  
'The Cross-cultural Dimension of International  
Negotiation'

**PANEL 16(a): European Interstate Relations 1914-60** MUSIC ROOM  
Convener Glyn Stone (Bristol Polytechnic)

Anne Deighton (Reading)  
'European Perspectives on the Cold War: The Moscow  
Conference of 1947'

John Kent (LSE)  
'Britain, France and the idea of Euro-Africa 1945-56'

**PANEL 20(a): Interwar Perspectives on Peace** LIBRARY  
Conveners Peter Wilson (LSE)  
Tom Daffern (London)

Peter Wilson  
'Leonard Woolf and International Government as a  
Path to Peace'

Igor Kravchenko (USSR)  
'Soviet Perspectives on Western Thinking about Peace'

**PANEL 23**  
Convener John Vogler

The Founding Meeting for the Study Group  
of International Relations of Global  
Environmental change

**IV TUESDAY 3.45 pm**

**PANEL 14:** The European Community and Sovereignty OLD HALL  
Convener Trevor Salmon (St Andrews, Fife)

Alan James (Keele)  
'The Meaning of Sovereignty'

William Wallace (Oxford)  
'An Enlarged View of Sovereignty'

Trevor Salmon  
'The British Debate about the EC and Sovereignty'

**PANEL 18(b):** Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict TV ROOM  
Convener Paul Wilkinson

Paul Wilkinson  
TO BE ARRANGED

**PANEL 11(b):** The State in the International TABLE TENNIS  
'Context' ROOM

Convener Ronen Palan (Newcastle)  
Chair Susan Strange  
Discessant Andre Gunder Frank

Barry Gills (Newcastle)  
'Hegemony = Stability: Non-linearity and Hegemonic  
Cycles'

Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey (LSE)  
'Hegemonic stability Theory and Britain's Interest  
in Free Trade'

**PANEL 8(a):** The Significance of Norms and Rule- SENIOR COMMON  
based Models in IR Theory ROOM  
Convener Robert Jackson (British Colombia)

Fritz Kratochwil (Pennsylvania)  
'Value Change in International Relations Theory'

Tony Evans (Aberystwyth)  
'Goals and Values in International Relations: the  
case of human rights'

**PANEL 1(b):** Diplomacy and Foreign Policy OLD HALL  
Convener Ron Barston (LSE) STAGE

Joseph Lepgold (Georgetown)  
'The New Politics of Choosing Allies'

**ROUNDTABLE:** 'The International System in Transition:  
Implications for Diplomatic Methods'  
Ron Barston  
Alan James

**PANEL 17(a): The End of Empires: An International  
History Perspective**

**MUSIC ROOM**

Convener Fiona Venn (Essex)  
**Decolonization and the International System: The  
Netherlands Empire East and West**

Jan Aart Scholte (Sussex)  
'The End of Empire in Indonesia: A World-Historical-  
Sociological Perspective'

Bob Moore (Bristol Polytechnic)  
'The Dutch West Indies'

**PANEL 16(b): European Interstate Relations 1914-60**

**LIBRARY**

Convener Glyn Stone (Bristol Polytechnic)  
David Watson (Dundee)  
'French intervention in the Russian Civil War'

David Sweet (Durham)  
'The dilemma of British policy towards Russia 1904-14'

V WEDNESDAY 9.00 am

**PANEL 15(a): The United States and the End of Empire** OLD HALL  
Convener Mike Smith (Coventry Polytechnic)

Mike Smith  
'Changing US Images of the European Communities'

Mike Clarke (Kings)  
'The US and European Defence Cooperation'

**PANEL 19(a): Current Developments in the Soviet Union: military, political, economic** TV ROOM  
Convener Elaine Holoboff (Kings)

Elaine Holoboff  
'Soviet Debates on Military Reform after the Eastern European Revolutions'

John Kramer (Mary Washington College)  
'The Emerging Soviet East European Energy Relationship'

**PANEL 7(b): Historical Approaches to the Rise and Fall of Empires** TABLE TENNIS ROOM  
Convener Barry Gills (Newcastle)

Ronen Palan (Newcastle)  
'The Byzantine Connection and European State Formation'

Yale Ferguson (Rutgers)  
'The Ancient Near East: Authority, Ideology and Power'

Nicola Di Cosmo  
'Conflicts between the Empires of China and Inner Asia (3rd-2nd Century BC): The Economic Background'

**PANEL 17(b): The End of Empires: An International History Perspective** SENIOR COMMON ROOM  
Convener Fiona Venn (Essex)  
**Britain and Decolonization: Policies and Reactions**

Muriel Chamberlain (Swansea)  
'British Decolonization in Africa and Asia Compared'

Oliver Furley (Coventry Polytechnic)  
'The British and Uganda: Attitudes to Decolonization'

**PANEL 5(a): Empires Old and New in Central Asia** OLD HALL STAGE  
Convener Peter Ferdinand (RIIA)

Peter Ferdinand  
'Central Asia: Still on the Periphery?'

Shirin Akiner (SOAS)  
'Central Asia as seen by Central Asians'



**PANEL 10(a): Food and Environmental Security**  
Convener James Manor (IDS, Sussex)

**MUSIC ROOM**

Joanna Spear (Sheffield)  
'Environmental Issues and the Sovereign State'

Julian Saurin (Aberystwyth)  
'World Society and the New Environmentalism'

**PANEL 20(b): Interwar Perspectives on Peace**  
Conveners Peter Wilson (LSE)  
Tom Daffern (London)

**LIBRARY**

Tom Daffern  
'Education and Peace in the Interwar Period'

David Long (UBC)  
'J A Hobson's Organic Theory of Peace'

VI WEDNESDAY 11.00 am

**PANEL 15(b): The United States and the End of Empire** OLD HALL  
Convener Mike Smith (Coventry)

Dave Allen (Loughborough)  
'West European Responses to Change in Eastern Europe:  
the collective and the individual'

Chris Hill (LSE)  
'Challenges to US Leadership in the 1990s: the role of  
Western Europe'

**PANEL 19(b): Current Developments in the Soviet** TV ROOM  
Convener Union: military, political, economic  
Elaine Holoboff (Kings)

Ms Tommie Crowell Anderson  
'A Structuralist Perspective on Changes in Soviet  
Foreign Policy Towards Developing Nations: Ethio-  
Soviet Relations'

Vladimir Batyuk (Moscow)  
'World System Evolution in the 20th Century'

**PANEL 13(b): Empires and Theories in Inter-** TABLE TENNIS  
Convener national Relations ROOM  
Nick Rengger (Bristol)

Vernon Hewitt (Bristol)  
'The British Empire and the Quest for Order in  
the 19th Century International System'

**PANEL 8(b): The Significance of Norms and Rule-** SENIOR COMMON  
Convener based Models in IR Theory ROOM  
Robert Jackson (British Columbia)

Robert Jackson  
'Embedded Justice: from practice to theory in  
normative International Relations theory'

Ian Gambles (Princeton)  
'Global Distributive Justice: Rawls, Realism and the  
Priority of the Political Community'

**PANEL 5(b): Empires Old and New in Central Asia** OLD HALL  
Convener Peter Ferdinand (RIIA) STAGE

Philip Robbins (RIIA)  
'Turkey, Pan-Turkism and Central Asia'

Lillian Craig-Harris  
'Changing Chinese Perceptions of the Middle East'

Andre Gunder Frank  
'The Centrality of Central Asia'

**PANEL 10(b): Food and Environmental Security**  
Convener James Manor (IDS Sussex)

**MUSIC ROOM**

Chris Smith (IDS, Sussex)  
'National Security Issues and Food and Environmental  
Concerns'

Melissa Leach  
'Environmental Issues as Security Concerns'

**PANEL 22: ESRC Open Discussion**

**LIBRARY**

## CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Mr David Allen  
Prof Akira Amakawa  
Dr C Archer  
Mr Chris Baker  
Dr Pyotr D Barabolya

Mr James Barber  
Mr Ronald Barston  
Ms Joan Bates  
Dr Vladimir I Batyuk

Miss M E Bentham  
Dr G R Berridge  
Mr John Berryman  
Dr Christoph Bluth  
Prof Ken Booth  
Mr Dimitris Bourantouis  
Prof Mike Bowker  
Mr Chris Brown  
Mr Robin Brown  
Prof Barry Buzan  
Dr David Campbell  
Mr Roger Carey  
Dr Walter Carlsnaes  
Dr Philip Cerny  
Dr Malcom Chalmers  
Ms Rosemary Charles  
Prof C Clapham  
Dr Ian Clark  
Ms Valerie Clarke  
Dr Raymond Cohen  
Mr Neil Cooper  
Dr Richard Crockatt  
Dr Stuart Croft  
Mr Simon Crowe  
Mr Donimic Curren  
Mr Tom Daffern  
Dr Heather Deegan  
Dr Anne Deighton  
Dr Nicola Di Cosmo  
Dr G M Dillon  
Mr Michael Donelan  
Dr Mohamed M El-Doufani  
Prof Margaret Doxey  
Prof Reinhard Drifte  
Mr J Dumbrell  
Mr David Dunn  
Mr David J Dunn  
Mr Graham Evans  
Mr Tony Evans  
Mr C E H Farrands  
Dr Peter Ferdinand  
André Gunder Frank  
Prof Yale H Ferguson  
Mr Oliver Furley  
Mr Ian Gambles  
Dr Steve Gill  
Mr Barry Gills  
Mr J Glenn

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Soviet Committee for Peace in the  
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University of York  
University of Bradford  
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Univ College of Wales, Aberystwyth  
Nottingham Polytechnic  
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Coventry Polytechnic  
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York University, Ontario  
University of Newcastle  
University of Southampton

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Dr Henning Gottlieb	Danish Commission on Security and Disarmament
Mr Owen Greene	University of Bradford
Prof A J R Groom	University of Kent
Mr Adrian Guelke	Queens, Belfast
Mr Philippe Guillot	University of Kent
Dr Philip Gummett	University of Manchester
Prof William Gutteridge	RISCT
Mr Stefano Guzzini	European Univ Inst, Italy
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Mr Dan Hiester	University of Kent
Dr Christopher Hill	LSE
Ms Ulla Holm	University of Copenhagen
Mrs E M Holoboff	Kings College London
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Dr Mark Imber	University of St Andrews, Fife
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Prof Robert Jackson	Univ of British Colombia
Prof Alan James	University of Keele
Pertti Joenniemi	TAPRI, Finland
Prof Ieuan G John	Univ College of Wales, Aberystwyth
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Ms Pauline Kelly	BISA
Mr Martin Kender	ESRC
Mr Abdur Rob Khan	University of Kent
Dr Vladimir Kozin	Soviet Committee for Peace in the Oceans
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Prof John Kramer	Mary Washington College, USA
Mrs Judith Large	University of Kent
Mr H Larsen	LSE (PG)
Mr Philip Lawrence	University College, Swansea
Dr Joseph Lepgold	Georgetown
Dr Richard Little	University of Lancaster
Mr Noam Livne	Keele University
Dr Colin McInnes	Univ College of Wales, Aberystwyth
Mr James Manor	IDS, Sussex
Dr N McQueen	Sunderland Polytechnic
Dr Neil Malcom	RIIA
Ms Yuko Matsuzaki	University of Sheffield
Mr James Mayall	LSE
Dr Greg Mills	University of the Western Cape, South Africa
Miss Keiko Miwa	University of Southampton
Ms Elahe Mohtasham	IISS
Ms Alison Moore	University of Leeds
Dr Bob Moore	Bristol Polytechnic
Mrs Sally Morphet	Foreign & Commonwealth Office
Prof Michael Nicholson	University of Kent
Mr G W Niven	Wolverhampton Polytechnic



Mrs K E O'Byrne  
Mr Ronen Palan  
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Mr Peter Vale

Dr Fiona Venn  
Dr John Vogler  
Ole Waever  
Dr William Wallace  
Mr D R Watson  
Mr Burghard Wegmans  
Dr Nicholas Wheeler  
Prof Brian White  
Professor Paul Wilkinson  
Mr Peter Willetts

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University of Sussex  
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Lancaster University  
Staffordshire Polytechnic  
University of Kent  
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South Africa  
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Liverpool Polytechnic  
University of Copenhagen  
St Antony's College, Oxford  
University of Dundee  
Aachen  
University of Hull  
Staffordshire Polytechnic  
St Andrews, Fife  
City University

Dr Marc Williams  
Mr P C Wilson  
Mr Geoffrey Wiseman  
Dr Moorhead Wright  
Mr Richard Wyn Jones  
Ms Masae Yuasa  
Ms Marysia Zalewski

AFRAS, University of Sussex  
LSE  
St Antony's College, Oxford  
Univ Coll of Wales, Abersystwyth  
Abersystwyth (PG)  
University of Sheffield  
University of East Anglia (PG)

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