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ACADEMY OF THE SOCIAL  
SCIENCES IN AUSTRALIA

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ANNUAL REPORT 1991

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# ACADEMY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN AUSTRALIA

## Annual Report 1991

The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia  
CANBERRA  
Incorporated in the A.C.T.

**Address**  
Garden Wing, University House  
CANBERRA ACT 2601  
Postal Address:  
GPO Box 1956  
Canberra ACT 2601  
Telephone: (06) 249 1788  
Facsimile: (06) 247 4335

# PRESIDENTS OF THE ACADEMY

1943–1952	Kenneth Stewart Cunningham
1952–1953	Sir Douglas Copland
1953–1958	Sir Leslie Galfreid Melville
1958–1962	Sydney James Butlin
1962–1964	Wilfred David Borrie
1964–1966	William Matthew O'Neil
1966–1969	Percy Herbert Partridge
1969–1972	Richard Ivan Downing
1972–1975	Geoffrey Sawer
1975–1978	Fred Henry George Gruen
1978–1981	Alan George Lewers Shaw
1981–1984	Keith Jackson Hancock
1984–1987	Joseph Ezra Isaac
1987–1990	Peter Henry Karmel
1990–	Peter Winston Sheehan

# CONTENTS

President's Report	5
The Year in Review	
<i>General Report</i>	8
<i>The Academy and its Objectives</i>	10
<i>Academy Award</i>	11
<i>Australian-Asian Perceptions Project</i>	12
<i>1991 Workshops</i>	15
<i>Joint Academy Activities</i>	16
<i>ASSA News</i>	17
<i>Administration</i>	18
<i>1990 Annual Symposium</i>	19
<i>1990 Annual Lecture</i>	51
International Activities	
<i>Australia-China Exchange Program</i>	56
<i>Australia-Netherlands Program</i>	59
<i>Australia-Japan Program</i>	60
<i>Australia-Vietnam Academic Co-operation Program</i>	61
<i>Australia-Finland Memorandum</i>	61
<i>Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils</i>	62
Publications	64
Fellows of the Academy	66
Obituaries	86
Financial Statements	100



# OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES FOR 1991

## EXECUTIVE OFFICERS 1991

### **President**

Professor P. W. Sheehan

### **Executive Director and Secretary**

Professor J. D. B. Miller

Professor O. O. G. MacDonagh

(from 1 May 1991)

### **Honorary Treasurer**

Professor Stuart Harris

## COMMITTEES OF THE ACADEMY 1991

### **Executive Committee**

Professor P. W. Sheehan (President)

Professor O. O. G. MacDonagh (Executive Director)

Professor Stuart Harris (Honorary Treasurer)

Dr C. Bell

Professor B. Crittenden

Professor P. H. Karmel

Professor G. W. Jones

Professor P. N. Pettit

Professor J. Marceau

Professor R. A. Williams

### **Membership Committee**

The President (Convenor)

The Executive Director

Professor H. G. Brennan

Professor P. Bourke

Professor R. Day

Professor B. Raphael

Professor J. S. Western

### **Finance Committee**

The President (Chairman)

The Executive Director

The Honorary Treasurer

Professor H. W. Arndt

Professor R. L. Mathews

### **Consultative Committee of the Australian Academies**

(ASSA Members)

Professor P. W. Sheehan

Professor O. O. G. MacDonagh

Professor Stuart Harris

### **Award Committee**

Professor P. W. Sheehan

Professor O. O. G. MacDonagh

Dr G. J. R. Linge

Professor H. G. Brennan

Professor G. Bolton

Professor R. Taft

## PANEL COMMITTEES 1991

### **Panel A**

(Anthropology, Demography, Geography,  
Sociology, Linguistics)

Dr G. J. R. Linge (Chairperson)

Professor M. Clyne

Professor B. Cass

Professor F. Jones

Professor G. Jones

Dr M. Young

### **Panel B**

(Economics, Economic History,  
Business Administration)

Professor H. G. Brennan (Chairperson)

Professor R. Blandy

Professor D. Throsby

Professor C. Schedvin

Professor K. Wright

### **Panel C**

(History, Law, Political Science,  
Social Philosophy)

Professor G. Bolton (Chairperson)

Dr P. Jalland

Professor P. Pettit

Professor S. Macintyre

Dr D. Rawson

### **Panel D**

(Education, Psychology, Social  
Medicine)

Professor R. Taft (Chairperson)

Professor R. F. Over

Professor W. F. Connell

Professor R. White

Professor L. Mann

Dr J. L. Bradshaw

Professor B. S. Crittenden

### **Branch Convenors**

Professor P. Groenewegen (NSW)

Professor A. Powell (Vic)

Professor G. Halford (Qld)

Professor P. Glow (SA)

Professor A. Richardson (WA)

## SECRETARIAT 1991

### **Administrative Officer**

Barry Clissold ED, BA, MLitt

### **Secretary**

Wendy Pascoe

### **Project Officer**

Peg Job BA, PhD

## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

There are many serious challenges facing the Academy. Most of these relate to the nature and role of the Social Sciences in an era of massive change and some of them were canvassed by both Professor MacDonagh and myself in the last newsletter. At that time I talked particularly about the urgent need to address the infrastructure requirements of research and how the Academy should relate to the current deliberations of ASTEC on priority setting in research.



*Professor Peter Sheehan*

My purpose in this report is to signal in a broad way some of the major challenges facing the Academy in the medium- to long-term future.

The first of these is the level of funding for research. Research funding is now at the point where approximately 70%-75% of applicants to ARC are unlikely to obtain the support that they require for excellent research. With the increased funds that Government has channelled to the ARC since 1989, the expectation of many is that the majority of worthy projects will be able to attract the resources that are needed. That is not true, however, and the Academy must relate to that situation in a thoughtful way in terms of its constituency. It should continue to ensure that the nature and character of the Social Sciences are properly understood by Government, and it must press for more funding for research, this being particularly urgent given the fact that the total funding package for research in Australia is about to be determined beyond 1994. The current situation of 'steady state' support (though helped by the recent announcement in the 1991 Budget of 2,000 more scholarships and a \$26m boost to ARC grants over 3 years) can't continue without placing at risk significant advantages which have been gained since the ARC was formed.

Another major challenge facing the Academy is the anticipated annual shortfall between additional staff required in the higher education system beyond (and up to) the year 2000 and the potential recruitment of higher degree holders. Although substantial increases have occurred since 1980 in staff who have higher degree qualifications, many staff still do not have higher degrees, and there will be substantial requirements for additional staff over the next decade which will be aggravated by those whose retirement stems from the expansion of the 1960s.

Government is currently advising that the Australian higher education system should formulate other ways of recruiting and training academic staff and we will no doubt be asked to examine traditional methods of recruitment and consider methods of training that are much less research-oriented than the PhD. The Academy will need to relate to these questions, but in responding it should be



careful not to undermine the value of research and the Academy's essential role in reinforcing its significance. The problem of recruitment that faces us ahead is not at all one that is appropriately met by any argument that the research culture of the country has been overemphasised and therefore needs to be reduced. As the AVCC has argued, the Australian higher education system will suffer if replacement staff in the future are not well qualified in research and do not themselves actively practise research.

The third major issue I wish to target is postgraduate training. Graduate training is a prime function of the higher education system and relates, of course, to the issue of the projected shortfall of qualified academic staff that I discussed earlier. There is now a general awareness of the need for more postgraduate research students, but there is no accompanying movement in the system that guarantees that appropriate policy and suitable procedures for quality training are in place. The immobility of postgraduate students and the general lack of capacity of institutions to share students with each other remain major impediments to growth. The rights of postgraduate scholars are also not yet fully recognised and currently play too little a part in formulation of institutional (and indeed national) codes of ethics. Further, both the number of scholarships available (even considering the increases just announced) and the stipend associated with them are probably still too small to provide the country with the best possible basis for its research reputation in the decade ahead.

The Executive of the Academy is currently examining the Academy's objectives in order to assess how better the Academy can fulfil its mission. The above issues will be part of its deliberations in the future.

Peter W. Sheehan  
President

# THE YEAR IN REVIEW



# General Report

The calendar year 1991 has been a period of consolidation rather than one of initiatives in the affairs of the Academy. It has, however, responded constructively to the initiatives and proposals of Government as well as organised inter-disciplinary workshops on important public issues and, within the limits of its resources, accorded high priority in developing its international contacts.

Moreover, the year has been remarkable for the launching of one major research initiative, the Academy's *Australian-Asian Perceptions Project*. This should serve as the 'flagship' of the Academy's efforts to establish the relevance and importance of the social sciences in Australia's future. Following lengthy planning the Project was launched in March this year with a view to publishing the results of its research early in 1994. The Project seeks to find answers to the broad cultural challenges Australia must face as its society moves closer to those of its regional neighbours (see pages 12-14).

This year two Academy workshops, *Australian—Asian Perceptions* and *Aboriginal Employment Equity by the Year 2000*, contributed to the developing data bank for the Project. The important findings of the Aboriginal Employment workshop were published in a monograph series and presented to the 1991 AASSREC Conference (held in Manila in August) which had provided the original spur to this inquiry. The earlier workshop on Australian-Asian Perceptions, was convened to plan the possible scope and direction of research for the Project.

There has been both breathtaking and profound change in international relations this year, first, conflict, and then apparent resolution, in the Middle East, and later 'revolution' in the Soviet Union. Startling and unprecedented though the events have been, the type of changes now taking place in the Soviet Union were the subject of detailed discussion at the Academy's 1990 Annual Symposium *Europe in the 1990s – A Continent Restored* and its accompanying Annual Lecture by Professor T. H. Rigby, *Changes in the Soviet Union* (see pages 51-54).

The topics for this year's Annual Symposium and Annual Lecture will be no less important to social scientists and Australian Government policy makers. These occurrences, in November, follow the Academy's strong submission and responses to ASTEC when it sought comment from Australia's learned Academies on its policy document *Setting Research Directions for Australia's Future*. For the first time, the Academy is focussing its attention specifically on the management of research in the social sciences. The results of the 1991 Annual Symposium will precede major policy statements by Government.

High on the Academy's agenda this year has been the planning of a forward strategy for developing the social sciences in Australia. Such a strategy is being linked to newly-defined objectives and goals, concentrated on the possible role of the Academy in Australian society and its interaction with regional neighbours.

Already this year, the Academy, in conjunction with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, has established an Academic Co-operation Agreement with Vietnam and ratified a Memorandum of Understanding with a cognate academy in Finland. The first agreement provides for exchange visits by scholars, and the second for the facilitation of such visits and other co-operation. Additionally, the Academy has re-established the Australia-Japan Program, a program to foster research successively in the various disciplines of the social sciences. Contact has been maintained with the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences, and an account of the activities of the Australia-China Exchange Program over the past year is set out on pages 56-59. It is pleasing to note that as a result of our recommendations the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences is selecting younger and more appropriately qualified Chinese scholars to visit Australia.

Australia has continued to provide the Secretariat for the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) and this role has been eminently suited to the Academy's objectives in promoting the social sciences in the region. Much is being gained, and expertise drawn, from foreign research collaboration and exchanges with international counterparts. Although the Academy's term as Secretariat will be completed at the end of the year it will remain as a member of the Executive Council of the Association, with Professor MacDonagh continuing to serve in the Executive as Vice-President.

Membership in the Consultative Committee of the Australian Academies is central to the Academy's policies in representing the social sciences in dialogue with those of humanities, sciences and technology. Co-operation and consultation between the four learned Academies is managed through twice-yearly meetings and regular contact between their executives. No more important issue has been raised in our consultations than the expected serious shortfall in high quality University teachers in Australia later in this decade. Together with the Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee, the Academies are exploring the possibility of holding a national symposium, and a smaller workshop, to draw the issue to the attention of Government and the public.

The Academy continued to produce publications on issues of national and international interest and importance. The bold initiative taken by the Academy in conducting a workshop in Canberra on Aboriginal employment equity has been referred to already. Equally important and of increasingly urgent concern to social scientists, the issues of changes in the global environment were subject to review in the Academy monograph, *Global Change: The Human Dimensions*. Two other monographs, *Linguistics in Australia* and *Australian National Identity*, were published during 1991. A Publications Committee was formed early in the year to establish policy and publishing guidelines for the Academy's publication program.



# The Academy and its Objectives

The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia (prior to July 1971 the Social Science Research Council of Australia) is a corporate body of social scientists. Its functions are

- (i) to encourage the advancement of the social sciences in Australia;
- (ii) to act as a co-ordinating group for the promotion of research and teaching in the social sciences;
- (iii) to foster research and to subsidise the publication of studies in the social sciences;
- (iv) To encourage and assist in the formation of other national associations or institutions for the promotion of the social sciences or any branch of them;
- (v) to act as the Australian national member of international organisations connected with social sciences; and
- (vi) to act as a consultant and adviser in regard to social sciences.

Each member, on election to the Academy, takes the title of Fellow. As at 11 November 1991 there were 237 Fellows of the Academy. New Fellows are elected by postal ballot on the recommendation of the Membership Committee. The Academy's functions are discharged by an Annual General Meeting and the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee consists of the President, the Treasurer, the Executive Director and seven other members all elected at the Annual General Meeting.

Since 1953 the Australian Government has provided an annual grant to assist the Academy to meet administrative and travel costs.

Four Panels, each representing related groups of disciplines as described on pages 83-84, serve the Academy with advice relating to membership matters, the selection of new research topics and general policy issues. Panel activities are supplemented by assemblies of Fellows on a State basis which meet from time to time in the various capital cities to discuss issues of current significance to particular States or other matters referred to them by the Executive.

The Academy conducts and co-ordinates research projects. Some have led to the production of major series of books and monographs; others have been of more limited scope. It conducts annual symposia, usually on matters involving the application of the social sciences to current problems, and is producing a series of books on the development of the various social sciences in Australia. The Academy frequently acts as an adviser and consultant to government. It is involved in a number of international projects. It maintains close relationships with other Australian Learned Academies: The Australian Academy of Science; the Australian Academy of the Humanities; and the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering. It also provided the Secretariat for the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils of which the Executive Director of the Academy was Secretary-General.

All of these subjects are set out in more detail later in this *Report*.

# Academy Award

The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia Medal honours younger Australians who have achieved excellence in scholarship in the social sciences.

Award conditions are that the award shall be for recent work, not necessarily one particular book or monograph; that nominations be submitted by two Fellows of the Academy; that the choice of the recipient be made by a Selection Committee comprising the President, Executive Director and Chairpersons of Panels; that Fellows of the Academy are ineligible; and that the Medal be presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Academy. The Award recipient may be invited to speak about her/his work to the Fellowship on that occasion.



*Dr Peter Higgs*

While no age limit is placed on nominations for the Award, the general intention is to encourage younger scholars. The Medal itself features a laurel of Australian flora on one side and the Southern Cross constellation on the other. The disciplines of the Academy are represented by sixteen interlocking bronze blades, symbolising unity, strength and progress. The terms of the award, **For Scholarship**, are highlighted on the obverse side of the Medal. Medal sets, comprising Medal, lapel pin and presentation box, have been produced by the Royal Australian Mint.

Past Awards have been granted to:

1987 — Richard George Fox, for scholarship in the fields of Criminology and the Administration of Criminal Justice.

1988 — Wojciech Sadurski, for scholarship in the field of Jurisprudence and the Philosophy of Law.

1989 — Gregory J. Whitwell, for outstanding accomplishment and promise in the field of Economic History.

1990 — Vicki Lee, for scholarship displaying high intelligence and breadth of understanding in the field of Psychology.

The recipient of the Academy Medal for 1991 is Dr Peter Higgs, Reader in the Graduate School of Management at the University of Melbourne. Dr Higgs was born in 1959, and after graduating with First Class Honours in Economics at La Trobe University, went on to complete Master's and Doctoral degrees at Harvard University. His 1986 volume, *Adaptation and Survival in Australian Agriculture* has already been described as 'something of a classic', and he has done distinguished work in the fields of agricultural policy analysis, regional economics and financial economics.



# Australian-Asian Perceptions Project

Differences in values and perceptions, as we are increasingly recognising, cause all manner of confusion in Australia's relations with Asian countries. To understand disagreements over such issues as human rights, business practice, press freedom or national security, it is necessary to probe the various value systems operating in the region. Australia's 'otherness', no less than the 'otherness' of our Asian neighbours, requires analysis.

Recognising the national importance of these matters, the Academy of the Social Sciences decided in 1989 to undertake a national study, the Australian-Asian Perceptions Project. The Project was to seek (a) to examine differences between, and similarities in, Australian and Asian world views, and why these have arisen; and (b) to explain the way our respective world views affect our responses to complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity in political, commercial and strategic relationships and in the media.

In recognising the Project's importance, the Australian Research Council (in 1990) agreed to support the Academy, providing \$300,000 for the three-year project. The Council supported the Academy's view that again and again, in business, governmental, educational and other contacts between Australians and Asians, reference is made — usually in unexplained terms — to cultural differences being the cause of difficulties in communication, disagreement about mutual obligations, confusion over law, and the like. The project would aim at identifying what constitute the dominant world views in Australia and Asia, emphasising what appear to be different approaches in various parts of Asia. It would examine concrete cases of apparent differences which have arisen over specific matters. It would also include studies of differences in legal, business and governmental practices, in the media, and in the perceptions of foreignness. The differences and similarities in such things as community values, systems of rules, and social aspirations, which underlie differences or perceptions of differences that occur in practice in our business and governmental relations would be examined.

It is envisaged that the Project will publish three volumes of its work in 1994. The volumes will provide an overview of the cultural and ideological identities of the countries of Asia, their differences and similarities both among themselves and in relation to that of Australia; a set of case studies of Australian relations with Asia in recent times, thereby identifying the impact of the world views on understandings and misunderstandings in economic, political and other relations; and a collection of comparative studies devoted to an explication of the (often unstated) practices and beliefs which underlie the legal, business, governmental and social systems in Asia.

Apart from this three volume set the Project will publish an 'Executive Summary', including appropriate recommendations for business, government, education and the wider community.

In March this year the Academy appointed a Project Director, Dr Anthony Milner, to provide leadership in obtaining the co-operation of scholars and experts, to participate in research, to edit, and to supervise the progress of the work as a whole. A Project Assistant, Mrs Leanne Lynch, was appointed in July.

The possible scope, subject matter and methodology of the Project was the subject of a workshop held in Canberra on 3 and 4 May. Participants at the workshop included leading academic specialists in Asian and Australian Studies, and senior representatives from Government and the private sector.

The workshop was divided into three sections, corresponding with the topics of the anticipated three Project volumes. The first workshop session, 'World Views: an Introduction' commenced with a short paper by Dr James Cotton and was chaired by Mrs Elaine McKay; the second session, dealing with 'Case Studies', was introduced by Professor Stuart Harris and chaired by Dr Richard Higgott; and the final session, 'Comparative Studies', was opened by Professor J. D. B. Miller and chaired by Professor Nancy Viviani.

The workshop resulted in suggestions concerning appropriate topics and participants for the Project. Several recommendations were also made relating to structure and organisation. The process of the Project, it was argued, is as significant as the final publications: regular seminars might involve interested people from outside Academia; and means have to be found to involve Asia-based participants. Publication, many suggested, should not wait until the end of the Project: a series of 'research papers' would be one means of disseminating and publicising research.

Following the Canberra workshop and other Project discussions held in Perth, Brisbane, Armidale, Melbourne and Sydney, a Project research strategy was developed.

First, a series of case studies on Australian-Asian relations is being commissioned. The studies will be concerned with such topics as:

- The Australian-Malaysian Relationship
- The Australian-Japanese Coal Negotiations
- The Korean Beef Trade
- The Multi-Function Polis
- The Australian Human Rights Delegation to China
- Australia's Cambodia Initiative
- Philippines' Brides
- Indonesian Fishermen

At the first-draft stage these case studies will be presented to specially designed seminars, usually involving both Asianists and Australianists, and sometimes including people with a practical interest in the topic. Final drafts will be published, in the first instance, as 'research papers'. Later versions of the studies will be included in the Project's three-volume series. A number of the case studies are being commissioned jointly with 'The Australian Foreign Policy Publications Programme' (based at the Australian National University and sponsored by the Department of Employment, Education and Training).



Secondly, comparative studies will be undertaken by means of 'composition meetings'. As so little actual comparative research is currently in progress in Australia it is difficult to commission single-author essays on many of the comparative themes nominated in the original ARC application. The 'composition meetings', which will be held at various locations around the country, will facilitate joint authorship. Each meeting will involve five or six specialists including at least two Northeast Asianists, two Southeast Asianists and an Australianist. All of the 'composition meetings' will be concerned with 'comparative perceptions', that is to say, with differences and similarities in cultural categories operating in Australia and Asia. The meetings will examine 'perception' in such fields as:

- |                         |                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| - The Education Process | - Labour Relations |
| - Human Rights          | - Citizenship      |
| - Business Ethics       | - Contract in Law  |
| - National Security     | - Sexuality        |
| - The Environment       | - The Media        |

Other possible topics include Democracy, Immigration, Culture, Tourism, Minorities, Trust and Nationalism.

The length of 'composition meetings' will be about five days and they will produce a forty to sixty page working paper. As in the case of the 'case studies', the papers will be published as 'research papers' and, later, as chapters in a single volume concerned with 'Comparative Perceptions'. In the case of those 'comparative perceptions' topics which are considered to be of particularly wide public interest, it is planned to hold a large seminar to be addressed by the relevant research panel. These large seminars will provide an excellent opportunity to publicise the Australian-Asian Perceptions Project.

In order to fund the 'composition meetings' on 'comparative perceptions', assistance is being sought from a number of universities, institutes and government departments. The prospects for obtaining such assistance are promising. In some cases we have already received firm assurances.

Preparations for the introductory 'Cultural and Ideological Identities' volume will commence when stages one and two have been effectively launched.

The 'case studies' and 'comparative perceptions' research papers will be published, on behalf of the Australian-Asian Perceptions Project, by The Asia-Australia Institute of the University of New South Wales.

Following the Canberra workshop, the following accepted invitations to form the Project Advisory Committee: Dr J. Cotton, Sir Neil Currie, Professor D. Goodman, Professor S. Harris, Professor J. D. Legge, Professor J. D. B. Miller Professor A. J. S. Reid and Professor Nancy Viviani.

# 1991 Workshops

During 1991 three Workshops have been held. Twelve proposals for Workshops were made at the Annual General Meeting, and a number of these set in train at the Executive Meeting in April. However, to date, only one has been held: that on Citizenship.

**The Future of Australian Citizenship** was discussed at a Workshop held on 28-29

June. Professors Barry Hindess and Stuart Macintyre were convenors, and a brief summary of proceedings was published in the September issue of *ASSA News*.



*Participants at the Australian and Asian Perceptions Workshop: left to right Professor Malcolm Smith, Ms A. Broinowski, Professor D. Horne and Sir Neil Currie.*

Other Workshops held during the year arose from rather different considerations. That on **Aboriginal Employment Equity by the Year 2000** (21-22 March) was held as a preliminary national seminar in preparation for the Biennial Symposium of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils on Human Resource Development. The terms of reference for this Symposium, sponsored by UNESCO, were broad, and the Academy felt that to focus on some aspect of Aboriginal issues would be both an appropriate and a useful contribution to a Symposium involving nineteen countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Advice was sought from scholars in the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR) in the Australian National University, and the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). Dr Jon Altman from CAEPR agreed to convene the Workshop, and a balance of scholars, policy makers and policy recipients was included among participants.

Although this Workshop operated on the usual principles — numbers limited to 20-30, interdisciplinary participation, intensive program including lunches and dinner taken together over two days — it was also rather different. From the beginning, it was intended to publish a selection of papers to take to the AASSREC-UNESCO Symposium, and one of the Aboriginal participants was to be chosen to present a summary of the proceedings in Manila.

The Workshop, through the rapid publication of papers, has in fact reached a wide audience and generated a good deal of interest. The Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Robert Tickner, has commissioned an enquiry into Aboriginal employment (September), and while the Academy cannot claim to have influenced such a decision, a copy of our publication has been sent to the Commissioner, Elliot Johnston QC, to assist him in his enquiries.



A second Workshop on **Australian and Asian Perceptions**, held on 3-4 May, was also conceived as serving a different function. Dr Anthony Milner convened this Workshop as an initial step in testing the research waters in his role as Project Director for the Academy's three-year Project of the same title. A variety of scholars, senior Government officials and business people were brought together to discuss many aspects of the Project. Further details on the Project and its progress can be found elsewhere in the Annual Report.

Workshops on which discussions are proceeding, with a view to being scheduled during 1992 include:

- **Women: Restructuring Work and Welfare in Australia** (Dr Susan Magarey and Dr Anne Edwards)
- **Federalism**
- **Population Policy**
- **Ethics Industry**
- **Industrial Relations**

A further proposal for a Workshop on **Australia and Latin America: the Foreign Debt Experience** is being explored.

Workshops to date have included 20-30 participants, but the Academy is also exploring the possibility of convening those with even fewer participants (10-12) which would allow more flexibility in terms of numbers of Workshops, and venues available. Clearly, some topics lend themselves more readily to smaller groups, while others make it difficult to insist on a maximum of 30 participants. The format is a successful one, and there is much to recommend an extension of this aspect of Academy activities.

The Academy wishes to thank those who convened Workshops during the year: Dr Jon Altman, Professor Barry Hindess, Professor Stuart Macintyre and Dr Anthony Milner.

## Joint Academy Activities

**R**elationship with government, concern over the developing situation on the availability of high quality university teachers and the future direction for Australian research have dominated consultation between the four learned Academies during 1991. The Academies continued to consider the funding of research, the funding of representation of national disciplinary bodies in international organisations, and the recognition of each of the four Academies as the national representative for the scholarly disciplines within their respective memberships.

The need to establish a consultative body between the learned academies, to tackle problems of common interest, including some of international importance, was recognised in the early 1970s. The three Academies at that time, the Academy of Science, the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Social Science Research Council of Australia (changed to the Academy of the Social

Sciences in Australia in 1971), set up a Consultative Committee consisting of their presidents and several other members from each Academy. The purpose of the Committee was not only to consider joint research projects but also matters of interest to scholars in all fields. Later this Committee was joined by the fourth learned Academy, the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering.

During 1991 Joint Academy sub-committees considered the funding of libraries and examined the continuing integrity and status of museums. Other issues reviewed during the year included continued membership of the Pacific Science Association, possible contribution to the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction and membership of the proposed Consultative Council for the Institute of Advanced Studies.

## ASSA News

The newsletter of the Academy, *ASSA News*, is published twice annually, in March and September. The purpose of the newsletter is to inform Fellows and other interested people about the activities and views of the Academy.

The latter are expressed through columns written by the Executive Director and the President, regular features of the newsletter. While it is sometimes difficult to identify a 'view' which properly represents the sixteen disciplines incorporated in the Academy, there are concerns in common among social scientists, and it is the Academy's responsibility to express them.

With regard to the activities of the Academy, Fellows are kept informed through the newsletter. Given that the Academy is a national body, and a number of its Fellows currently are employed in overseas institutions, *ASSA News* provides links across disciplines and states. In addition, news of honours and appointments, and deaths are included.

Activities reported include summary proceedings of the Workshops which the Academy holds regularly each year. Some of these proceedings are subsequently published, and those interested in doing so may purchase copies when advertised through the section on publications.

During 1991, a major three-year Project was initiated by the Academy, on Australian and Asian Perceptions, and brief reports on the progress of this Project have been included in the newsletter.

International news includes reports on exchanges and contacts with similar bodies in other countries. During 1991 the Academy acted as Secretariat for the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils, and Fellows have been informed of the Academy's functions in this role through the newsletter.

Although *ASSA News* is primarily directed towards Fellows, attempts are made to distribute it more widely, so that interested people can learn something of the nature of the Academy. As the Academy is government-funded, politicians



and government officials would naturally wish to be informed concerning the use of those funds, and the newsletter also performs this function.

During 1992, it is hoped that the format of *ASSA News* will be improved, and its content expanded by contributions from other Fellows in the Academy who wish to comment on aspects of the social sciences.

## Administration

The Academy's Executive Committee Meeting on 23 April marked the retirement from the Executive of Professor Bruce Miller. Professor Oliver MacDonagh was appointed Executive Director on 1 May 1991 with the added responsibility of replacing Professor Miller as Secretary-General of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC).

In August, Professor MacDonagh, Dr Job and Professor Smolicz attended the 9th AASSREC Biennial Conference in Manila following which the Academy's two-year term as Secretariat for the organisation was completed. The Academy will, however, continue to provide editorial direction for AASSREC's monograph series, *Introducing Asian Societies*. Dr Charles Price has been appointed to supervise the next three numbers.

Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Academy were held on 23 April, 9 September and 11 November. Meetings of the Consultative Committee of the Australian Academies were held on 5 April and 25 October, and the Membership Committee met on 9 July to consider nominations for election of new Fellows in 1991. The Academy Award Committee met on 9 September.

Administrative support was provided in the conduct of a number of Academy Workshops in Canberra. A number of Academy newsletters, the 1990 Annual Lecture and Abstracts of Academy Workshops were published during the year.

During the year Professor MacDonagh visited Academy Branches in Sydney and Adelaide to discuss future Academy programs and possible new policy directions. While on leave in Argentina and Mexico, Dr Job initiated contact with the Latin American Council of the Social Sciences and the Mexican Council of the Social Sciences. Barry Clissold, also while on leave, made contact with the American Academy of Arts and Science, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington.

The Academy continues to occupy offices in the Garden Wing, University House, The Australian National University, Canberra.

# 1990 Academy Annual Symposium

## EUROPE IN THE 1990S – A CONTINENT RESTORED?

DR CORAL BELL

With the ongoing convulsions in Eastern Europe continuing to dominate the news, and with the prospective completion of a single integrated market in most of Western Europe close at hand, the Academy decided that the examination of both halves of now not-quite-so-divided Europe should produce lively discussion. This indeed proved to be the case, and the contributions of the distinguished panelists and their audience were both prophetic and scholarly. The consensus of discussion from the floor at the end of the day was that the study of Europe had in recent years been neglected in Australia, and that it should be revised and strengthened.

## REVOLUTION IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE

PROFESSOR EUGENE KAMENKA

Remarkable upheavals took place in the USSR, Eastern and Central Europe in 1989 and 1990. They constitute what Marxists and Hegelians used to call a world-historical event. They also constitute a revolution, or a series of revolutions, as decisive as those of 1848. Those 1848 revolutions achieved comparatively little in the short term, but they stand as milestones on a Central, Southern and East European march to democracy and national self-determination. The years 1989-90 have already achieved more spectacular success, for this time the Russian Empire no longer stands unshaken as the cornerstone of reaction supporting the enemies of renewed revolution everywhere. The revolutions of 1989 and 1990 and the external and internal break-up of the Soviet Empire came simultaneously and they were part of one and the same process. Many in the countries affected see them as consummations of hopes and aims engendered in 1884 and of the belated dismantling of the last colonial empire.

Political revolutions have been defined, or characterised, as comparatively sharp, sudden transformations involving fundamental changes in the location of social power, the basis of legitimacy and the structure of society, the economy and the state. The years 1989-90 in the former Communist world, at least in Europe and Soviet Asia, have seen such a transformation, though to varying degrees in the different countries and departments of political, social and economic life. Those years threw into prominence and then largely consummated an unprecedented, widespread and open internal demand for breaking the Communist Party's and the Communist state's monopolies of power – political



power, cultural power, economic power. Multi-party political systems and uncontrolled candidature for elections are springing up all over this part of the Communist world: where they are accompanied by reasonable freedom of electioneering and reasonable honest elections, they are ensuring the decisive defeat of the Communist Party as a political ruler or even as a political force. At the administrative level, the situation is more complex – especially in the economy. Communist Parties may disappear, but economic structures cannot and do not disappear overnight; many former Communists may and do succeed in overtly changing themselves, while retaining their experience, their connections, some of their power base and much of their working style. The problem will be similar to that which occurred in Germany during denazification, but with the balance of power not so decidedly on the side of the new broom. Religion and nationalism, viciously suppressed by the Communists as independent ideologies and institutional forms, are rushing to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of Communist ideology. They are attracting enormous popular support – especially where the two can be intertwined. Nevertheless, whatever the outcome, the bases of Communist Party legitimacy in the European world have been fatally undermined. The Party's claim to represent the voice of history and to be the promoter of a rational economic organisation of society, or of 'true' democracy and social justice, carries no conviction whatever any more among its own people. As Communist Party legitimacy and power crumble, as files become public, the Party's recent operations and statecraft stand revealed as the rule of liars and cynics, shrinking from no dishonesty and no brutality.

The collapse of Communist power and Communist legitimacy in the USSR and Europe has also produced another revolution – a total upheaval in the international order, in the system of blocs and alliances, in the military and political divisions of the world map. The unification of Germany proceeded at incredible speed because the people of Germany East had lost all belief in the political institutions and legitimacy of their separate state and because the Soviet Union was no longer willing to support its puppet government by force. Inside and outside the Soviet Union, the former Communist world looks to the political and legal systems and constitutions of western democracy and to the advanced private enterprise economies of the West for salvation and immediate help – economically, so far as business organisation is concerned, to Germany, perhaps, even more than to the United States. Political, cultural and economic ties, broken by Soviet hegemony, are being restored: Germans are again welcome in parts of Poland at least, and even in the Georgia and Armenia where their troops, seventy years ago, helped set up an independent Caucasian federation. Hungary has high hopes of Austria. Jacobinism and with it much of the French Revolution are discredited, while the American Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution with its Bill of Rights, its separation of powers and its federal structure of states once more inspire.

Four factors have driven the revolution in Communist countries in so far as it is a revolution from below. One is the demand for democracy, freedom of speech and civil rights, strongest among the educated and in those countries that have had a substantial past tradition of civil and political freedom, especially if that tradition was interrupted more recently, and if a unionised workforce has a past background of independent union discussion and activity. Second, and perhaps



broader in its appeal, is the demand for genuine national self-determination. Third, and in many countries again much broader in its appeal, is the demand for restoration of a personal or a national religion and its institutions and corporate life. Fourth, but by no means least important, is that great generator of revolutionary change, a sharp economic reversal against a background of rising economic expectations, expectations that have risen even more sharply as Communist citizens became more aware of the standard of living of the western, 'capitalist' world. The economic reversals, and the growing lack of faith in the capacity of Communist governments to improve the situation, no doubt gave the democratic, national and religious protests their explosive power, but the three were also intertwined. What is more, the economic disasters of Communism are widely perceived as having been exacerbated by economic and political isolation. Democratic reform and the building or rebuilding of a civil society outside the state, it is hoped by many, will make foreign aid and investment flow more freely, but also ultimately liberate and nurture enterprise within the society. There is fear, too, that without major political change, foreign aid and foreign investment will flow, as it does in China, into pockets already well-lined with the rewards of political power and corruption.

Explosive or not, revolutionary protest required something else for success – weakness and lack of confidence among the rulers. It is possible to sit on bayonets; it is much more difficult to live with or stop a half-hearted process of reform or the growing realisation from below that you have not the will or capacity to use force to its very limit. Many contingent factors, from the election of a Polish Pope to the increasing significance of international tourism, strengthened the protest movement in Communist countries. But the proximate cause of the revolution or revolutions was the withdrawal by Gorbachev of total (including military) support for past Soviet puppets.

The explosive factors, that intertwined to produce revolution, soon come apart, appearing to threaten each other. Democracy can threaten or appear to threaten national unity and economic development; national and religious enthusiasm divide citizens and confront democratic freedoms; economic decentralisation and insistence on profits creates social and class division. This is why revolutions so often prove unstable in their subsequent development and why contingency plays such a major role in determining the outcome. The future suddenly requires qualities quite different from those needed last year: moderation of national and religious bigotry, the blending of freedom with a willingness to help just authority, accommodation and not only intransigence.

The reasons for the collapse of will at the top fascinate. They do attract more general, 'social science' type explanations: the growing education and sophistication and foreign contact of a numerically increasing ruling elite; its realisation that the post-industrial technology cannot be run on fear or by centralised hierarchically transmitted command. The top levels of the KGB, from being the villain of the Soviet drama, are now seen by some as a comparatively realistic, educated force, turning from thuggery to the promotion of Gorbachev. But the more closely we study this or any other revolution, the more suspicious we become of dominant factor explanations, of single process causalities, of the



elevation of necessity and irresistible trends. Still, it is, I should think, too late for anyone in the USSR to reverse that policy and restore the previous political order or to save an internally centralised Moscow-controlled USSR. Regional dictatorship is possible; the restoration of Marxism-Leninism, of a centralised Soviet Empire and of monocratic socialism is not.

Revolutions are times of extraordinary ferment, of rapid change, of the breakdown of traditional social groupings. They do not lend themselves well to social analyses that elevate one determining factor, that ignore ideology or use theories of class and stratification which treat such groupings as self-interested, static and given. They are not well understood or even well described by those who think that politics is the study of who gets what, when and how, and nothing else, or by those who turn their usually considerable analytical and pragmatic skills to thought games, 'original positions' and designing institutions. It is the cultural tone of a society, its traditions and lifestyles, its language as a repository of culture, morality and outlook that provide the most striking element of continuity, re-emerging as terror retreats. That is why social scientists as social scientists are not comfortable with revolutions and why writers are.

The attempt to describe or predict events in the Communist world in terms of statically defined interest groups – elites, Party ideologues, State bureaucrats and managers, technical experts, free intellectuals etc. – has created as many problems as it solved. It has been rejected by those participant-observers not tainted by Marxism in favour of the postulation of a simple fundamental conflict between the honest and the dishonest, partly but not wholly seen as a conflict between young and old. No wonder social scientists readily despair of revolutions. The moralist, the *litterateur*, the novelist and the pamphleteer understand them much better. A revolution is an experience that *changes* people, for better *and* for worse.

Do general theories of Communism, and of revolution, give us any more insights than statically oriented social science? Marxism does not. Even though it need not be tied or confined to Leninist Communism as the true Marxist orthodoxy, Marxism – any Marxism – now needs much more than revision. It is at best a component – a suspect, not well formulated component – in a wider climate represented by that part of modern social and historical theory that has in any case recognised the historicity of social events and ideals, the existence of conflict and interest groups in any society and the importance – at times the centrality – of production in human societies. Many non-Marxists, of course, were sucked into believing and supporting the Communist myth by simple credulity, by a distaste for recognising nastiness and an enmity toward those they thought would benefit from the critique of Communism. For long, books of the 'I Was a Victim of Stalin's Terror' variety gave us a much more accurate picture of the Soviet Union than did Sovietologists; so did the committed emigres gathered around the Menshevik press and the Trotskyist *Bulletin of the Opposition*. Now, even Marxists have seen the light, acknowledging that history, including the history of revolutions, is more complex than their theories and that their confidence in being able to shape its course was fundamentally misplaced.

The collapse of Communism as Soviet hegemony (whether that hegemony was direct or, as in China now, by ideological inspiration) and of one-party

unaccountable rule is connected but not identical with eroding faith in other aspects of both Marxism and socialism: their belief in economic planning, their rejection of private property and the profit motive as suitable bases for a free and prosperous society, their backing of centralisation against pluralism and local initiative. The trends here are worldwide, but not historically decisive. More people in Communist countries support state control of prices, and even of the marketing of output, than support Communist political repression, censorship and one-party control. Many workers fear private ownership and even profit-related reward for their labour; most workers fear even more strongly that agriculture can grow prosperous and that consumer goods can become more varied only at the consumer's expense. They can see prices rising; they do not believe wages will rise. Better to do no real work and get little than to work hard and still get little. *Glasnost*, in short, seemed an initial success, even if it has liberated very radical demands for democratic freedoms, human rights and national sovereignty much more quickly than anyone expected. It has, like all political freedom everywhere, liberated some very nasty xenophobic forces as well – and it is seriously threatened by them or because of them. *Perestroika* is not a success, not yet at least, and few believe it will be. Here, people in Eastern Europe and the USSR have a stronger sense than those who live in immigration societies of the central role played by what Russians call the culture of living and work, shaped by past material, social and political conditions and not easily exported or revolutionised overnight, or even in a generation. Even in Eastern Europe, it is hard to see the vitality and dedication that made the post-war Marshall Plan such a success. The end of Communism, in short, is not the beginning of the millenium.

## THE LANGUAGE BALANCE IN A CHANGING EUROPE

### PROFESSOR MICHAEL CLYNE

One of the functions of languages is to mark group boundaries. The 19th century was the century of the European 'nation-state' based on the Herderian principle 'Language makes culture makes nation'. Current developments are paradoxical in that they mark a return to the language-based nation-state in some parts of Europe and a superceding of it in others.

At present, over sixty languages are used in Europe. Of these, 48 are official national languages. Seventeen have more than 10 million native speakers and 22 less than one million. There are only two 'big' languages – Russian with some 105 million native speakers in Europe and German with 100 million. We can distinguish between languages of wider communication (international languages), national languages, and regional languages.

The *languages of wider communication* in Europe are basically English, French, and German, with a decreasing role for Russian. English is unique in that it has a small native-speaking population in Europe (no more than 58 million) but a commanding status as a second or foreign language. All the



languages of wider communication are employed as lingua francas, i.e. between groups of people, none of whom have the language as a native language.

Languages of wider communication and many other languages are *national languages*, the official languages of nations – e.g. French, German, Dutch, Finnish, Polish, Slovak. Some of the national languages are pluricentric, i.e. they have several interacting centres, each of which provides a different national norm. Among pluricentric languages are English, French, Spanish, German and Swedish. The first three have both European and non-European centres; the last two have only European ones. Variation is mainly in the lexicosemantic, pragmatic, and phonological areas, rarely in grammar.

The *regional languages* are either minority languages such as Vlach (Rumanian in Greece), Slovak in Yugoslavia, German and Hungarian in Rumania or majority languages in particular regions, such as Sardinian and Catalan. It will be noted that there is considerable overlap between the above categories.

At this juncture, it might be appropriate to define 'language', and this can be done in two ways – *linguistically*, according to distance from the form of other languages, and *sociolinguistically*, according to the functions that have been developed for it. Although the distance between Czech and Slovak is slight, they have been planned into separate languages. As language status is considered an index of a claim to nationhood, there is a strong political motivation to emphasise differences by making vocabularies diverge, by codifying differences, and developing formal functions for the language, such as use in non-fiction literature. In 1984, Letzebuergesch, gradually planned out of German dialects spoken in Luxembourg, was declared an official language alongside German and French. There had long been a functional specialisation between the three. Letzebuergesch had always been the mother tongue of the entire population, who became trilingual through schooling. The more formal functions (e.g. in law, administration, media) had been fulfilled by French and German, but Letzebuergesch is making inroads here. This is part of a trend towards identification at the regional level which has increased the functions of and improved attitudes towards dialects throughout Europe since the early 1970s.

Four principal political developments in Europe – recent and imminent – are likely to have a major linguistic impact:

- (i) *The autonomy of former Soviet satellite countries*, especially the GDR (leading to German unification), but also Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.
- (ii) *The possible independence of some non-Russian Soviet republics*, e.g. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia. Since the beginning of 1990, eight Soviet republics have declared their own language to be the official language of their republic.
- (iii) The likely disintegration of Yugoslavia.
- (iv) *The movement towards the economic and political integration of Europe (as from 1992)*. The integration process will now include central, northern and

eastern European nations which were previously neutral, members of the Soviet bloc or even part of the Soviet Union.

It would appear that there are two quite contradictory tendencies at work in Europe today – one diversificational, the other massificational – on the one hand a return to the 19th century language-based nation-state in Germany and Central Europe, and on the other a movement, especially in the west towards a multilingual Europe. This paradox, which can be seen as a developmental lag, is perhaps not as absurd as it may seem, for there are parallels in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and even in today's multicultural Australia, where many have two levels of identity. It should be added that many Germans see German unification as the first step in European unity.

Let us now turn to the likely linguistic outcomes of the political changes.

While German lost most of its prewar status as a European *lingua franca* in the west, it continued to exercise that function in Eastern Europe, for four reasons:

It was the language of trade between the economically powerful GDR and the other East Bloc countries;

It was the main language of technology transfer between the western and eastern blocs;

Russian, the 'officially promoted' *lingua franca* was very unpopular;

German was the language of the first 'migration countries' that Eastern Europeans could escape to.

Continuing trade and contact between united Germany and the Central and Eastern European nations is likely to enhance the position of German. For the time being at least, German will function as a *lingua franca* between, say, Hungarians and Czechs or Poles. The establishment of an Alpine-Adriatic co-operative network (covering Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Yugoslavia, especially Croatia and Slovenia) has provided another function for German as a *lingua franca*. There are divided opinions among Germans as to how much to 'push' their language at this stage; some favouring restraint to allay fears of new nationalism accompanying German unity and economic power, others arguing the need for German to become the third language of the European community, something which would offer non-francophones an alternative to English hegemony. It may well be that the introduction of English as the first foreign language in Eastern European schools will cause a swing to English as the *lingua franca*, or that Russian, once freed of its negative political connotations, will ultimately be favoured by speakers of Slavic languages. However, I believe that all present indications point to a revival of the status of German. In the case of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, they may develop their prewar German links but it is more likely that, using Finno-Estonian contacts as a basis, they will align themselves with the Nordic countries, using English as their *lingua franca*.

Unification will render superfluous the controversial East German national variety of Standard German. It differed from the West German one in vocabulary (especially in the public sphere), meanings, and communication



patterns rather than in grammar and pronunciation. Because of the ideology claiming that the two Germanies were separate nations, the GDR supported the notion of four national varieties of Standard German, playing up east-west linguistic differences until the early 80s while the Federal Republic played them down from the mid-60s on. As the GDR has been incorporated into the Federal Republic, convergence towards the West German Standard will occur. Much of the institutional vocabulary will become obsolete. Code-switching between public and private registers, which was prevalent in the GDR, will probably disappear. However, present indications are that some GDR vocabulary will continue to be used. On the whole, the GDR variety is likely to become regionalised or age-specific.

The status of Austrian Standard German may be weakened by the absence of protection by the GDR's 'four national variety policy'. Austria (population 7½ million) will be 'swamped' by a single German state with a total population of over 80 million, and has lost its role as an intermediary between the two Germanies. On the other hand, Austrian German may become the variety favoured as a lingua franca by the restored nations of Central Europe. This will be particularly the case in Hungary, which now has 40 Austrian *lektoren* at its universities. The German of German newspapers in Czechoslovakia has been a mixture of GDR and Austrian varieties. On the other hand, the economic attraction of Germany to Czechs and to Croats, whose links with Germany have been strengthened by migration, should not be underestimated.

With the likely dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Croatian and Serbian National varieties of Serbo-Croatian will probably develop independently. The opposite tendency is apparent in the Moldavian Republic. When it became part of the Soviet Union in 1941, the Moldavian variety of Rumanian was planned into a separate language and written in Cyrillic script. Earlier this year, as part of its independence movement, Moldavia declared 'Rumanian' to be the language of the Republic. It is now written in Roman script again, and a convergence towards Rumanian across the border is taking place.

As Europe is heading towards integration, the position of minor languages is strengthening, even where they are not national languages. Spain is promoting Catalan, Galician and Basque as part of its language policy. Welsh, Sorbian, Lithuanian, Frisian, Macedonian, and many other languages will be protected under new European language policies. Official status in the 'old-style' nation-state is going to be increasingly irrelevant in the Europe of post 1992. What would make Danish with 5 million native speakers more significant than Catalan with 7 million, or Welsh (½ million) less important than Icelandic (250,000)? A European charter for regional or minority languages currently before the Council of Europe will give minorities rights to their language in education, public services, media, cultural activities, and care of the aged, as well as support for 'trans-frontier' exchange, minority languages often being spoken on borders.

Though the strong position of English as a language of wider communication, especially in the academic and technological spheres, is irreversible, many countries now regret the emphasis that they have placed on English or Russian in

education. The postwar Anglo-Russian hegemony will be broken, with more languages being taught in schools. In some countries, more programs will be offered in languages of neighbouring countries. A Language Policy for the Netherlands recommends a return to an earlier system where **three** languages, English, German and French are an integral part of schooling, with some additional offerings in Spanish and the ethnic languages, Arabic and Turkish. Free movement of Europeans after 1992 will entail far more bilingual education. Immersion programs are now in operation, or being proposed in Catalonia, Finland, Germany, Switzerland, and Turkey.

As Europe's identity changes to a multicultural one, a Europe of many cultural rather than national identities, its future will be multilingual.

## THE SOVIET UNION AND CENTRAL EUROPE: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST UNDER POST-COMMUNISM DR ROBERT F. MILLER

**T**here can be little doubt that the changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe during the past year represent a major turning point in recent world history. The veritable collapse of communism as an alternative world system has, in ending the Cold War, not only eliminated a primary source of international tensions, but also profoundly affected the basic structure of international politics. While the USSR and the USA remain by far the most powerful strategic nuclear actors on the world stage, the international context in which they operate can no longer be considered bipolar in any meaningful sense. The co-operation between them in the United Nations during the current Persian Gulf crisis, is indicative of this change in the structure of international politics.

It is commonly argued in the USA and, more rarely, elsewhere in the West that the principal cause of the decline in Soviet imperial aspirations was the determination of Washington, under President Ronald Reagan, to raise the stakes of the arms race (symbolised by the 'Strategic Defence Initiative') and to contest Soviet penetration in the Third World by a reprise of John Foster Dulles's 'roll-back' strategy. Mikhail S. Gorbachev, so the argument runs, ultimately came to recognise that the Soviet economy was simply unable to meet this challenge without risking deterioration of domestic consumption and an accompanying upsurge of social discontent.

There is some merit in this argument, but it is obviously incomplete and simplistic. It fails to deal adequately with the psychological dimensions of Soviet perceptions in the early 1980s of the threats, but also the opportunities, posed by the impasse in East-West relations. Most importantly for our purposes here, it does not account adequately for the **timing** of the change in Soviet policy – the



'**new political thinking**', as Gorbachev calls it. Namely, the argument does not give sufficient weight to the impact on Soviet thinking of the growing significance of the European Community as a more or less independent factor in international economics and policies and of the special salience of the December, 1992 target date for West European economic union.

Soviet understanding of the benefits of economic ties to Western Europe did not, of course, begin with Gorbachev. In the initial flowering of *detente* in the early 1970s, Brezhnev and his colleagues had developed a healthy appetite for Western technology and know-how. Indeed, in certain areas, such as the chemical industry, the USSR became heavily dependent on Western inputs. Nevertheless, this relationship was never permitted to interfere with the fundamental Soviet commitment to the expansion of its international power and influence and to the development of the Soviet Bloc as a self-sufficient world economic and political system. The prevailing conviction remained that the 'laws of capitalist development' doomed in advance any movement toward European economic and political integration.

It is doubtful that Gorbachev, when he assumed power in March 1985, had a much clearer understanding of the significance of West European integration. The international political and the domestic economic effects of **perestroika**, **glasnost** and the **new political thinking**, however, soon convinced him of three things: (1) that efforts to develop COMECON on a higher technological plane as a substitute for reliance on the West were costly and unlikely to succeed; (2) that the Soviet economy itself was rapidly disintegrating and required massive help from abroad; and (3) that for both economic and political reasons Western Europe was in the long run the most desirable source of such assistance. He realised that with the rapid approach of the 1992 deadline he would have to move fast to mollify the EC and establish the best possible economic and political linkages with its member states before the doors of the 'common European home' were closed to outsiders. If this meant renouncing Soviet control over and responsibility for its East European allies, then this was a step he was increasingly willing to contemplate.

The rapidity of the collapse of the East European communist regimes was probably as surprising to Gorbachev as it was to the West, to say nothing of the rising non-communist opposition elements in the region itself. But by the middle of 1989 the political and economic disintegration of the USSR had reached a stage where Gorbachev found he had no alternative but to accept the replacement of the Brezhnev Doctrine with what Gennady Gerassimov has whimsically called the 'Sinatra Doctrine' – 'they can do it their way'. There is no better illustration of Gorbachev's predicament than his acquiescence in the rapid re-unification of Germany within NATO, despite the obvious misgivings of his conservative opponents in the CPSU and in the Soviet Army hierarchy. The payoff for this flexibility from the EC countries in terms of moral and material assistance to the USSR has been encouraging, if not overwhelming. Indeed, it is precisely in relations with the USA, the EC and other centres of capitalist power (for the moment, Japan represents a conspicuous exception) that Gorbachev has scored his most tangible successes – much more than in domestic affairs. The Nobel



Peace Prize for 1990 was a tribute to these successes, at least in the eyes of the world outside the Soviet Union.

The most notable effect of the changes in the former Soviet Bloc has been an almost complete abandonment of the two sacrosanct principles of 'real socialism': (1) tightly centralised planning and administration of the national economy and (2) monopolistic control over political power and policy-determination by the ruling communist party. The practical effects of this renunciation have tended to vary from country to country (for example, some elements of the old system and a diluted conception of socialism still hold sway in Bulgaria, Romania, parts of Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union itself). Wherever genuinely free elections have been held, however, it is clear that multi-party parliamentary democracy and a capitalist free-market economy are, for the moment at least, almost universally desired by the peoples and the newly emerging post-communist elites throughout the region.

Everywhere the prevailing call is for the speediest possible privatisation of the economy and the introduction of market determination of prices and resource allocation, despite widespread recognition of the potential social costs of these changes – for example, unemployment, growing socio-economic inequalities and racketeering. The most urgent task for policy-makers throughout the region, however, is to attract fresh sources of genuine capital into the economies, since, as a result of decades of deficit financing and extreme inter-sectoral distortions, the national currencies are basically worthless. At the same time, it is tacitly accepted that the economies are structurally ill equipped to handle massive injections of foreign capital. Generous stabilisation funds and infrastructural credits will be required to overcome the problems of the transition to a functioning market system. Addressing the horrendous ecological damage of decades of socialist industrialisation will also require massive foreign assistance. Finally, there is increasing recognition that the entire transformation process will be unfeasible without stable access to external markets for the products of the reformed economies to enable the repayment of credits and loans and to provide a satisfactory return on invested foreign and domestic capital.

In all of these considerations the role of Western Europe is crucial, since it is historically and geographically the natural source of capital and markets for the Central and East European economies. To a great extent all of these elements apply to the reform of the Soviet economy as well. The huge expanse of the Soviet Union in Asia and the Pacific rim somewhat extends the range of potential sources of capital to include Asia, North America and Australia. But for the short and medium term the main focus of the quest for capital and markets by the Soviet Union, too, can be expected to remain on Europe. Accordingly, Western Europe and the EC as an economic and political unit enjoy considerable leverage on the post-communist transformation of the former Soviet Bloc.

At the same time, it is worth pointing out that the Soviet Union itself will continue to play a major role in the East European transition process. Soviet trade linkages remain a vital component of economic life in all these countries. Not only was the USSR their principal source of energy and raw material



supplies, but it was also the main market for their manufactured goods. The customary bilateral clearance of trade within COMECON allowed these countries to manage their industrial economies and maintain high levels of employment in relative ease and comfort, since the negotiated prices were usually advantageous to both sides. Furthermore, the quality standards of the Soviet market were relatively low, allowing the East European partners to dispose of products that would have been impossible to sell on the world market.

Now all of this is about to change. As of 1 January 1991, all commerce between the USSR and its erstwhile satellites must be paid for in hard currencies, which means that fuel and raw materials shipments and markets for manufactured goods are no longer guaranteed. Already this change is having serious consequences for East European production and employment, including that in the former GDR. The economic dependence, as well as the reliance of the East European military establishments on Soviet arms and equipment supplies, means that the Soviet Union will continue for the immediate future to enjoy a good deal of leverage over the economic and political policies of the East European successor regimes. Indeed, given the magnitude of Soviet involvement in their economies and the difficulty of providing suitable Western substitutes in the short run, it is not inconceivable that the West will find it expedient to offer inducements to the USSR to play a greater role in the transitional processes in the region than Moscow might otherwise be inclined to do. In the new Europe ambience we must be prepared to take such ironies in our stride, although one should not expect the transformations to be either immediate or necessarily irreversible.

The abandonment of ideological, political and, eventually, military control over Eastern Europe, as perhaps the most tangible manifestation of the general change in Soviet foreign policy under Gorbachev's 'new political thinking', has produced a dramatic transformation of the structure and atmosphere of international relations in Europe. I have argued here that an important factor in the Soviet decision for change was the integration process in the EC itself and Gorbachev's desire to establish a foothold before the 1992 deadline. So far he has taken important steps in this direction, but he has a long way to go before his country is accepted as a fully welcome tenant in the 'common European home'.

From the outset, Gorbachev has been highly conscious of the need to get United States endorsement for his overtures to the EC. With the negotiation of a series of arms reduction and other agreements, that process is essentially behind him; indeed, he is possibly even more solidly enmeshed in structured relations with the Bush Administration than he is with most of the EC countries. But this American connection seems increasingly to be more salient for parts of the world other than Europe. How all these relationships will come together in the new architecture of a multipolar world remains to be seen. In any case, it is probably unwise to assume a consistent, let alone permanent, congruence of interests between Washington and Moscow.

Within Europe itself a few basic phenomena are beginning to emerge. The first is the tremendous normative influence the EC enjoys over the form and content of developments in Eastern Europe and, to a lesser extent, in the USSR as well. The '*Drang nach Westen*' in all of these countries is so strong that their

behaviour, not only toward each other, but also within the individual countries – how they treat their ethnic or religious minorities; how they handle political dissent and opposition; how much state control they maintain over their economies – is strongly constrained by explicit and implicit prescriptions from the EC and its various agencies. This influence applies to the USSR as well, although there the relationship is more nearly bilateral. On the one hand, Soviet politicians are certainly more conscious than ever before of their external image in dealing with domestic problems, such as centrifugal nationalism and political dissent, and they are constrained by European opinion to adopt milder procedures than they customarily applied. On the other hand, the EC countries have demonstrably failed to give overt support to nationalist or other movements that threaten to fragment the USSR: the case of Lithuania is a prime example. There is clearly a tacit agreement in the EC not to complicate Gorbachev's life for him by supporting his opponents, just as he is constrained to act circumspectly and with a minimum of force in dealing with them to avoid offending Western sensibilities.

The question is whether this informal, tutorial relationship between Western and Eastern Europe can satisfactorily provide the kind of security against external and internal disturbances that NATO and the WTO offered in the heyday of the Cold War. The most likely forum for maintaining the general security of the European continent is the Conference on European Security and Co-operation (CESC) format – the Helsinki process – suitably strengthened and institutionalised to handle important issues, such as the verification of arms limitation agreements and the monitoring of human rights. Continued membership of the USA and Canada in the CESC structure is something that all European partners, including the USSR, would presumably welcome, especially since potential domination by a unified Germany may be expected to evoke a certain degree of ambivalence among most member states, perhaps including the Germans themselves. In the meanwhile, NATO should be preserved as long as possible, if only as a vehicle for the controlled reduction of military forces throughout Europe and as a contribution to stability during what may turn out to be a turbulent transition period.

Among the most important lessons of the resurgence of Europe in the 1990s is its continuing significance for Australia, too. In spite of periodic appeals by Australian politicians, businessmen and academics to concentrate on the Asia-Pacific region as the 'natural' focus of Australian commercial and political interest, it seems clear to me that we must somehow also involve ourselves in the burgeoning problems and opportunities of the European continent if we are to avoid becoming even less relevant as a part of the developed world. The two foci are certainly not mutually exclusive, but I suspect that if we cannot 'make the grade' in Europe, we won't be able to make it in Asia either.



## THE SOVIET UNION AND THE BALTIC STATES

DR WILLIAM MALEY

Any scholar seeking a simple explanation of the momentous events of the last two years in Eastern and Central Europe runs the risk of committing the errors attributed by the Persian poet Jalaluddin of Balkh to the Blind Men who sought to describe the Elephant. Nonetheless, I feel secure in suggesting that if any individual is entitled to echo Louis XV's 'Après moi le deluge', it is President Gorbachev. Indeed, so monumental have been the changes in what used to be called 'The Eastern Bloc' that it seems almost churlish to suggest that there are still blank spots on which we need to focus. Yet at a time when a host of states in the international community are united in condemning the purported acquisition of territory by unprovoked Iraqi aggression, it seems appropriate to remind ourselves that the Soviet Union under Gorbachev continues to occupy three European states – Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia – which the USSR overran pursuant to the terms of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939. It is to the position of these states that I propose to address my remarks.

In my judgment, the annexation of the Baltic states is increasingly – and appropriately – coming to be seen as one of the most squalid examples this century of great power imperialism. The Bolsheviks talked a great deal about self-determination, and the Baltic peoples had every right to take these claims seriously. By 1920, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia had each concluded a peace treaty with the Bolshevik regime in which 'Russian claims to sovereignty over their territories were renounced in perpetuity'. Yet as we know, the promises of the Bolshevik leadership were shamefully dishonoured in 1939-1940. The August *rapprochement* between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union not only cleared the way for the German invasion of Poland, but also effectively sanctioned the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States. In a 'Secret Additional Protocol' to the 23 August Nonaggression Pact between Moscow and Berlin, it was agreed that Lithuania should fall within the German sphere of influence, and the states to the north within the Soviet sphere; this was amended in a 'Secret Supplementary Protocol' of 28 September which ceded Lithuania to the Soviet sphere of influence as well. These protocols cleared the way for the Soviet Union to move directly to take over the Baltic states. This the USSR did, making effective use of its instrumentalities of coercion to kill, incarcerate, deport, or intimidate non-communist individuals, political groups, and social categories.

Between the death of Stalin and the accession of Gorbachev, the Soviet regime did not face *sustained* massive opposition from the Baltic peoples. This was due partly to the effectiveness of the earlier exercise of coercion, and partly to the deterrent effects of the organs of state security, notably the KGB. It also owed something to the strategy of providing increasing supplies of goods and services. This was associated with substantial urbanisation, accommodating the successful functioning of a task-performing administrative staff. However, while these strategies, backed by the ever-present threat of military force, produced *compliance*, they did not succeed in *legitimizing* Soviet rule.



In retrospect, it is not hard to determine *why* the mechanisms of control which the Soviet regime used failed to win it legitimacy amongst the Baltic peoples. The strategy of buying support with goods and services is one with little appeal to the capacity for normative commitment of a population, and tends to produce a fragile concatenation of interests, rather than legitimacy in its full sense. This is particularly the case where memories of a different social order are both relatively recent, and decidedly rosy. 'In part because of . . . pre-1940 achievements', wrote one analyst in 1975, 'popular memories of the independence period have not only survived in the Baltic republics but also have been glamorised and romanticised, especially by a younger generation which never actually experienced that independence'. Television transmissions from Western countries, capable of being received in Estonia at least, could have left Baltic nationals in no doubt that while their material position relative to other Soviet citizens might long have been comparatively favourable, their position *vis-a-vis* neighbours such as the Finns had plummeted after the imposition of Soviet control. Furthermore, long term irritants such as language policy inhibited the kind of reconciliation which improved living standards might otherwise have fostered. And Russian immigration, which by 1989 had helped reduce Latvians to only 52% of their republic's population and Estonians to only 61.5% of theirs, had the effect of sharpening rather than ameliorating ethnic tensions, even though it helped supply reliable administrative cadres. Finally, a number of specific events in the years immediately before Gorbachev's accession to power, most notably the treatment of Baltic conscripts in the Soviet armed forces, and their despatch to an uncertain fate in Afghanistan as a result of an invasion decision taken by *Russians*, helped undo whatever good might have been done by relatively favourable material conditions.

Developments in the sphere of nationality relations cannot, of course, be divorced from wider political changes within the USSR. While the instrumentalities of coercion remained effective, nationalist sentiments were held reasonably in check. However, the official policy of candour (*glasnost*) permitted them to be released in a quite explosive fashion. While dissident activity in the Baltic had always been strong, and in Lithuania had gone so far as to involve spectacular self-immolations, the inauguration of *glasnost* in the wake of the Chernobyl accident permitted numerous popular manifestations of *mass* disaffection, especially from February-March 1988 onwards. It would be an oversimplification to suggest that events in each republic followed exactly the same path. Nonetheless, certain key developments leading up to independence declarations occurred at different times in all three republics. First, 'Popular Front' organisations were established in all three republics. Second, the primacy, over Russian, of the language of the titular nationality was first asserted, and then enacted as law, in all three republics. Third, the 'sovereignty' of each republic was formally asserted. (This was not the same as a declaration of independence, as Article 76 of the 1977 Constitution of the USSR already recognised a union republic as 'a sovereign Soviet socialist state'). And fourth, the Supreme Soviets of the various republics, in somewhat different ways, declared illegal the mechanisms by which the Baltic states had been incorporated into the USSR in 1940, treating with appropriate derision the argument from within the Soviet leadership that the incorporations could and should be treated



as matters entirely separate from the implementation of the Secret Protocols to the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

Of these events, the formation of the popular fronts proved to be critical in determining the events which followed. Such fronts had earlier been established in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Afghanistan to assist control of the masses, and the emergence of popular fronts in the Baltic republics, initially in the guise of mass organisations in defence of 'restructuring' (*perestroika*) did not seem to cause inordinate concern within the central leadership. It should have. The fronts rapidly assumed the character of political parties, and directly challenged the 'leading role' which the republican communist parties had performed since the original annexations. In the context of the emergence of contested elections in the USSR, this put the republican communist parties in an impossible position. The choice they seemed to face was the stark one of either breaking with Moscow, or being obliterated at the polls. Yet in reality, the communist parties may have had no choice at all. The Lithuanian party in December 1989 opted for the former course, but it could not save it from defeat at the February-March 1990 elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, at which the Lithuanian Popular Front (*Sajudis*) won an absolute majority – leading directly to Lithuania's declaration of independence.

The reaction of the Moscow leadership to all these developments was decidedly flat-footed, reflecting, perhaps, the little remarked point that the central leaders of party and state have no more claim to experience in *public* politics (as opposed to crypto-politics) than have their opponents in mass organisations such as the popular fronts of the various Baltic states. On 26 August 1989, obviously alarmed by the 'human-chain' which had snaked through the Baltic States in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued a statement claiming that 'calls to sever connections with other peoples of this huge and great country do not come from among ordinary people' and that this 'once again confirms that it is not the interests of their peoples that the separatist movement reflects, nor their genuine national patriotic self-consciousness'. Even given that the intended audience for this statement almost certainly lay outside the Baltic area, one could nevertheless hardly wish for a clearer illustration of the extent to which the central leadership had lost touch with what was happening on the ground. In this light, it is little cause for surprise that the 27 November enactment of the vaguely-worded 'Law on the Economic Independence of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR' failed to stem the rising tide, or that Gorbachev's arguments against secession during his January 1990 visit to Lithuania fell on deaf ears.

In general it should be noted that the Soviet leadership was greatly inhibited, once independent public politics took off in the Baltic republics, by the *unqualified* character of the constitutional right of secession accorded to union republics. It is remarkable that it was only *after* the Lithuanian declaration of 11 March 1990 that steps were taken to remedy this problem – in the form of the 'Law on Procedure for Resolving Matters connected with a Union Republic's Secession from the USSR'. The provisions in this law were uncompromisingly to the disadvantage of schismatically-minded republics. They required (a) a

referendum on secession to be approved by two-thirds of Soviet citizens permanently resident on the republic's territory when the matter of secession was raised; (b) a transitional period of up to five years, with the seceding republic to meet all costs of resettling outside the republic those wishing to retain Soviet citizenship; and (c) if requested by ten percent of Soviet citizens permanently resident on the republic's territory, a *mandatory* repeat referendum during the last year of the transitional period, again requiring two-thirds support for secession in order to allow the secession to go ahead. Allied to Gorbachev's demands for compensation from Lithuania to the tune of 21 billion roubles, this amounted to a package scarcely more attractive to Lithuanian Communist Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas than to *Sajudis* leader and President Vytautas Landsbergis. If anything, the obvious excesses of Moscow's demands, combined with Lithuania's resolute defiance – even in the face of an economic blockade, and a campaign of intimidation from the Soviet armed forces – may have helped *prompt* Latvia's 4 May move.

What does the future hold for the Baltic states? By now, it is clear that the Soviet regime can rely only on coercion as a long-term guarantor of Baltic quiescence. Soviet rule in the Baltic states has proved incapable of securing legitimacy; and while the attempt to grind Lithuania down economically prompted the short-term prudential concession of a moratorium on Lithuania's independence declaration, it is no solution to the Soviet Union's long run dilemma. The choice for the Soviet leadership is therefore between three broad options, none especially attractive: to do nothing, to crack down hard, or to let the Baltic States have their independence.



# THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THE SINGLE MARKET AND THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY

DR RICHARD HIGGOTT

Nothing generated as much excitement and misinformation in the global economy in the late 1980s as the meaning and implications of Europe's move to a Single Integrated Market. At one level this is not surprising. Progress towards a geographically defined common market in an era when the international trading regime is battling to remain reasonably open in the face of new forms of protectionism was bound to set off alarm bells in those states that were not destined to be part of it. At another level, given that its goal was enshrined in the Treaty of Rome, it should have come as no surprise.

So, what is the Single Integrated Market? Above all, it is paradox: a massive exercise in deregulation at the national level that may well lead to a growth of bureaucratic legislation at the Community level. The completed process will mean the implementation of some three hundred pieces of community legislation. The 1985 White Paper anticipates a prospective GDP growth of 5-6 per cent or 2,000,000 plus new jobs in Europe in the wake of 1992. *Logic* should, therefore, dictate that the Community would not become a fortress. With over 10 per cent of the Community's GNP earned by exports, turning its back on the global trading system would clearly seem irrational. So what is the problem? Why is the concept of 1992 – a symbolic date, not a deadline – greeted with confusion and alarm in the wider international community?

The first concern is the timing and context of the operation. In contrast to the formulation of the EEC at the Treaty of Rome, which was at an early and optimistic point in the long boom of the post World War II period, the achievement of SIM comes at a time of enhanced pessimism for the future of the global trading system. The current environment sees the major players engaged half-heartedly in a GATT round and both Japan and the United States, rightly or wrongly, convinced that Europe's first priority is not to the multilateral system but to the completion of the market. The last months of 1990 have done much to reinforce this perception.

The major fear of 1992 stems from the fact that, whilst its aims are clearly liberalising in intent it is at this stage, nevertheless, putting in place the institutions and regulatory mechanisms that **could** (should a continuing deterioration in international economic relations make it convenient or domestic pressures so indicate) be used to conduct major trade restricting practices on a community-wide, rather than a state-based level. Further, whilst the process of completing the market is principally *internally* driven, it is also clearly motivated by what Europeans see as the challenges to their competitiveness from developments in the wider global trading and financial arenas. The economic system has undergone a process of change in which not only the USA must adjust to a new role, but so too must the other major players – notably Europe and Japan. Particularly, all states need to adapt to new structures of trade, especially the

growth in services trade; new structures of capital mobility and financial power; new structures of protectionism – especially increasingly difficult to combat Non-Tariff Measures (NTMs); new ways of creating and defining comparative advantage – through managed trade and strategic trade policy, new process of economic nationalism – with trends towards both bilateralism and regionalism; and, of course, new actors of influence in global management (and mismanagement). The growth of the European community is at one and the same time both a cause and a symptom of these changes.

We face the possibility of a collapse of the Uruguay Round, principally as a result of European preoccupations with European matters – and notwithstanding some sort of agreement between European agricultural ministers. Helmut Kohl's desire for as big a victory as possible in the first elections of the newly unified Germany, French droughts, the work schedule involved in the move to 1992, especially in the creation of a European monetary system, the political aspirations of an Irish Commissioner for agriculture, and the war in the Gulf combined to throw the negotiations off beam in their late stages.

Yet to have expected drastic reform in the Uruguay Round, especially in agriculture, misinterprets the nature of the 1992 project. The cornerstone of EC economic policy is still the Common Agricultural Policy and it will not be drastically changed by the achievement of the Single Market. CAP will diminish in importance *over time* but this process will, however, be slow. The reasons for this are threefold:

- (i) historically (and notwithstanding its absurdities from a rational economic perspective), CAP is one of the prices the post war world has paid for the disappearance of over 100 years of Franco-German rivalry as a focal point for conflict,
- (ii) and more importantly in a contemporary sense, the bureaucratic politics of the Community impede the prospects for change,
- (iii) the evolving institutions of the Community are not likely to make a major difference to CAP's privileged position.

Whilst the creation of the Single European Act is making significant changes to the overall process of decision-making within the Community, it holds few dangers for the future of the CAP in its current form. The lobbying strength of the European Confederation of National Farmers Organisations (COPA) is daunting in the extreme, and the move to qualified majority voting in the Council under SEA may well strengthen rather than weaken agriculture, as indeed could any strengthening of the European Parliament. As any good student of public choice theory would tell us: predatory, rent-seeking lobbies will organise themselves accordingly in the defence of their interests. Nothing to-date has managed to persuade either the Agricultural Council, member governments of the Community or public opinion (especially in France and Germany) to rein in their agricultural sectors.

The international political consequences of the CAP will, therefore, continue into the 1990s. Whilst a proforma agreement, as opposed to a *major breakthrough* on the question of agricultural subsidy may be all that we can now expect (at best) in the concluding stages of the Uruguay Round, it is unlikely to dampen



economic tensions between the USA and Europe. Indeed there are those in Europe who argue that conflict with other international actors over the CAP has an integrating and identifying effect on Europeans. For many, Europe is in the business of creating an identity, not losing one.

A further reason outsiders hold confused views about the meaning of 1992 is precisely because there are competing visions of what Europe after 1992 should look like. At the risk of oversimplification, two broad camps can be identified. They can loosely be called the Pragmatists, or functionalists and the Visionaries, or federalists. Their differences were encapsulated in the competing positions of Margaret Thatcher on the one hand and President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, on the other. The pragmatists see 1992 as a liberalisation of trade through the free movement of goods and services, *not* the foundation of a United States of Europe. The Visionaries see 1992 as a stage on the road to a wider union, and a closer cross cultural European identity. The dividing lines are not always clear cut, as any reading of politics in the UK today would tell us.

But the logical next step from a Single Market and a Single European Act will inevitably be a common monetary system and a harmonised body of social and industrial legislation. Under the majority voting system initiated in the Single European Act, Britain cannot be compelled to participate but similarly, it can no longer veto legislation. It will be dragged along by a desire (in Europeak) to avoid being the slower half of a 'two track' Europe.

Europe is not destined for single statehood: few have ever suggested it is. It will, however, strengthen as an association of states, emphasising union rather than unification. Economic and technological integration will remain the leitmotif of co-operation, but this will inevitably have implications for political co-operation and questions of sovereignty. Further, the stronger the juridical framework becomes in the economic domain the easier it will become, over time, to facilitate closer politico-security co-operation. This is the wider political significance of 1992. Whilst the member states of the European Community assert sanctity of the sovereign state, they are nevertheless – in the move to 1992 – sharing sovereignty in a variety of domains.

The main lesson to be gleaned from the move to a single integrated market should be drawn from analysis of the Community *over time* rather than from the *immediate* policy responses of the EC to the prevailing international climate of the 1990s. The evolution of the Community does not suggest that it is likely to be more protectionist in the future than it was in the past. Nor, however, is it inevitably going to be more open. The preference for strong administrative philosophies of economic management in continental Europe remain strong. The real change that has occurred is in the Community's negotiating strength in the international economic order. Given its patterns of growth, the Community has as much interest in an open international system of trade as the other major economic actors. In negotiating the terms and conditions of this openness, a post 1992 Europe is in a much stronger position than was the case in the past. This poses considerable questions of strategy and tactics for the major players, but it poses much more difficult questions for smaller players such as Australia.

In an economic sense the data would appear to suggest that after the period of decline in Australia's economic relations with the UK, and the rise in the importance of the states of the Asia Pacific region in the quarter decade from the later 1950s to the mid 1970s, a balancing out is taking place. Figures for 1988 show the European Community as Australia's second largest trading partner after Japan. In addition, it should be noted that Australia's trade to Europe has increased at a faster rate over the last five years than to any other part of the world. Europe in general, but the UK in particular, has remained the largest source of investment in Australia and the second largest destination for Australian investment after the USA.

But the specific question for Australia in the 1990s is to what extent it will gain or lose from the achievement of the single market? The question is not simply answered. It is part of a wider debate over the constraints and opportunities influencing the general process of Australian economic restructuring, especially the degree to which it can increase the value added component of its export earnings.

As there is likely to be little change in the CAP, it is unlikely that Australia's comparative advantage in agriculture will result in dramatically increased earnings from more exports to the Community. Increased earnings from the agricultural sector are dependent on any freeing up of agricultural markets in the wider international economy *overall*, and that may, or may not, be the outcome of agreement in the Uruguay Round. The Community, as one of the two major protagonists in the Round does, therefore, have considerable importance for Australia in its efforts to achieve, via the Cairns Group, freer trade in agriculture. Continued EC recalcitrance in the face of US and Cairns Group pressures for reform is of the gravest concern to Australian interests. Community trade policy is most intransigent in that very sector that is most important to Australia. A failed Uruguay Round, and an increased activity in the US-EC subsidy war as an outgrowth of that failure, can expect to result in a decline in vital agricultural export earnings for Australia in those third markets targeted for heavily subsidised exports from the EC and the USA.

There is clearly potential for growth in Europe by opening up of the service sector and the removal of transborder restrictions. Whether Australia will be able to take advantage of this will be dependent on other factors. But a recent survey indicates that for the vast majority of Australia's exporters 1992 is coming too soon for them to compete successfully with European competitors already out of the starting blocks. The direct benefits to Australia from the achievement of the single market are then, I am suggesting, problematic and contingent on other factors.

Given the constraints, Australian governments of late have pursued, I would argue, the most appropriate policies open to them. Yet one cannot but be pessimistic about the prospect of a GATT agreement on agriculture. Australian policy will have to adjust accordingly to this condition. Cairns Group strategy, driven by Australian intellectual leadership and committed to multi-lateralism, has been to suggest that *Europe* and the *USA* have an agricultural subsidy problem and it is for *them*, rather than efficient Australian farmers, to reform.



While this may be true it misses the point. Australia will be faced with a recurring problem throughout the 1990s of producing for agricultural markets that operate in constrained fashion.

The major economic impact of the EC on Australia can, therefore, be summed up in what I call the 'Third Party Syndrome': that is the fate of small players in a contemporary global economy, the regime structures of which offer them little protection in the face of growing major induced economic regionalism and bilateralism. Australian foreign economic policy is currently at something of a crossroads. The last few years – since the inception of the Uruguay Round in 1986 – have seen it steadfastly hold course in its commitment to multilateralism. 1990 saw the nerve of its policy-makers tested. Whilst the multilateral option is still the 'first best' for Australia, it would be difficult, in part at least, not to see recent Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation initiatives, or a reassertion of the importance of strengthening our bilateral trade policies, as an attempt to provide alternative avenues for exploration in the event of the global economy hardening into restrictive trading areas in the 1990s.

Conflict in the economic domain between Europe and the USA has spilled over into the other aspects of the transatlantic relationship in a manner which poses questions for other aspects of the post World War II Western Alliance structure, of which Australia is part. The EC is as much an economic rival in the 1980s as it is a political ally to the USA. In this situation, US responses have become inconsistent, unpredictable and at times conducive to discord. Minor economic issues have become issues of major political significance. Seemingly unimportant issues, be it disputes over chickens, grains or meat hormones, have taken on the discourse of war. Whilst such discourse is often an integral part of a negotiating exercise – and we should not ignore the degree we are engaged in such an exercise in the closing stages of the Uruguay Round – the danger exists, nevertheless, that policy-makers become trapped within their own rhetoric.

Problems of understanding have been exacerbated for Europe's partners by the strengthening of the European Commission since the introduction of the Single European Act. The 'climate' of policy-making in the Community, a learning process even for its own members, has changed in a way that is difficult for Europe's partners to comprehend. The growth of institutions in Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg makes the job of conducting relations with Europe much more complex. On any set of issues the question is posed – who to lobby? Where does final authority lie? With the Commission? The Council? The Parliament? The relevant minister of member countries? At one level this is unfortunate as there is a degree of 'openness' if one knows where to 'tap into' the decision-making process. In this regard 1992 and beyond represents an important challenge for Australian foreign policy-makers.

Let me conclude: Western Europe is no longer a mere adjunct of US hegemony. It needs to accept responsibilities greater than at any time in the post World War II era. The significant question – on which the jury will be out throughout the early 1990s – is to what degree the Western Europeans can sustain the institutional wherewithal, political identity and political will to take on such responsibilities in a sustained manner. The implications of change in Europe are

of central concern to other states such as Australia (what I have called third parties to that change) which have strong politico-strategic and economic interests in a process of managed and co-operation-inducing change in that arena.

Notwithstanding much that is sensible in the recently published reports such as Ross Garnaut's on *Australia and Northeast Asia*, the presence of other potential growth areas such as Europe need to be closely kept in mind. Australia's political, bureaucratic and intellectual leadership may be pointing us towards the North Pacific, but its corporate culture – such as it is, I feel moved to say – is still firmly directed towards North America and Europe. The Pacific century may be upon us, and Australia's long-term future undoubtedly lies in that region. Australia's short and medium term interests would not be well served, however, by denying the continued salience of Europe for global and economic stability in the 1990s. If we are to manage this process properly, the disjunctions in our analytical approaches I outlined earlier must not be part of our baggage for understanding the importance of Europe to Australia in the 1990s.

## AUSTRALIA AND THE NEW EUROPE

PROFESSOR J. D. B. MILLER

**I**n terms of foreign policy, Australia is ill-prepared for the new Europe which will result from the enlargement and greater significance of the European Community on the one hand, and the breakdown of Communism in eastern Europe on the other. We have expressed certain traditional attitudes for many years past, and these seem to have commended themselves to the electorate; but it seems very likely that they will no longer serve.

So far as Western Europe is concerned, we have confined ourselves for over thirty years to whingeing about the Community's Common Agricultural Policy and its effects on international trade. There has been no appreciable influence on the Community, and the only effect appears to have been in pacifying our own farmers – for a time at least. Otherwise, we have had no obvious policy about Western Europe at large, whether it was moving crablike towards common foreign and defence policies, or whether it was coming closer to something like a federation. This has been a striking example of Australia's inherent insularity.

Eastern Europe has fared no better, probably worse. Here our traditional approach has been abuse of the Soviet Union and the assumption that all the East European Communist countries were under its control. Now that this is no longer the case, we have no significant policy at all. Our abuse was essentially a reflex of our dependence on the United States; and the present situation is not unlike that of the unfortunate MacMahon government when the Nixon Administration pulled the rug from under its feet in respect of Communist China. The Bush Administration has cosied up to the Russians, and left us to find our own way.



If we were to construct a generic policy towards the new Europe, it would need three components. One would involve trade; a second, cultural connections; and a third, immigration. There is no need for a policy in respect of defence or intelligence, two inter-related aspects of external policy which have been so influential in our relations with the United States, as previously with Britain. No European country except the Soviet Union now has interests in the Pacific which require the use of force to protect them; none has any need to assist in the defence of Australia.

Some do, however, have interests in trade with Australia as both a market and a supplier. These interests are necessarily affected by the changes that are taking place in Europe's own trading patterns. The likely enlargement of the EC to take in Sweden, Norway and Austria, and the creation of the European Economic Area (intended to create a common market between EC and EFTA countries) will affect the EC as a trading area for its existing members. The prospect of east European countries joining the operation when their economies revive also creates new possibilities. These developments invite speculation in Australia; I see no sign of it. Our policies will nonetheless need to take account of them.

In cultural matters we can gain considerably from greater contacts with Eastern Europe. Our culture is primarily British but secondarily European. It is only in minor matters that it is Asian, although there are constant efforts on the part of Governments and educationists to try to make it more Asian – with very little success. The traditions in literature, art, music and science which we share with countries such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia provide a ready bridge across which we can expand other kinds of contact; immigrant families with a background in these countries can help transmit culture in both directions.

In respect of immigration itself, our policies ought to take advantage of the wealth of talent and skills available in the former Communist countries. Their economies will take time to recover; in some cases they may not recover at all. The urge to emigrate will probably be strong, especially amongst the well educated. We have a better base in Australia for such immigrants than for those from the Middle East and parts of Asia.

In all, we should take every opportunity to show the Europeans of both East and West that this is a land of economic and cultural growth, in which there are already embedded the seeds of their own cultures, and in which their attitudes and religions are already implanted. Moreover, we continue to develop as an entry-point to the markets of Asia; this too may prove attractive.

## EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION

### W. OVE JUUL JORGENSEN

The 1992 process has led logically to the consideration of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). EMU will cement the benefits of the single European market in two important ways. First, it will eliminate the substantial and unnecessary costs of changing from one currency to another. These have been estimated to be as much as ECU 19 billion (AUD 33 billion), or twice as much as the direct costs of the internal trade barriers. Second, by removing the risks of fluctuations in exchange rates EMU will end an uncertainty which currently adversely affects business investment planning.

Stage one of the EMU began on July 1, 1990. This stage will be used to ensure convergence in the economic performance of our member states and to further the use of the European currency unit – the ECU. At the Rome summit, at the end of October, eleven of the EC leaders agreed that stage two of EMU would begin on 1 January, 1994. During this stage, an independent European central bank structure, consisting of the member state central banks, and a central body, EUROFED, will be set up with one overriding objective: to maintain price stability. During this transitional phase, the ECU will be further strengthened and developed. With the achievement of the final phase of EMU, exchange rates will be irrevocably fixed. The community will then have a single currency – a strong and stable ECU – which will be an expression of its identity and unity.

By virtue of a single currency in the Community, the world could move to a multi-polar system centred on the US dollar, the yen and the ECU which would be beneficial to all participants in world trade. The rapidly increasing integration of the Community, which so far in the main has been of an economic nature, has in turn led to consideration of how the Community might be transformed into a union of a political nature.

Again at the Rome summit, EC leaders confirmed the will to transform the Community progressively into a European union by developing its political dimension, strengthening its capacity for action and extending its powers to other supplementary sectors of economic integration which are essential for convergence and social cohesion. European union will be the culmination of a progressive process agreed by common accord among the member states; it will evolve with due regard being paid to national identities and to the principle of subsidiarity, that is, the principle that decisions should be taken at the lowest appropriate level.

The progress of the Community towards European union must be accompanied by the development of the European parliament and other Community institutions in such a way as to underpin the democratic legitimacy of the union. This same requirement will be met by defining European citizenship to be additional to citizenship of a member state. In the sphere of foreign policy, the European Council recorded consensus on the objective of a common foreign



and security policy to strengthen the identity of the Community and the coherence of its action on the international scene, both of which must be capable of meeting new challenges and commensurate with its responsibilities.

The Community's international action will be open to the world and will give a significant role to development policy. The Community will also strengthen its links with the other European countries for which ever-closer co-operation structures must be sought geared to their individual circumstances. An inter-governmental conference on political union will define the necessary framework for transforming relations as a whole among the member states into a European union, invested with the necessary means of action. This intergovernmental conference on Political Union will run separately but parallel to the one on EMU, and the aim is to have the work completed and the results ratified by our member states before the end of 1992.

An important issue whose place on the agenda could not have been imagined a year or two ago is that of German unification. The unification of Germany meant that the territory of East Germany has now become part of the Community and this union has undoubtedly given a new impulse to European integration. The new democracies in central and eastern Europe have made a bold beginning to structural reform. The Community has responded to this situation by pressing ahead with a network of trade and co-operation agreements, and by opening up our market to the new democracies. At the multilateral level, the European Commission is co-ordinating assistance from the 24 OECD countries, including, of course, Australia. So far over 12 billion dollars have been made available in grants and credits. The Community has also stressed the importance it attaches to the success of the reforms being undertaken by the Soviet Union. It stands ready to make a substantial, concrete contribution to the success of these efforts by means of co-operation in various areas.

Let me round off this European review by mentioning our current negotiations with the six EFTA countries: Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland. The aim of these negotiations is to extend the four basic freedoms of the Europe 1992 programme – that is, the free movement of people, goods, services and capital – and thereby create a European Economic Area of 18 countries. This is a very important development, as the EC and EFTA are each others' largest trading partners. It is interesting to note that one of the EFTA countries, Austria, has already made formal application to join the Community. Applications have also been made by Turkey, Cyprus and Malta. It has been mooted that the Nordic countries, Norway, Sweden and Finland, could make a joint application for membership and there may well be others from the newly emerging democracies. The European Community has proceeded, at this stage, by proposing so-called Europe agreements with eastern and central Europe. These agreements will provide a framework for the development of commercial, economic and political co-operation without either the promise of Community membership at the end of the road, or the exclusion of that possibility. And as I mentioned earlier – the members of the European Free Trade Association, EFTA – are currently negotiating an arrangement that is far-reaching – but falls short of actual Community membership. They have taken this course precisely because most of them have hitherto been reluctant to assume the full obligations

of membership, not because they would be economically incapable of doing so. By the turn of the century, the Community will more than likely be an expanded one, and one which is more closely knit to its other European neighbours, a Europe well placed to play a more prominent role on the world stage.

## FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS IN THE NEW EUROPE

DR KARIS MULLER

In November 1988 the Charlemagne Prize for Services to European Unity, awarded annually since 1949, was presented jointly to Chancellor Kohl and to President Mitterrand. Under Charlemagne, Emperor of the Franks and 'pater europae', the Franks and the Gauls had together re-established European culture; so it was fitting that these two modern leaders should have been so honoured in the old capital of the Frankish empire.

In their acceptance speeches, both Herr Kohl and M. Mitterrand stressed the importance of the cultural dimension of Europe. The EC, both agreed, was much more than economic, and Europe was not just the EC. The promotion of European languages and history, and of travel and study in other countries – these were vital in realising a truly European identity by 1993, and would also help to break down barriers between the separate halves of Europe. The German further expressed his concern over French military policy, while the Frenchman spoke of the importance of telecommunications. These, then, are the aspects of the Franco-German relationship which will be examined, including the relationship between France and the former GDR.

The most wholehearted support for the Franco-German relationship has been in the cultural sphere. After the war France opened cultural centres and schools in its area of occupation and, later, in the FRG, largely as part of a policy of 're-educating' the Germans. There was no reciprocal activity on the FRG's part at first, but by 1954 both sides had come to believe that cultural co-operation would prepare the ground for economic and political integration later. Accordingly Chancellor Adenauer and Prime Minister Mendes – France signed the first Franco-German cultural agreement on 23 October 1954. Each country undertook to promote the language and civilisation of the other, to exchange academics, to encourage dialogue between youth organisations and, finally, to expunge hostile references from school textbooks. (That this objective has still not been entirely reached is the conclusion of a recent book by a joint working party: *France and Germany, contemporary space and history: recommendations for the teaching of history and geography in the two countries*, 1990.) The attempt at post-war reconciliation had little effect. The Left was dissatisfied since it ignored the GDR, while other French observers pointed out that an agreement with Bonn rather than with individual Lauder (the states within the German federal system) meant little. In July 1963, however, the better-known Elysee Treaty, or Franco-German Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, noted the importance of fostering mutual understanding among the young.



The GDR's relations with France were stronger than with any other Western State. The reasons for this were largely historical; the recent prominence of Lothar de Maizieres, the last Prime Minister of the GDR, serves as a reminder of the Huguenot refugees who settled in Brandenburg and Prussia after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). In addition, France's image was a positive one, as the centre of the Enlightenment (Voltaire spent two years at Frederick II's court at Potsdam) and as the land of revolution and human rights – aspects of French history stressed in East German schoolbooks. France's relatively neutral foreign policy since De Gaulle was also a factor, as was the fact that France was the GDR's major non-communist supplier of goods. Yet, despite these historical, political and economic advantages, France's presence in the GDR was until the mid 80s rather modest. The GDR was recognised as a legal entity by the FRG only in 1972, and by France two months later, in 1973. De Gaulle had always referred to the GDR as 'Prussia and Saxony', the word 'Allemagne' being used by officials and by the French public for the FRG alone.

The privileged position of France vis-a-vis Honecker's Germany (the official visit of French Prime Minister Fabius in 1985 had been the first to Berlin by an Allied head of government) was recognised by the mutual establishment of cultural centres. The GDR's opened in the Boulevard Saint-Germain in December 1984, soon after the opening of the French one on Unter den Linden. This centre provided the only opportunity ordinary GDR citizens had to read Western newspapers and journals, so French classes there were always full. The French Government has decided to retain its cultural centre on Unter den Linden as well as its counterpart of the Kurfurstendamm. Similarly, the newly-enlarged FRG is to keep both its cultural centres in Paris.

Traditionally, the border area of Alsace-Lorraine has been a source of tension and conflict between France and Germany. Feelings towards the Germans are nowadays generally positive in Alsace, helped no doubt by the fact that a quarter of local industry is German-owned or managed.

Franco-German co-operation in the border region has likewise made progress in recent years at tertiary level. Strasbourg now has a Franco-German Institute of Robotics, a European Management School teaching in English, French and German, and Schools of Engineering, also multilingual, which confer on their graduates the title of 'European Engineer'. In the late 1980s, too, the three Strasbourg universities entered into a Confederation of Upper Rhine Universities. Students of the region may select their courses from the Universities at Strasbourg, Karlsruhe, Freiburg-in-Breisgau, Basel and Mulhouse. This venture, which illustrates very well the objectives of the EC's ambitious program ERASMUS launched in 1987, is admittedly not the first attempt to produce bilingual Franco-German graduates. The Swiss Catholic University of Fribourg has for the past century conducted its business in both languages.

The many recent initiatives on both sides of the Rhine are helping to ensure that young people feel comfortable in two or three languages and cultures; they are consequently regarded as a model for the European citizen of post-1992.

The military provisions of the 1963 Elysee Treaty had lain dormant as France pursued her independent defence objectives. Co-operation in military matters,

initiated by Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand in 1982, was followed by the decision in 1987 to create a joint army brigade, to be based permanently in several locations in Baden-Württemberg, near the French border. The three regiments began moving into their new quarters in 1988, becoming operational in late 1990. France's plans to withdraw her troops from a united Germany do not, however, include the mixed unit. Its future role is yet to be determined. Since 1986 France has generally taken the initiative in calling for an autonomous European defence; the Gulf crisis occasioned a joint call by French and German parliamentarians to link European political union with the creation of a European army capable of putting down conflicts on the continent as well as protecting security interests overseas (November 1990).

Co-operating with the FRG was nonetheless limited by France's refusal to allow the joint brigade nuclear weapons, and by her declining to consult the FRG before deciding, if necessary, to launch her HADES 'ultimate warning' nuclear missile, operational from 1991. Since these battlefield weapons are designed for use in the German theatre, many Germans are of the opinion that merely informing them of the impending launch is an exercise of French sovereignty they could well do without. The abandonment of a bipolar structure in Europe in 1989 has increased grounds for discord, since there are, it seems, no more discernible enemies within range.

President Mitterrand's Bastille Day television address in 1990, following the parading of national nuclear weapons down the Champs Elysees, showed the divergence between France's still Gaullist doctrine and the FRG's position, first stated in April 1989, that negotiations should begin with the USSR to eliminate short-range nuclear weapons from Europe:

I consider that the French nuclear forces cannot do without this weapon of ultimate warning [HADES] which was defined a long time ago by General de Gaulle as one of the necessary elements of our global deterrence [...] Because of the considerable changes that have occurred in Europe, they do have the unfortunate consequence, with their range of 380 or 400 km, of being unable to reach a territory beyond the new democracies which have just established themselves in Europe. But there is no question of making war; nuclear arms, deterrence, are to prevent war, not win it.'

There has been, then, no policy reassessment by France as far as nuclear deterrence is concerned. French ambitions for Europe are in part a transposition of her continuing determination to remain a leading middle-sized power.

The two States understood tacitly that if France was allowed the diplomatic advantage, then Bonn's reward would be recognition as a bona fide democratic state. Military or cultural collaboration certainly did not, in France's eyes, mean granting the FRG equal status on the world stage, as the French President implied in an interview in *Die Welt* (18 January 1988):

'President: [...] Our security doesn't stop at our frontiers. Without exaggerating things, France is a country of world importance. It is for her to decide where her vital interest lies and doesn't lie, where her integrity, independence and freedom are at stake.



*Question:* And if there is a community of destiny with Germany, as is often stated, do you think that *Germany's presence* should be *equally wide-ranging*?

*President:* Federal Germany is a great country too. She has all sorts of interests in many parts of the world. Europe's founders clearly intended us to pool our ambitions and capabilities within the Community.'

Before there seemed any prospect at all of German unification, the FGR's economic dominance within the EC was already sometimes perceived by France as a threat; witness the front cover of '*Challenges, the most European of economic magazines*', October 1989, which displays the logo of Mercedes-Benz and the words 'We must be afraid of the Germans'. With unification, France now has a neighbour part of which was the strongest member state within COMECON, while the other part had a GDP 20 per cent greater than France's (since 3 October the discrepancy is 37 per cent). General de Gaulle had regarded a divided Germany as a historical absurdity, but he had always insisted that Germany must never dominate Europe, a view reiterated by Mitterrand while still leader of the Opposition:

'Without denying what reunification may mean politically, historically and morally for the Germans, I believe it neither desirable nor possible if I consider the European balance of power, France's security and the keeping of the peace' (*Le Monde*, 1 June 1979).

France's reluctance to envisage a rapid unification of the two Germanies after the events of late 1989 did not please the Federal German Government. Even by May 1990 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Roland Dumas, was still surmising that unification would occur only in 1992 or 1993 (French radio talk, 5 May). French ministers in 1990 repeated their concern that German unification should not precede monetary and economic union within the EC, so that the new German giant would be safely enmeshed in a European framework. The French President likewise explained to the East Germans during his State visit there in late December 1989 that naturally there was no question of mistrusting Germany's intentions nowadays, but that there should 'be no contradiction between the German will and the European will, between German and European unity'.

It is perhaps understandable that the changes in Germany were rather too sudden for the French Government. Their President was, after all, invited to the GDR by Herr Honecker, had the invitation confirmed by Herr Krenz, and finally met Herr Modrow.

Polls in early 1990 showed that a majority of the French favoured unification, although there were strong reservations on the part of communists, National Front supporters, the military and older citizens. Economic reactions to unification were mixed. Some saw lucrative new markets for French goods and services, while others feared the economic challenge posed by a larger Germany.

Pan-European approaches to mass communications have been discussed, and occasionally put into effect, since the 1975 Helsinki *Conference on Security and Co-operation*. Recent developments in telecommunications – there were nearly 60 television channels available in Europe by late 1991 – facilitate and increase trans-

border European exchanges, so that the ending of the Cold War has merely accelerated a process that was already occurring. The EC Commission, in several recent Green Books and brochures on the subject of European telecommunications and culture, argues that beyond the superficial diversity of languages there exists a European identity and a common cultural heritage. Information exchange, in particular the multiplication of strategic alliances in the European telecommunications industry, is held to be a vital factor in revealing and reinforcing these. Nonetheless the EC tended to superimpose existing Cold War political divisions on to its definition of culture; as late as 1989, the *Broadcasting and TV Directive* of the EC Council of Ministers specifically excluded Eastern bloc European countries from consideration, to the dissatisfaction of many present.

The thawing of the Cold War had already led to a conference near Frankfurt-am-Main in 1988 on the theme of co-operation between Eastern and Western Europe in the field of mass communications. No French delegates were present, since until recently French governments have been concerned above all with protecting French language and culture from foreign cultural imperialism.

Concern for 'la francophonie' nevertheless runs parallel with France's active encouragement of European achievements in the area of telecommunications. The integration of Western Europe on the level of culture and ideology has in recent years become for France both an ideal and a necessity, since France does not have the means to resist the foreign media conglomerates on her own. Europe is for France an extension of her quest for Gaullist *grandeur*, and it was therefore with considerable misgivings that developments such as Sky Channel and Super-Channel were regarded.

The ending of the Cold War in Europe prompted the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to announce in March 1990 a three-year plan to extend France's audio-visual presence in Eastern Europe. A new French company called University Radio and Television International is collecting donated programs from national TV channels, to be relayed free of charge to ex-Eastern Bloc European universities, and is distributing the necessary equipment for satellite reception. Radio-France-Internationale has increased the strength of its transmitters to Eastern Europe; the 'peripheral' (part State-owned) radio station Europe 1 is setting up offices in Eastern European capitals; and in May 1990 a branch of Havas, the French multi-media advertising agency, obtained exclusive advertising rights on the ex-GDR's two State television channels.

The joint award of the Charlemagne Prize in Aachen in 1988 symbolises the closeness of the Franco-German relationship and the desire to work for a uniting Europe. This is not to say that both sides have identical concerns and interests, as the two leaders' speeches demonstrate. There are, firstly, military grounds for discord. Richard von Weizsacker, Federal President, who studied at Grenoble and sent his son to a *lycée* in Toulouse, is a Francophile who nonetheless, in his speech of congratulation to Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl, asked his French counterpart: 'How do the French conceive their role as a world power? What are the consequences of their own national security for us, their neighbour? 'Who', concluded von Weizsacker, 'is supposed to be saved by HADES?'



To the Germans it seems imperative that France choose between her global and her European roles; since 1989 France's refusal to reconsider the deployment of HADES cannot but strike her neighbour as anachronistic and dangerous. France's awareness of a European mission, as shown by the revival of the Franco-German defence accord in the 1980s, now seems to require some reappraisal.

In their speeches at Aachen President von Weizsacker and Chancellor Kohl recommended cultural dialogue with Eastern Europe and the USSR, referring indirectly to French mistrust of the reform processes under way. French government circles and the influential New Right have discouraged pacifist sentiment at home. Since 1984, when for the first time the USSR was named as the adversary at whom French nuclear weapons were aimed, enthusiasm for *detente* has been limited. On the other hand, on the cultural plane France has sought to exploit her positive image as the *patrie* of revolution and human rights by establishing cultural links with the GDR. Since November 1989 efforts have been made to maintain France's lead in the cultural and ideological 'battle', especially in the telecommunications sector. President Mitterrand, the initiator of *Audiovisual Eureka*, reiterated his concerns at Aachen: audiovisual production must become largely European, on pain of 'submersion' of European culture by foreign imports:

'It's a form of combat. We must not miss the encounter with modernity. France and Germany have a particular responsibility in this respect. I'm thinking of the significance of the Franco-German TV channel project, the first stage in a truly European cultural television . . .'

For President Mitterrand the cultural 'battle' must be won, otherwise Europe will be the loser politically and economically. France's concern for her own language and culture, as shown by the earlier creation of TV5, has broadened into a wish to lead the cultural revival of Europe. The unification of Germany, viewed with misgivings in some economic and military circles, is not regarded as a threat to France's status as re-creator of the European identity. German language and culture are seen rather as allies in a common battle against the dominance of 'Anglo-Saxon' influences.

In conclusion, it can be seen that France is particularly active in the field of cultural co-operation. Perhaps even more than her EC partners, France seems determined not to permit the USA to decide the future of the New Europe. Since her economic performance *vis-a-vis* Eastern Europe is rather modest (worth 26% of that of the FRG in 1989), France is leaving much of the necessary modernisation of the ex-GDR and Eastern Europe to Bonn, while she prefers to concentrate on the ideological and cultural creation of the new Europe.

# 1990 Academy Annual Lecture

CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION  
PROFESSOR HARRY RIGBY

## *Prefatory note*

*Ten months after it was written, there is little in this lecture I would wish to alter. Over that period the worsening of the economy and the polarisation of political forces accelerated, culminating in the widely expected coup, while, however, the democratic forces gained time to gather the moral and political strength to quickly defeat it. I would reaffirm the points made in the final paragraph.*

*The lecture started with a characterisation of the pre-perestroika system of 'mono-organisational socialism', in which every field of social life was run by a designated command hierarchy, and all were directed and co-ordinated by the centralised apparatus of the Communist Party. It went on to outline the process of political reform under Gorbachev: the progressive abdication of controls over expression, association and assembly, followed by an accelerating shift of power from the party to the state, and substantial democratisation of state institutions. The second half, a condensed version of which appears below, opens with the question **why** these changes occurred.*

I think we *can* discern the main causes . . . By the early 1980s the Soviet Union was certainly facing a variety of acute problems – rapidly declining growth rates, widespread corruption, intense national and class resentments and so on – but these alone do not tell us why its rulers resorted to the sorts of remedies that ended by destroying the whole socio-political order. It is said of Tsar Alexander II that he agreed to the abolition of serfdom in 1861 because of fear that if it were not abolished from above, it would abolish itself from below. This was *not* the situation Gorbachev faced in 1985. The masses were not desperate, and they were well under control . . . The system of political, ideological and coercive controls was working fine, and by the early 1980s the KGB had pretty well won its long war against the dissidents . . . In the non-Russian areas these controls were deployed by elites who had everything to lose from the collapse of Soviet rule, and who in several cases successfully tied much of the population into their networks of corruption.

There was certainly an underlying brittleness to the whole thing, such that if these controls were removed the empire *could* fall apart, and society *could* collapse into chaos. But that is all the more reason, if the system were not on the point of abolishing itself from below, why its leaders should not start to abolish it from above. And . . . from their point of view the system had much to commend it . . . It could ensure internal order and the privileges and security of the ruling elites. It could also ensure *external* security, having defeated Hitler's war machine and made the Soviet Union a military super-power which could match, if not outmatch, the western powers. It had built the world's second-largest economy and made the country a leader in space research. And so on. So why place all that at risk? . . .



It is for these reasons that I do not think that the Gorbachev revolution can be understood simply as a desperate response by the leadership to the failures of the system . . . Two other major factors were involved, which I will provisionally label the ideological factor and the Gorbachev factor.

The failures of the system, and especially its economic failures, were certainly of a severity that *called in question* its continued viability. The problem was not the system's inefficiency, which had always been appalling, in terms of the consumption of material, energy and labour inputs and its environmental and human costs. The issue was its continued *ineffectiveness*: its capacity to continue meeting the goals of the *leadership*, particularly those of maintaining high economic growth, technical innovation, and getting the military edge on its potential enemies . . . It required more than the failures of the system to produce Gorbachev's revolution, but without these failures the changes which he later turned into a revolution would never have got underway. To understand how that happened we have to move to my other factors, starting with what I've termed the 'ideological factor'.

The story here really goes back to an earlier 'pre-crisis situation', the death of Stalin, when Khrushchev and others decided the country could no longer be run as a terroristic dictatorship almost totally cut off from the outside world. They curbed the arbitrary powers of the political police, de-deified Stalin, de-demonised the West, and learned how to run the country as a bureaucratic oligarchy rather than a personal tyranny.

These measures got them through their immediate difficulties and helped them to stabilise the mono-organisational system in a modified form that persisted for over three decades. But they also had unintended effects of fateful consequence. They perforated the 'iron curtain' and dissolved the fear-engendered 'atomisation' of the population. They fostered doubt and cynicism about official doctrines, values and symbols, while making access to alternative ones possible, albeit often difficult and dangerous. It now became easier not only to think independently, but also to share one's thoughts within a revitalised private sphere of family and friends, both in speech and increasingly in writing as well. A many-faceted 'counter-culture' emerged, one facet of which was oriented towards political issues . . . The few thousands of active dissidents were therefore just the most visible part of an independent-minded and increasingly well-informed and sophisticated segment of the public running perhaps into the millions. There were innumerable personal linkages between this wider public and the nation's various elites, and a heavy overlap with the main body of the intelligentsia including most importantly those employed in the various policy-oriented 'think-tanks' that came to the fore under Brezhnev.

All this was a necessary prerequisite to what has happened under Gorbachev, in two ways. On the one hand, when Gorbachev felt an urgent need for new ideas for reforming Soviet society, where was he to seek these if not from more original and independent-minded elements within the official 'think-tanks'? Small wonder that he was to draw many of these people into his entourage, some of them passing on later to positions of great power and influence. On the other hand, the relaxation after 1986 of the controls over information and public expression,

association and assembly would never have released such a massive explosion of political activity in the following years had this not been gestating for a generation in the submerged counter-culture, and this explosion... was a crucial weapon for Gorbachev in his struggles with the conservatives...

I have already begun to touch on my third precondition for the Gorbachev revolution, Gorbachev himself. I do not believe we would now be seeing the end of mono-organisational socialism if he had not become general secretary, because there was no-one else with anything like the qualities of mind and personality even to undertake it, let alone to carry it through successfully...

... All the same, there do exist major differences both among Western observers and in the Soviet Union itself in evaluating his achievements and explaining them... Gorbachev's hidden agenda was progressively radicalised after 1985... Gorbachev certainly had every reason to conceal his hand. He had only two close allies in the Politburo who would have supported that agenda, namely Yakovlev and Shevardnadze, and his tactic at that political level was to make common cause with a group of moderately reformist technocrats headed by Prime Minister Ryzhkov, in order to neutralise the conservatives around Ligachev, while he relied on the public political process which he had unleashed to progressively radicalise the options, and in that context he could play the voice of reason and moderation, urging the necessity of change while warning against extremism, against throwing out the baby with the bathwater. These tactics worked, but of course they progressively alienated not only the conservatives whose world they destroyed, but also the radical reformers who blame him for not ushering in *their* brave new world quickly enough...

... Can we now breathe a sigh of relief and prepare to celebrate the happy ending? Well, that would obviously be premature, and it's going to be a long, hard road, but can we be reasonably confident about the ultimate result? Many people are not. A number of countries are now embarked on the road from mono-organisational socialism to free-market democracy, but none has yet successfully negotiated that road, so there is no proof it *can* be done. Even if countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary do succeed, are there special problems in the Soviet case that may still doom it to failure?

There certainly are special problems. One is the sheer size of the country and the complexity of its economy. But the most obvious problem is obviously its national diversity. Under Lenin the Russian communists managed to recapture most of the old Russian empire by means of the Red Army and subsequently to hold on to it through the multiple bonds of the mono-organisational system. I suggested earlier that as long as those bonds were in place the resentments and aspirations of the non-Russian nations could probably be contained for quite a while longer. But those bonds are now loosed... His biggest mistake has been to underestimate the force of nationalism. Gorbachev is a reasonable and rational man, and he has achieved marvels through common sense, shrewdness, and a capacity for discerning common interests and mutually beneficial compromises. But he has little feeling for the extra-rational dimension of politics. Will this prove his fatal flaw? There certainly are the makings of tragedy in the fact that,



whereas he had first to break the power of the party apparatus before he could either marketise the economy or renegotiate the terms of the Soviet Federation, without that power to direct and contain, simultaneously carrying out these two great tasks may be impossible. Now we have the paradox that Gorbachev enjoys far greater formal powers than any of the previous Soviet leaders, even Lenin, even Stalin, but those powers may prove to be empty because he cannot enforce his decisions. There is the current spectacle of the so-called battle of the laws, with the President and central government decreeing one thing and the republics decreeing something entirely different. To try and effect a total transformation of the economy under those circumstances is obviously a recipe for chaos.

... It is not so difficult to suggest some possible outcomes, but there is no magic formula for assigning probabilities. I think there is still a real chance that the transition to a market economy will be achieved, without a collapse into political chaos and without sacrificing the new political freedoms and parliamentary institutions. One necessary condition would be a high level of de facto co-operation and flexibility on the part of both Gorbachev and Yeltsin. But we must certainly reckon with the possibility that the market reforms can succeed only at the expense of retreating from democracy and imposing order through the Army and the KGB. This could result either from measures taken by Gorbachev to enforce his decrees, or from a coup against Gorbachev. Speculations about a military coup have been rife in the Soviet Union for over a year, and they are now openly touted in the media. The dangers are certainly there, although I cannot see any potential coup-leaders staging one unless and until social disorder and distress reach such levels that much of the public would welcome it – which is not the situation at present. One complication is that there are sharp political divisions within the armed forces, and possibly within the KGB as well, and perhaps the worst danger would be a coup that was only partly successful and degenerated into civil war. There is also another possibility ... which we still cannot rule out – namely, the triumph of some form of authoritarian rule dedicated not to maintaining order while carrying through the transition to the market, but to halting and reversing that transition. This could mean reviving the Communist Party dictatorship and the mono-organisational system as a kind of barracks socialism. There are leading Russian liberals who do not exclude this possibility, but they tend to say it would solve no problems, and in due course you would get a 'Romanian solution'.

Whichever of these possible futures proves to be the real one, and whatever shape the new federal treaty between the now sovereign Soviet republics takes, I think it very unlikely that any Soviet regime will be able much longer to keep the non-Russian nations in the Union against their will. As to which will stay linked with Russia and on what terms, there are enough possible permutations to keep us talking all night. But we must not forget that a new Russia on its own would still be the largest country in Eurasia, with rich human and natural resources, and it is likely to remain a major force both in Europe and the Pacific. Whether it will be a force for good is going to be very important for the rest of the world, and that will largely depend on whether it has a safe passage through its present troubles. There is probably not much we can do to help, but we should do what we can.

## INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES



# Australia-China Exchange Program

The Program is a joint one between the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing. It has been in operation for eleven years. Modifications to the agreement have been made from time to time, and it is formally reviewed each three years. After the events in China in June 1989, the Program was suspended, and Professor A. J. S. Reid and Dr David Kelly were delegated to visit CASS and discuss the situation. After consideration of their Report, the Program resumed in March 1990.

The Kelly-Reid Report has been a basic briefing document for Australian scholars visiting China under the Exchange Program during 1990-91. The Academies also require that returning scholars submit a detailed report on their visits, so that the Academies remain informed about any shortcomings or difficulties in the operation of the Program. These reports enable us to monitor variations in atmosphere and attitudes within the scholarly community in China and to brief subsequent Australian scholars more adequately. Sections of the reports remain confidential, but many aspects of them can be shared with other scholars in similar fields of research.

For its part, CASS also receives reports from Chinese scholars on their visits to Australia. Both parties to the agreement request modifications of itineraries and in the organisation of the Exchange as appropriate, and when difficulties are encountered, they are discussed.

During 1991, for instance, the Presidents of the two Australian Academies wrote to CASS with some concern over both organisational aspects of the Scheme and the kinds of applications we received. Requests were made that the scholarly nature of the Exchange be respected, and that considerably more notice be given of intending visitors. It was suggested that intending applicants make direct contact with potential hosts in Australia, and that research aims be more clearly specified so that appropriate arrangements could be made. CASS responded with general agreement, and the Academies look forward to further improvement in the Program.

The Academies have hosted visits from scholars in the Agroecconomics Institute of the Gansu Academy of the Social Sciences, the Institute of Linguistics (CASS) and the Institute of Rural Development (CASS) during 1991. In March the Agroecconomics Delegation, comprising Li Shuji, Shi Zhengxin and Li Bingxin (interpreter) were hosted by the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of New England, and the National Key Centre for Teaching and Research in Dryland Agriculture and Land Use Systems at Roseworthy Agricultural College. Francis Bright (UNE), Peter Ninnes and Dr Vic Squires (Roseworthy) were particularly helpful in organising programs of field trips and research and the Academy gratefully acknowledges their assistance.

Professor Cao Jianfen of the Institute of Linguistics spent a month in Australia in June-July. She attended the Biennial Conference of the Chinese

Studies Association at the University of Sydney, where she presented a paper and met numerous Australian scholars. We are grateful for the generous hospitality of Dr Mabel Lee during the Conference. At La Trobe University, Professor Cao attended a conference on Language Teaching in China and Australia, and again contributed a paper. She also visited Monash University and Telecom Laboratories where she gave a seminar. Dr David Bradley, Dr Peter Paul and Professor Michael Clyne co-ordinated her activities in Melbourne, and the Academies appreciate the time they spent in making her visit so fruitful. In Canberra, linguists from the Australian National University and the Australian Defence Force Academy met Professor Cao, attended her seminar, shared computer modelling programs and offered hospitality. We thank in particular Dr May Jane Chen, Dr Harold Koch, Dr Bruce Millar, Mr David Slater, Ms Takaka Toda, Dr Phil Rose and Dr Rafe Champion de Crespigny.

In August Deng Yingtao, Han Jun and Zhang Youyun (interpreter) from the Institute of Rural Development visited Australia. Itineraries were organised in Adelaide by the Centre for Asian Studies and the Department of Economics at the University of Adelaide, and Roseworthy Agricultural College. Mr Andrew Watson, Dr Christopher Findlay, Ms Jan Holmes and Dr Vic Squires all deserve our thanks. In Melbourne, Professor Tony Chisholm of the School of Agriculture in La Trobe University co-ordinated an itinerary for the visitors. In both South Australia and Victoria, field trips were organised and the Delegation saw a good deal of the country. In Canberra, with the advice of the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, a program was arranged which included discussions with CSIRO scientists, the National Centre for Development Studies, the National Resource Information Centre and other Divisions of the Department of Primary Industry and Energy, the Australian Conservation Foundation and local scholars. In Sydney Professor Ross Drynan of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Sydney co-ordinated their program.

It was felt that the latter two visits were particularly successful. The scholars were of a high standard, had taken steps to initiate contacts with Australian colleagues before their arrival, and pursued their research aims with enthusiasm and initiative. The visitors from the Institute of Rural Development were younger scholars, and it is pleasing that encouragement is now being given to those with many research years ahead of them.

Several Australian scholars had postponed 1990 visits until this year. Dr Gail Graham, Department of Management, University of Wollongong, visited China in January. Her purpose was to examine how specific organisational behaviour and management terms and concepts are translated from English into Chinese. Dr K. K. Shum, School of History, University of NSW has been forced to postpone his visit until late this year because of injury.

Six Australian scholars were selected under the Exchange Program for 1991. They were:

- **Professor W. J. F. Jenner**, Professor of Chinese, China Centre, Asian Studies, Australian National University. Professor Jenner is a distinguished scholar of considerable standing, who has eleven books and numerous



articles and reviews to his credit. His research in China included meetings with specialists in Chinese urban history, an examination of current developments in Chinese literature and cultural policy, and discussions with the China Social Sciences Publishing House with a view to developing future co-operative publishing in English on Chinese history and culture. Professor Jenner took up his grant in September, and plans to stay on for three months in China.

- **Benjamin Penny**, Ph.D. student, China Centre, Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University. Mr Penny has a first class honours degree and M.Phil. and has received a number of awards and scholarships. His doctoral research, which he pursued while in China in June and July, concerns the biographies of Daoist transcendents in early medieval China, their relationship with the sects of the time and their role in the revelations of Upper Purity Daoism in the late 6 dynasties.
- **Dr Ching-fatt Yong**, Reader in History, Flinders University of South Australia. Dr Yong also has many publications to his credit, and in China, during July, continued his research on the origins and development of the Malayan Communist Movement 1919-1941, compared notes with Chinese counterparts who have worked on this theme and interviewed former residents of Singapore and Malaysia who now live in China.
- **Dr Terry Narramore**, Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania. Dr Narramore is a young scholar who has recently returned to Australia after working at Keio University in Tokyo. He plans to pursue the research done for his doctorate on the history of the Shanghai daily press in the period 1912-1937 with a view to publishing his work in a book. Although he originally planned to visit China in June, the Chinese Academy requested that he postpone his visit until later in the year. The reason given was that there was insufficient time to organise properly his access to certain archives in Shanghai, but we have learnt unofficially that visits by foreign scholars in early June are not encouraged.
- **Kwok Cho Tang**, Ph.D. candidate, University of Sydney. Mr Tang has a Graduate Diploma in Public Sector Management (UTS), M.A. in Social Administration (York) and Diploma in Social Work (Hong Kong Baptist College). While in China during September-October, he planned to examine the development and implementation of integrated medicine, and to explore training methods and practice of Qigong therapy.
- **Dr Jennifer Grant**, School of Languages, Macquarie University. Dr Grant, who has for some years acted as guide/interpreter and reference point for Chinese scholars when they are visiting Sydney under our Exchange Scheme, was Manager for the China Information Service of AAP during 1989-1990 and is a specialist on journalism in China. During her visit in July, she pursued her studies of theory and practice of journalism, the provision of Chinese news reports to foreign news agencies, and the training of journalists and editors.

Following the modifications of our Exchange Agreement to include younger scholars of promise along with those more senior, this year's selection has included two scholars who have yet to complete their doctoral studies. The Committee also endeavoured to include applicants with a range of research interests, as no doubt is evident.

The names of those selected by the Academies for the 1992 Program have been sent to CASS for consideration. Usually, approval is not received until January-February, and the Australian scholars are then notified. However, the Academies advise those under consideration to begin making contacts directly with Chinese scholars so that, if they are accepted, arrangements for meetings and access to material can proceed immediately. Since visits are normally no longer than a month, it is crucial that advance notice is sufficient to ensure that the best possible use is made of the brief time available.

The composition of the Joint Academies Australia-China Exchange Committee has changed. The Australian Academy of the Humanities is represented by Professors A. J. S. Reid (John Mulvaney as alternate), Eugene Kamenka and Dr Rafe Champion de Crespigny, and the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia by Professors Gerard Ward (Chair), Oliver MacDonagh (Secretary) and John Dillon. Ms Pat Waters (AAH) performs the role of Treasurer and Dr Peg Job (ASSA) administers the Program.

## Australia-Netherlands Program

During the last three years the Academy, in collaboration with the Royal Netherlands Academy of the Arts and Sciences, has promoted exchanges between Dutch and Australian social science scholars. Modest in both scope and funding, the program was reviewed this year resulting in recommendations that its scope be broadened and its funding increased, and that the Australian Academy of the Humanities become a co-partner in the Agreement.

Highlights of the program in 1991 included visits by Dutch scholars Drs Kroonenberg and Goedegebuure, and Dr Anderson from the Australian National University visited the Netherlands in July.

Dr P. M. Kroonenberg of the Department of Education at Leiden University visited Australia from February to May 1991. Visits and lectures were undertaken to continue collaboration with Australian researchers in the area of three-way analysis and three-way data programs at Queensland and La Trobe Universities, CSIRO in Canberra and Ballarat CAE. The trip enabled him to establish outlines for several joint publications, and lay groundwork for future projects and investigations.

In February 1991, Dr R. J. M. Goedegebuure from the Centre for Higher Education at the University of Twente, visited Australia at the invitation of the Department of Administrative, Higher and Adult Education Studies, University of New England. He was a keynote speaker and lecturer at their Special Conference, and his address will be published with the conference proceedings.



Dr Geodegebuure finalised a research article for publication, and a research proposal for submission to the USA. He had extensive discussions with key people involved with Australian higher education, in Canberra with Government representatives, and at La Trobe and Melbourne Universities with those interested in higher education.

Dr Don Anderson from Sociology, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, visited the Netherlands from early May to early July, 1991. His project dealt with a study of privatisation in education in several countries. He extended contacts among a network of scholars involved in research, collected unpublished statistical information and interviewed leading policy makers and social scientists.

Professor Jane Marceau of the Urban Research Program in the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University will be visiting the Netherlands in early December 1991 for two weeks. She will participate in a study by economists and sociologists writing a book on small industrial countries and will be the Australian participant delivering a paper at their conference. She will interview a number of Dutch researchers and public officials who are carrying out an analysis of technological change and industry policy.

When it is finalised, the new program will be jointly managed by the three Academies and provide for scholarly exchanges in the humanities as well as the social sciences.

Further details can be obtained by contacting the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Canberra.

## Australia-Japan Program

The Executive Committee of the Academy decided in April to establish a program to foster understanding between Australia and Japan by research in the social sciences. The program has particular reference to changing aspects of the relations between the two countries. The program provides grants to enable younger Australian scholars to undertake research, especially post-doctoral, in Japan.

The new program is a development of a former scheme, jointly managed by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and the Australian Academy of the Humanities, which supported research activities in Japan by Australian scholars in multi-disciplinary areas of both the humanities and social sciences. Support for scholars in the new program will be confined to disciplines of the social sciences and limited to the funding of individuals rather than group activity, conferences, working parties or costs associated with publications.

The financial resources of the Program are relatively modest and for this reason it is unable to meet requests each year for support across all disciplines of the social sciences. The Program is thus structured to support a number of related social science disciplines each year. During 1991-92 the Academy is interested in supporting research in the fields of sociology, geography,

anthropology, demography and linguistics, with preference being given to younger scholars.

Further details can be obtained by contacting the Academy.

## Australia-Vietnam Academic Co-operation Program

Seen as an initiative that will complement its major research project, the *Australian-Asian Perceptions Project*, the Academy agreed in September to establish an academic co-operation agreement with Vietnam.

For some time the Academy, together with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, has been exploring ways to expand relations with organisations of similar character overseas, particularly within its region, and including Vietnam. In 1989 the two Australian Academies made scholarly contact with Vietnam's National Centre for the Social Sciences. It was recognised that Australia was best placed to develop close and mutually helpful scholarly relations with Vietnam. The establishment of a formal agreement would provide for joint projects and the exchange of information and ideas between Vietnamese and Australian scholars in the social sciences and the humanities.

Each Australian Academy and the Vietnamese Centre will propose scholars in specialised fields subject to the proposal being supported by a program. These programs will normally be the result of prior contact, and agreement, between scholars and institutions in both countries. Following these contacts and the submission of a proposal, each visit will be finalised in consultation with and on the approval of the host Academy or the Vietnamese Centre for the Social Sciences.

The Agreement will provide for the visit of up to three Australian scholars per year to Vietnam, each being responsible for their own travel and accommodation costs. The Agreement provides for one Vietnamese scholar per year to visit Australia. Registration fees for relevant conferences and symposia will also be paid by the host Academy.

Further details can be obtained by contacting either the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia or the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

## Australia-Finland Memorandum

On 1 August, 1991 a Memorandum of Understanding between the Academy and the Academy of Finland was signed. The Memorandum agrees to promote and enhance relations between social scientists of the two countries through the exchange of publications, facilitation of visits by scholars to research institutes and encouragement of direct contacts between scholarly institutions and individual social scientists in Australia and Finland.



# Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils

**A** ASSREC is a regional organisation with 15 member countries: Australia, New Zealand, India, Sri Lanka, PR of China, Japan, USSR, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Republic of Korea, PDR of Korea, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. The organisation meets biennially at a General Conference, and this is the primary decision-making forum for the affairs of AASSREC. An Executive Council meets annually to handle other business.

At the Biennial Conference in Christchurch in 1989, the Academy became the Secretariat for AASSREC, with the Executive Director of the Academy becoming Secretary-General of AASSREC. This two-year term ended at the Biennial Conference in Manila in August 1991, when the Indian Council of Social Science Research assumed the position.

During the period when the Secretariat was in Australia, Proceedings of the Eighth Biennial Conference were edited and published by the Academy, as well as Proceedings of the Executive Council meeting held in February 1990. Three issues of the newsletter *AASSREC PANORAMA* have been published by the Academy, and a fourth will appear in November. It was decided that the changeover of Secretariat would take some months and 1 December has been proposed as the formal date for transfer of current papers and accounts. Australia has now assumed a Vice-Presidency in AASSREC, but the duties and responsibilities of this Office are comparatively small. The next meeting of the Executive Council is tentatively scheduled for March, 1992, in Tokyo.

The Academy sent a delegation of four to the Biennial Conference and AASSREC-UNESCO Symposium on Human Resource Development in Manila, including an Aboriginal delegate, Ms Kerrie Tim, to present the findings of a national symposium convened to consider some aspect of Human Resource Development. The theme chosen was Aboriginal Employment Equity by the Year 2000, and details are provided elsewhere in the *Annual Report*.

The Conference and Symposium can be regarded as highly successful. Delegates from 19 countries attended, and the opportunity to converse with colleagues from many different backgrounds was fully utilised. The hosts, the Philippine Social Science Council and the President of AASSREC, Professor Ruben Trinidad, were both hospitable and efficient. The program of paper presentation and discussion was an intensive one, but so too was the social calendar. All proceedings are to be published, and Fellows will be advised when they are available.

Both the Biennial Conference and the function of Secretariat have been useful to the Academy in fulfilling one of the objectives of its brief, viz 'to act as the Australian national member of international organisations connected with social sciences'. Much closer ties with countries of the Asian region have been forged as a result of the experience of the past two years, and a responsible contribution made to the promotion of social sciences in the region.



*Participants at the Biennial Conference and AASSREC-UNESCO Symposium on Human Resource Development in Manila, August 1991.*

Besides continuing to contribute modestly through the Vice-Presidency, the Academy has also appointed a Fellow, Dr Charles Price, to act as General Editor for the AASSREC monograph series *Introducing Asian Societies*. Contracts have been signed for volumes on the Philippines, China and Vietnam, and it is anticipated that they will be published through Sterling Publishers (India) during the next year.

Special thanks are due to Professor George Smolicz for his ongoing interest in the organisation, and his participation in AASSREC Conferences. The Academy looks forward to a continued association with the member countries of AASSREC, albeit a less time-consuming one.



# Recent Academy Publications

- Survey of Australian Political Science*, D. A. Aitkin (ed.), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985.
- Australian Psychology: Review of Research*, N. T. Feather (ed.), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985.
- Women, Social Science and Public Policy*, Jacqueline Goodnow: 'Women and the Social Sciences: Challenges to the Selection of Topics, Methods and Interpretations', 1983, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985.
- Women, Social Science and Public Policy*, Proceedings of a Symposium, J. Goodnow, C. Pateman (eds.), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985.
- Victoria's Heritage*, A. G. L. Shaw (ed.), Lectures to celebrate the 150th anniversary of European settlement in Victoria. (With AAH), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1986.
- Blast, Budge or Bypass: Towards a Social Democratic Australia*, H. H. Stretton: 'Tasks for Social Democratic Intellectuals', 1984. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1986.
- Equality of Opportunity Reconsidered*, P. H. Karmel: 'Quality and Equality in Education' 1985. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1986.
- Blast, Budge or Bypass: Towards a Social Democratic Australia*, Proceedings of a Symposium, D.W. Rawson (ed.), 1984. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1986.
- Equality of Opportunity Reconsidered*, Proceedings of a Symposium, D. W. Rawson, R. G. Neale (eds.), 1985. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1986.
- Australian Education: Review of Research*, J. P. Keeves (ed.), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1987.
- The Social Scientist in a Democracy*, Sir Paul Hasluck, 1986. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1988.
- New Directions in the South Pacific: A Message for Australia*, Muriel Brookfield and R. Gerard Ward (eds.), Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1988.
- Land, Water and People*, R. L. Heathcote and J. A. Mabbutt (eds.), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1988.
- Multiculturalism and National Identity*, K. S. Inglis, 1988. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1989.
- Australian Society*, Keith Hancock (ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.
- Scientific and Technological Progress – Who Benefits?*, S. Encel and L. Waller, 1987. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1990.
- Global Change: The Human Dimensions*, Harold Brookfield and Loene Doube (eds.), Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1990.
- Rats, Patients and People: Issues in the Ethical Regulations of Research*, P. Singer, 1989. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1990.
- Changes in the Soviet Union*, T. H. Rigby, 1990. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1991.
- Linguistics in Australia: Trends in Research*, Michael Clyne (ed.), Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1991.
- Aboriginal Employment Equity by the Year 2000*, Proceedings of a Symposium, J. C. Altman (ed.), Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1991.
- Australian National Identity*, Proceedings of a Symposium, Charles A. Price (ed.), 1989. Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1991.

# FELLOWS OF THE ACADEMY



# Fellows of the Academy

**T**he *Rules* of the Academy state that 'persons who are deemed to have achieved distinction in one or more branches of the social sciences may be elected as Fellows of the Academy if (i) they are nominated by one Fellow and seconded by two other Fellows; (ii) they are recommended by the Membership Committee after investigation of their eligibility; and (iii) they receive the support of a majority of the Fellows for the time being at a postal ballot'.

Nine new Fellows were elected in 1991. They were:

**Professor John Freebairn**, Chairman, Department of Economics, Monash University;

**Professor Ross Garnaut**, Professor of Economics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University;

**Dr Michael Humphreys**, Reader in Psychology, University of Queensland;

**Professor Ian McDonald**, Professor of Economics, University of Melbourne;

**Professor Janice Reid**, Professor and Head, School of Community Health, Cumberland College of Health Sciences, University of Sydney;

**Associate Professor Jillian Roe**, Associate Professor of History, Macquarie University;

**Professor Steven Schwartz**, Professor and Head of Psychology, and President of the Academic Board, University of Queensland;

**Professor David Siddle**, Professor of Psychology, University of Queensland; and

**Professor Graeme Snooks**, Timothy Coghlan Professor of Economic History, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

At November 1991 there were 237 Fellows, including Honorary and Overseas Fellows.

The deaths of six Fellows have been recorded: Emeritus Professor N. G. Butlin, Emeritus Professor C. M. H. Clark, Sir Richard Eggleston, Emeritus Professor H. Mayer, Emeritus Professor W. M. O'Neil and Dr C. Higgins.

# Fellows of the Academy 1991

- 1975 **AITKIN**, Donald Alexander. MA (New England), PhD (Australian National University).  
Vice-Chancellor, University of Canberra  
PO Box 1, Belconnen, ACT 2616
- 1944 **ALEXANDER**, Frederick. CBE, MA (Oxford), Hon DLitt (Western Australia).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Western Australia. (History).  
77 Victoria Avenue, Dalkeith, WA 6009  
(Honorary Fellow 1969).
- 1981 **ALLEN**, Michael Richard. BA (Dublin), PhD (Australian National University).  
Professor of Anthropology, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1990 **ANDRICH**, David. BSc, MEd (Western Australia), PhD (Chicago).  
Professor of Education, Murdoch University.  
Murdoch, WA 6150
- 1967 **APPLEYARD**, Reginald Thomas. BA (Western Australia), MA, PhD (Duke).  
Professor of Economic History, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1977 **ARGY**, Victor Elie. BA, BEc (Sydney).  
Professor of Economics, School of Economics and Financial Studies, Macquarie  
University, Sydney, NSW 2109
- 1954 **ARNDT**, Heinz Wolfgang. MA, BLitt (Oxford).  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Economics). Visiting Fellow,  
National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, The  
Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1990 **AUSTIN-BROOS**, Diane. BA, MA (ANU), MA, PhD (Chicago).  
Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1987 **BALL**, Desmond. PhD (Australian National University).  
Special Professor, Institute of Advanced Studies, ANU.  
Professor, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, The Australian National University,  
GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1957 **BARNES**, John Arundel. DSC, FBA, MA (Cambridge), DPhil (Oxford).  
Emeritus Professor, University of Cambridge (Sociology). Visiting Fellow, Sociology  
Program, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO  
Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1981 **BELL**, Coral Mary. BA (Sydney), MSc (Econ), PhD (London).  
Visiting Fellow, Strategic Defence Studies Centre, The Australian National University,  
30 Padbury Street, Downer, ACT 2602
- 1982 **BERNDT**, Catherine Helen. AM, BA (New Zealand), Dip Anthropol, MA (Sydney),  
PhD (London), Hon DLitt (Western Australia), (Hon) FRAI.  
Senior Honorary Research Fellow, Department of Anthropology, The University of  
Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1970 **BLAINEY**, Geoffrey Norman. AO, MA (Melbourne).  
Emeritus Professor of History, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1981 **BLANDY**, Richard John. BEc (Adelaide), MA, PhD (Columbia).  
Director, National Institute of Labour Studies and Professor of Economics,  
The Flinders University of South Australia, 3 Glyde Street, Glen Osmond, SA 5064
- 1976 **BOLTON**, Geoffrey Curgenvin. AO, MA, DPhil (Oxford), FAHA, FRHistS.  
Professor of Australian History, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld 4067



- 1950 **BORRIE**, Wilfred David. CBE, MA (New Zealand), HonDLitt (Tasmania), HonDSc Econ (Sydney), HonLLD (Australian National University). Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Demography). 29 Norman Street, Deakin, ACT 2600 (Honorary Fellow 1985)
- 1977 **BOURKE**, Paul Francis. BA, DipEd (Melbourne), PhD (Wisconsin), Hon DLitt (Flinders). Professor of History, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1975 **BOXER**, Alan Howard. BA (Melbourne), BPhil (Oxford). 2 Bambridge Street, Weetangera, ACT 2614
- 1987 **BRADSHAW**, Johnson Lockyer. MA (Oxford), PhD (Sheffield), DSc (Monash), FBPsS. Reader in Psychology, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1989 **BRAITHWAITE**, John Bradford. BA(Hons) (Queensland), PhD (Queensland). Professorial Fellow, Philosophy and Law, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1985 **BRENNAN**, H. Geoffrey. BEc, PhD (Australian National University). Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1977 **BROOKFIELD**, Harold Chillingworth. BA, PhD (London). Professor of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1972 **BROOM**, Leonard. AM (Boston), PhD (Duke), Hon Dsc (Boston). Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Sociology). Research Associate, University of California, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93106. 379 Canon Drive, Santa Barbara, CA 93105, USA.
- 1979 **BROWN**, Philip Ronald. BCom (New South Wales), MBA, PhD (Chicago). KPMG Peat Marwick Professor of Accounting, Department of Accounting and Finance, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1973 **BROWN**, Raymond George. BA, Dip Soc Stud (Melbourne), MSS (Bryn Mawr), PhD (Birmingham). Emeritus Professor of Social Administration, The Flinders University of South Australia, 12 Wanbrow Avenue, Wattle Park, SA 5066
- 1973 **BROWN**, Robert Richard. BA (New Mexico), PhD (London), FAHA. Visiting Fellow, History of Ideas Unit, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1980 **BRYAN**, Harrison. AO, MA (Queensland), Hon LLD (Monash, Queensland), Hon DLitt (Sydney), FLAA. 16 Asquith Street, Oatley, NSW 2223
- 1972 **CALDWELL**, John Charles. BA (New England), PhD (Australian National University). Associate Director, National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health, and Director, Health Transition Centre, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1972 **CAMPBELL**, Enid Mona. OBE, LLB, BEc (Tasmania), PhD (Duke), Hon LLD (Tasmania). The Sir Isaac Isaacs Professor of Law, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168

- 1964 **CAMPBELL**, Keith Oliver. BScAgr (Sydney), MPA (Harvard), MA, PhD (Chicago). FAIAS.  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney. (Agricultural Economics).  
188 Beecroft Road, Cheltenham, NSW 2119
- 1989 **CASS**, Bettina. AO, BA (University of NSW), PhD (University of NSW).  
Professor of Social Policy, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1989 **CASTLES**, Ian. BCom (Melbourne).  
Australian Statistician, Australian Bureau of Statistics.  
PO Box 10, Belconnen, ACT 2616
- 1964 **CHAMBERS**, Raymond John. AO, BEc, DScEcon (Sydney), Hon DSc (Newcastle).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney (Accounting), Professorial Associate,  
Deakin University.  
18 Amy Street, Blakehurst, NSW 2221
- 1978 **CHAMPION**, Richard Annells. BA (Sydney), MA (Iowa).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney. (Psychology).  
14 Waterview Street, Mona Vale, NSW 2103
- 1988 **CLEGG**, Stewart Roger. BSc (Hons) (Behavioural Science: Sociology), (Aston),  
PhD (Bradford).  
Professor of Organisation Studies, Department of Management, University of St  
Andrews, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9DJ, Scotland, UK
- 1982 **CLYNE**, Michael George. MA (Melbourne), PhD (Monash). FAHA.  
Corresponding Member, Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim and Research Centre  
for Multilingualism, Brussels.  
Professor, Department of Linguistics, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168  
Research Director, Language and Society Centre, National Languages Institute of  
Australia.
- 1988 **COLTHEART**, Max. BA, MA, PhD (Sydney).  
Professor of Psychology, School of Behavioural Sciences, Macquarie University, Sydney,  
NSW 2109
- 1964 **CONNELL**, William Fraser. OBE, MA, MEd (Melbourne), MA (Illinois), PhD, DLit  
(London). Honorary Member AARE.  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney (Education), Fellow, Faculty of Education,  
Monash University.  
34 Tanti Avenue, Mornington, Vic 3931
- 1943 **COOMBS**, Herbert Cole. MA (Western Australia), PhD (London), H on LLD  
(Melbourne, Sydney, Australian National University), Hon DLitt (Western Australia),  
Hon DSc (New South Wales). FAA, Honorary Fellow, FAHA, LSE, ANZAAS.  
Visiting Fellow, Centre for Research and Environmental Studies, The Australian National  
University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601  
(Honorary Fellow 1973)
- 1977 **CORDEN**, Warner Max. MCom (Melbourne), PhD (London), MA (Oxford).  
Professor of International Economics, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced  
International Studies of The John Hopkins University, 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036
- 1952 **COWEN**, The Right Honorable Sir Zelman. AK, GCMG, GCVO, GCOMRI, QC.  
FRSA (Hon), FAAH, FTS, FACE, FRAIA, FRACP, FASA, FRACMA, FRACOG,  
FCA, FACRM, FANZAAS, BA, LLM (Melbourne), MA, DCL (Oxford), HonLLD  
(Hong Kong, Queensland, Melbourne, Western Australia, Turin, Australian National  
University, Tasmania), HonDLitt (New England, Sydney, James Cook University of



North Queensland, Oxford), Hon DHL (University of Redlands, California and Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati), HonDUniv. (Newcastle, Griffith), HonD Phil (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv), Governor-General of Australia 1977-1982.

Former Provost, Oriel College, Oxford OX1 4EW.

4 Treasury Place, East Melbourne, Vic 3002

(Honorary Fellow 1977)

- 1989 **CREEDY**, John. BSc (Bristol), BPhil (Oxford).  
The Truby Williams Professor of Economics, University of Melbourne, Parkville,  
Vic 3052
- 1979 **CRITTENDEN**, Brian Stephen. MA (Sydney), PhD (Illinois).  
Professor of Education, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1962 **DAVIS**, Solomon Rufus. LLB (Western Australia), PhD (London).  
Barrister-at-Law (Victoria).  
Emeritus Professor, Monash University (Politics).  
31 Mont Victor Road, Kew, Vic 3101
- 1985 **DAVISON**, Graeme John. BA, DipEd (Melbourne), BA (Oxford), PhD (Australian  
National University)  
Professor of History, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1967 **DAY**, Ross Henry. BSc (Western Australia), PhD (Bristol), D.Univ (La Trobe), FAPsS,  
FAA  
Professor of Psychology, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1983 **DENING**, Gregory Moore. MA (Melbourne, Harvard), PhD (Harvard), FRHSV.  
Emeritus Professor of History, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1975 **DILLON**, John Louis. BScAgr (Sydney), PhD (Iowa), FAIAS, FAAEA.  
Professor of Farm Management, The University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2351
- 1982 **DIXON**, Peter Bishop. BEc (Monash), AM, PhD (Harvard).  
Director, Centre of Policy Studies, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1989 **DRYSDALE**, Peter David. BA (New England), PhD (Australian National University).  
Professor, and Executive Director, Australia-Japan Research Centre, Research School of  
Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1973 **DUNN**, Sydney Stephen. AO, BA, DipEd (Adelaide), BEd (Melbourne), HonLLD  
(Monash), FAPsS, FACE.  
1 Harriet Street, Werribee, Vic 3030
- 1964 **EDWARDS**, Harold Raymond. BA (Sydney), DPhil (Oxford). FAIM.  
Member for Berowra, Parliament of Australia.  
12 John Savage Crescent, West Pennant Hills, NSW 2120
- 1968 **ENCEL**, Solomon. MA, PhD (Melbourne).  
Emeritus Professor of Sociology, The University of New South Wales, PO Box 1,  
Kensington, NSW 2033
- 1987 **ETZIONI-HALEVY**, Eva. BA (Hebrew University), PhD (Tel-Aviv).  
Professor, Department of Sociology, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan 52900, Israel
- 1970 **FEATHER**, Norman Thomas. BA, DipEd (Sydney), MA (New England), PhD  
(Michigan). FAPsS, FBPS.  
Professor of Psychology, School of Social Sciences, The Flinders University of South  
Australia, Bedford Park, SA 5042

- 1985 **FENSHAM**, Peter James. AM, MSc (Melbourne), DipEd (Monash), PhD (Bristol, Cambridge).  
Professor of Science Education, Faculty of Education, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1990 **FINN**, Paul Desmond. BA, LLB (Queensland), LLM (London), PhD (Cambridge).  
Professor of Law, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1974 **FISK**, Ernest Kelvin. MA (Oxford), LittD (Australian National University).  
1 Dugan Street, Deakin, ACT 2600
- 1953 **FITZGERALD**, Charles Patrick. LittD (Australian National University).  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University. (Far Eastern History).  
4 St Paul's Street, Randwick, NSW 2031
- 1977 **FORD**, Harold Arthur John. LLM (Melbourne), SJD (Harvard), Hon LLD (Melbourne).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Melbourne. (Commercial Law).  
32 Molesworth Street, Kew, Vic 3101
- 1987 **FORGAS**, Joseph Paul. BA (Macquarie), DPhil, DSc (Oxford).  
Professor, School of Psychology, The University of New South Wales, PO Box 1, Kensington, NSW 2033
- 1985 **FORGE**, John Anthony Waldo. MA (Cambridge).  
Foundation Professor of Anthropology, The Faculties, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1984 **FORSTER**, Kenneth I. MA (Melbourne), PhD (Illinois).  
Professor of Psychology and Research Scientist in Cognitive Science, University of Arizona, Tuscon, Arizona, USA 85721
- 1973 **FREEMAN**, John Derek. PhD (Cambridge), DipAnthrop (London).  
Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, Visiting Fellow, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra. ACT 2601
- 1978 **GALE**, Gwendoline Fay. AO, BA, PhD (Adelaide).  
Vice-Chancellor, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1968 **GATES**, Ronald Cecil. AO, BCom (Tasmania), MA (Oxford), HonDEcon (Queensland), HonDLitt (New England), Hon FRAPI, HonFAIUS.  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Queensland and The University of New England (Economics).  
'Wangarang', Kellys Plains Road, MSF 2001, Armidale, NSW 2350
- 1990 **GEFFEN**, Gina Malke. BA (Rand) PhD (Monash).  
Professor of Neuropsychology, Psychology Department, University of Queensland, Qld 4072
- 1956 **GIBB**, Cecil Austin. OBE, MA, BEc (Sydney), PhD (Illinois). FBPsS.  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University. (Psychology). PO Box 28, Farrer, ACT 2607
- 1990 **GILBERT**, Alan D. BA, MA (ANU), DPhil (Oxford).  
Vice-Chancellor, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Tas 7001
- 1974 **GLOW**, Peter Helmut. BA (Melbourne), PhD (London).  
Professor of Psychology, The University of Adelaide, Adelaide, SA 5000



- 1969 **GOLDBERG**, Louis. AO, BA, MCom, LittD (Melbourne). FCPA, ACIS, ACIM. Emeritus Professor, The University of Melbourne (Accounting). 5 Kemsley Court, Hawthorn East, Vic 3123
- 1990 **GOODIN**, Robert Edward. BA (Indiana), DPhil (Oxon). Professorial Fellow in Philosophy, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1976 **GOODNOW**, Jacqueline Jarrett. BA (Sydney), PhD (Harvard). Emeritus Professor of Psychology, School of Behavioural Sciences, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW 2109
- 1975 **GRANT**, John McBain. MEc (Adelaide), DipEc (Cambridge). Emeritus Professor, The University of Tasmania. (Applied Economics). 33 Parkhill Street, Pearce, ACT 2607
- 1979 **GREGORY**, Robert George. BCom (Melbourne), PhD (London). Division Head, Economics and Politics, Professor of Economics and Executive Director, Centre for Economic Policy Research, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1989 **GREGSON**, Robert Anthony Mills. BSc(Eng) (Nottingham), BSc, PhD (London), FAPsS, FBPsS, FNZPsS, FSS. Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of New England, NSW 2351. Visiting Fellow, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1982 **GROENEWEGEN**, Peter Diderik. MEc (Sydney), PhD (London). Professor of Economics, and Director of Centre for the Study of the History of Economic Thought, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1970 **GRUEN**, Fred Henry George. AO, BA, BCom (Melbourne), AM (Chicago), MSc (AgEc) (Wisconsin). Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University. (Economics). Visiting Fellow, Economics Program, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1980 **HAGGER**, Alfred James. BCom (Melbourne), PhD (London). Senior Research Consultant, Centre for Regional Economic Analysis, The University of Tasmania, Box 252C, GPO, Hobart, Tas 7001
- 1986 **HALFORD**, Graeme Sydney. MA (New England), PhD (Newcastle). FAPsS. Professor of Psychology, The University of Queensland, Qld 4072
- 1968 **HANCOCK**, Keith Jackson. AO, BA (Melbourne), PhD (London), HonDLitt (Flinders). Deputy President, Australian Industrial Relations Commission, 50 Grenfell Street, Adelaide, SA 5000
- 1980 **HANNAN**, Edward James. BCom (Melbourne), PhD (Australian National University). FAA. Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Statistics), Department of Statistics, The Faculties, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1971 **HARCOURT**, Geoffrey Colin. MCom (Melbourne), PhD (Cambridge), LittD (Cambridge). Reader in the History of Economic Theory (*ad hominen*), University of Cambridge and President, Fellow and College Lecturer in Economics, Jesus College, Cambridge CB5 8BL, UK. Professor Emeritus, University of Adelaide.

- 1982 **HARRIS**, Stuart Francis. AO, BEc (Sydney), PhD (Australian National University). Professor of Resource Economics, Department of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1948 **HASLUCK**, Sir Paul. Privy Councillor, KG, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, MA (Western Australia). (Hon) FAHA.  
77 St George's Terrace, Perth, WA 6000  
(Honorary Fellow 1969)
- 1982 **HEAD**, John Graeme. BEc (Adelaide), BPhil (Oxford).  
Professor of Economics, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1981 **HEATHCOTE**, Ronald Leslie. BA (London), MA (Nebraska), PhD (Australian National University).  
Reader in Geography, The Flinders University of South Australia, 7 Parham Road, Eden Hills, SA 5050
- 1982 **HENDERSON**, Alexander Scott. MD (Aberdeen), DPM, FRACP, FRCP, FRANZCP, FRC Psych.  
Director, National Health & Medical Research Council, Social Psychiatry Research Unit, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1974 **HIATT**, Lester Richard. BDS, BA (Sydney), PhD (Australian National University).  
Reader in Anthropology, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1990 **HINDESS**, Barry. BA (Oxford), MA, PhD (Liverpool).  
Professor of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1986 **HIRST**, John Bradley. BA, PhD (Adelaide).  
Reader in History, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1976 **HUGHES**, Colin Anfield. MA (Columbia), PhD (London).  
Professor of Political Science, Department of Government, University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld 4072
- 1985 **HUGHES**, Helen. AO, MA (Melbourne), PhD (London).  
Professor of Economics and Executive Director, National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1987 **HUGO**, Graeme John. BA (Adelaide), MA (Flinders), PhD (Australian National University).  
Reader in Geography, The Flinders University of SA, Bedford Park, SA 5042
- 1975 **INGLIS**, Kenneth Stanley. MA (Melbourne), DPhil (Oxford).  
Professor of History, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1971 **ISAAC**, Joseph Ezra. AO, BA, BCom (Melbourne), PhD (London), HonDEcon (Monash), Honorary Fellow, LSE.  
Emeritus Professor, Monash University (Economics).  
Professorial Associate, Department of Economics, The University of Melbourne.  
5 Vista Avenue, Kew, Vic 3101
- 1985 **ISAAC**, Rhys Llywelyn. BA (Cape Town), BA (Oxford).  
Professor of History, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1988 **JALLAND**, Patricia. BA (Bristol), PGCE (London), MA, PhD (Toronto), FR HistS.  
Associate Professor of History, School of Social Sciences, Murdoch University, WA 6150  
1991-2 Visiting Fellow in History, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601



- 1976 **JARRETT**, Francis George. BScAgr (Sydney), PhD (Iowa).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Adelaide. (Economics). SA 5000
- 1990 **JONES**, Eric Lionel. BA (Nott), MA, DPhil, DLitt (Oxon).  
Professor of Economics (Economic History), La Trobe University; Professorial Associate,  
Graduate School of Management, University of Melbourne.  
La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1983 **JONES**, Gavin W. BA (New England), PhD (Australian National University).  
Professor, Demography Program, Division of Demography and Sociology, Research  
School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra,  
ACT 2601
- 1974 **JONES**, Frank Lancaster. BA (Sydney), PhD (Australian National University).  
Professor of Sociology, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National  
University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1989 **JONSON**, Peter David. BComm (Melbourne), MA (Melbourne), PhD (London School  
niversof Economics).  
General Manager—(Group Finance), Norwich Union Life Australia Ltd, 509 St Kilda  
Road, Melbourne, Vic 3004
- 1989 **JUPP**, James. MSc(Econ) (London), PhD (London).  
Director, Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, The Australian National  
University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1969 **KAMENKA**, Eugene. BA (Sydney), PhD (Australian National University). FAHA.  
Professor of History of Ideas, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian  
National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1981 **KAPFERER**, Bruce. BA (Sydney), PhD (Manchester).  
Fellow, Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioural Sciences, Palo Alto, California.  
Professor of Anthropology, University College, London, Gower Street, London, UK,  
WC1E 6BT
- 1952 **KARMEL**, Peter Henry. AC, CBE, BA (Melbourne), PhD (Cambridge), PhD ad  
eundem gradum (Adelaide), HonLLD (Papua New Guinea, Melbourne, Queensland),  
HonDLitt (Flinders, Murdoch), DUniv (Newcastle). FACE.  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Adelaide (Economics).  
President, Australian Council for Educational Research.  
Executive Chairman, Canberra Institute of the Arts.  
Chairman, Australian Institute of Health.  
Chairman, Australian National Council on AIDS.  
Member, Australian Statistics Advisory Council.  
Member, Council, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.  
4/127 Hopetoun Circuit, Yarralumla, ACT 2600  
(Honorary Fellow 1986, President 1987-90)
- 1978 **KEATS**, John Augustus. BSc (Adelaide), BA (Melbourne), AM, PhD (Princeton).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Newcastle (Psychology).  
Institute of Behavioural Sciences, The University of Newcastle, NSW 2308
- 1977 **KEEVES**, John Philip. BSc (Adelaide), DipEd (Oxford), MEd (Melbourne), PhD  
(Australian National University), fil dr (Stockholm). FACE.  
The School of Education, The Flinders University of South Australia, Bedford Park, SA  
5042
- 1989 **KENDIG**, Hal. BA (Univ of Calif Davis), MPL, PhD (Univ South Calif).  
Director, Lincoln Gerontology Centre, La Trobe University, St Heliers Street,  
Abbotsford, Vic 3067

- 1964 **LEGGE**, John David. AO, BA, MA (Melbourne), DPhil (Oxford), HonDLitt (Monash). Emeritus Professor, Monash University (History). Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1986 **LEWIS**, Mervyn Keith. BEc, PhD (Adelaide). Midland Bank Professor of Money and Banking, The University of Nottingham; Visiting Professor in Economics, The Flinders University of South Australia. 'Sarum Chase', 13 Rostrevor Road, Stirling, SA 5152
- 1986 **LINGE**, Godfrey James Rutherford. BSc (Econ) (London), PhD (New Zealand). Professorial Fellow, Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1979 **LLOYD**, Peter John. MA (Victoria University of Wellington), PhD (Duke). Professor of Economics, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1973 **LOGAN**, Malcolm Ian. BA, DipEd, PhD (Sydney). Vice-Chancellor, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1977 **LOVEDAY**, Peter. BA, PhD (Sydney). Senior Fellow in Political Science, and Executive Director, North Australia Research Unit (Darwin), The Australian National University, PO Box 41321, Casuarina, NT 0811
- 1972 **LOVIBOND**, Sydney Harold. BA (Melbourne), MA, PhD, DipSocSc (Adelaide). Emeritus Professor, The University of New South Wales (Psychology). School of Psychology, The University of New South Wales, PO Box 1, Kensington, NSW 2033
- 1975 **LOW**, Donald Anthony. MA, DPhil (Oxford). President of Clare Hall and Smuts Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth, University of Cambridge. Clare Hall, Cambridge CB3 9AL
- 1974 **McBRIAR**, Alan Marne. BA (Melbourne), DPhil (Oxford), FRHisS. Emeritus Professor, Monash University (History). 24 Wellington Road, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1980 **McCARTY**, John William. BCom (Melbourne), PhD (Cambridge). Professor of Economic History, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1965 **MacDONAGH**, Oliver Ormond Gerard. MA (National University of Ireland), MA, PhD (Cambridge), HonDLitt (Flinders), HonDLitt (Sydney), HonDLitt (National University of Ireland), Hon Fellow, St Catharine's College, Cambridge. Barrister-at-Law (King's Inns, Dublin). FBA. FAHA. Executive Director, Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, GPO Box 1956, Canberra, ACT 2601, and Emeritus Professor and University Fellow, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1981 **McDONALD**, Roderick Peter. BA, MSc (Sydney), PhD (New England), DSc (Macquarie). FAPsS, FRSS. Professor of Education, University of Illinois, 603 East Daniel Street, Champaign IL61820, USA
- 1984 **McGAW**, Barry. BSc, BEd (Queensland), MEd, PhD (Illinois). FACE, FAPsS. Director, Australian Council for Educational Research, PO Box 210, Hawthorn, Vic 3122
- 1975 **McGEE**, Terence Gary. MA, PhD (Victoria University of Wellington). Director, Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC V6T 1W5 Canada
- 1987 **MACINTYRE**, Stuart Forbes. BA (Melbourne), MA (Monash), PhD (Cambridge). Professor, Department of History, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052



- 1976 **MACKIE**, James Austin Copland. BA (Melbourne), MA (Oxford).  
Professor of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1986 **MADDOCK**, Kenneth James. LLB (New Zealand), MA (Auckland), PhD (Sydney).  
Professor of Anthropology, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW 2109
- 1975 **MANN**, Leon. MA, DipSocSt (Melbourne), PhD (Yale).  
Professor of Organisational Behaviour and Decision Making, Graduate School of Management, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1989 **MARCEAU**, Felicity Jane. BA (London), PhD (Cambridge).  
Professor of Urban Research Program, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1982 **MARJORIBANKS**, Kevin. BSc (New South Wales), BA (New England), MEd (Harvard), PhD (Toronto). FSS, FACE.  
Vice-Chancellor, The University of Adelaide, SA 5000
- 1967 **MARTIN**, Allan William. MA, DipEd (Sydney), PhD (Australian National University). FAHA.  
Senior Fellow in History, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1989 **MASON**, The Honourable Sir Anthony, AC, KBE, BA, LLB, HonLLD (University of Sydney), Hon LLD (Australian National University), Chief Justice, High Court of Australia, PO Box E435, Queen Victoria Terrace, ACT 2600
- 1959 **MATHEWS**, Russell Lloyd, AO, CBE, BCom (Melbourne).  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Economics).  
22 Cobby Street, Campbell, ACT 2601
- 1943 **MELVILLE**, Sir Leslie Galfreid. KBE, CBE, BEc (Sydney), HonLLD (Toronto, Australian National University), HonDSc (Econ) (Sydney).  
Honorary Fellow, The Australian National University.  
71 Stonehaven Crescent, Deakin, ACT 2600  
(Honorary Fellow 1979)
- 1982 **MILLAR**, Thomas Bruce. AO, BA (Western Australia), MA (Melbourne), PhD (London).  
Visiting Fellow, Centre for International Studies, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, UK
- 1967 **MILLER**, John Donald Bruce. MEc (Sydney), MA (Cambridge).  
Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.  
1 Mountbatten Park, Musgrave Street, Yarralumla, ACT 2600
- 1964 **MONRO**, David Hector. MA (New Zealand). FAHA.  
Emeritus Professor, Monash University (Philosophy).  
Department of Philosophy, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1984 **MORISON**, William Loutit. BA, LLB (Sydney), DPhil (Oxford).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney (Law).  
20 Byora Crescent, Northbridge, NSW 2063
- 1974 **MUSGRAVE**, Peter William. MA (Cambridge), PhD (London).  
Emeritus Professor, Monash University (Education).  
Faculty of Education, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168

- 1972 **MYER**, Kenneth Baillieu. AC, DSC, HonLLD (Melbourne).  
President, The Myer Foundation, 22nd Floor, Myer  
House, 250 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Vic 3000  
(Honorary Fellow 1972)
- 1976 **NEALE**, Robert George. AO, MA, DipEd (Melbourne).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Queensland (History).  
1 Astley Place, Garrahan, ACT 2605
- 1989 **NEAVE**, Marcia Ann. LLB(Hons) (Melbourne University).  
Professor of Law, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1974 **NEUTZE**, Graeme Max. MAgSc (New Zealand), DPhil (Oxford).  
Deputy Vice-Chancellor and Director, Institute of Advanced Studies, The Australian  
National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1972 **NEVILE**, John Warwick. BA (Western Australia), MA, PhD (California).  
Professor of Economics, The University of New South Wales, PO Box 1, Kensington,  
NSW 2033
- 1981 **NG**, Yew-Kwang. BCom (Nanyang), PhD (Sydney).  
Professor of Economics, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1987 **NILAND**, John Rodney. MCom (New South Wales), PhD (Illinois).  
Professor of Industrial Relations, and Dean, Faculty of Commerce and Economics, The  
University of New South Wales, PO Box 1, Kensington, NSW 2033
- 1988 **OFFICER**, Robert Rupert. BAgSc (Melbourne), MAgEc (New England), MBA  
(Chicago), PhD (Chicago).  
AMP Professor of Finance, Graduate School of Management, University of Melbourne,  
Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1978 **O'NEILL**, Robert John. AO, BE (Melbourne), MA, DPhil (Oxford). FIE (Australia).  
Chichele Professor of the History of War and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford  
OX14AL
- 1975 **OVER**, Raymond Frederick. BA, PhD (Sydney).  
Professor of Psychology, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1986 **PAGAN**, Adrian Rodney. BEc (Queensland), PhD (Australian National University).  
Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, University of Rochester, Rochester,  
N.Y. 14627 USA
- 1984 **PARISH**, Ross McDonald. BSc (Sydney), PhD (Chicago).  
Professor of Economics, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1959 **PARKER**, Robert Stewart. MBE, MEd (Sydney).  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Political Science). 54 Munro  
Street, Curtin, ACT 2605
- 1943 **PASSMORE**, John Arthur. MA, HonLittD (Sydney), HonLittD (McMaster), FAHA,  
FBA.  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Philosophy).  
Visiting Distinguished Professor and General Editor, Bertrand Russell Project, McMaster  
University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, and Visiting Fellow in History of Ideas, History  
of Ideas Unit, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University,  
GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1980 **PATEMAN**, Carole. DipEc and PolSci, MA, DPhil (Oxford).  
Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, CA90024-1472, USA



- 1973 **PERKINS**, James Oliver Newton. MA, PhD (Cambridge), MCom (Melbourne). Emeritus Professor of Economics, Faculty of Economics and Commerce, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1987 **PETTIT**, Philip Noel. MA (National University of Ireland), MA (Cambridge), PhD (Queen's), FAHA. Professor, Social and Political Theory, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1990 **PILOWSKY**, Issy. AM, MB, ChB, MD (Capetown), DPM, FRANZCP, FRCPsych, FRACP. Professor of Psychiatry, The University of Adelaide, SA 5000
- 1972 **PITCHFORD**, John David. MCom (Tasmania), PhD (Australian National University). Professor of Economics, The Faculties, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1969 **POLLARD**, Alfred Hurlstone. AO, MSc (Sydney), MSc (Econ), PhD (London), DSc (Macquarie). FIA, FIAA. Emeritus Professor, Macquarie University (Economic Statistics). 51 Cliff Road, Northwood, NSW 2066
- 1979 **POLLARD**, John Hurlstone. BSc (Sydney), PhD (Cambridge). FIA, FIAA. Professor of Actuarial Studies, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW 2109
- 1973 **POWELL**, Alan Anthony Leslie. BScAgr, PhD (Sydney). Professor, Ritchie Chair of Research in Economics, The University of Melbourne. IMPACT Centre, Baldwin Spencer Building, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1985 **POWELL**, Joseph Michael. MA (Liverpool), PhD, DLitt (Monash). Reader in Geography, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1971 **POYNTER**, John Riddoch. AO, Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Academiques, MA (Oxford), BA, PhD (Melbourne). FAHA. Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Cultural Affairs) and Dean, Faculty of Music, Visual and Performing Arts, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1979 **PRESCOTT**, John Robert Victor. BSc, MA, DipEd (Durham), PhD (London), MA (Melbourne). Professor of Geography, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1988 **PREST**, Wilfrid Robertson. BA (Melbourne), DPhil (Oxford). Professor in History, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, SA 5000
- 1967 **PRICE**, Charles Archibald. AM, BA (Adelaide), MA, DPhil (Oxford). 31 Rawson Street, Deakin, ACT 2600
- 1986 **RAPHAEL**, Beverly. AM, MB, BS, MD (Sydney), DPM(RANZCP). FRANZCP, FRCPsych. Professor of Psychiatry, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld 4067
- 1978 **RAWSON**, Donald William. MA, PhD (Melbourne). Associate Director and Senior Fellow in Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1977 **REAY**, Marie Olive. MA (Sydney), PhD (Australian National University). Visiting Fellow in Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1984 **RICHARDS**, Eric Stapleton. BA, PhD (Nottingham). FAHA. Professor of History, School of Social Sciences, The Flinders University of South Australia, Bedford Park, SA 5042

- 1981 **RICHARDSON**, Alan. BA, DCP (Western Australia), PhD (London). FAPsS. Emeritus Professor, The University of Western Australia (Psychology). Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1971 **RIGBY**, Thomas Henry Richard. MA (Melbourne), PhD (London). University Fellow and Professor Emeritus, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1974 **ROSS**, John. BA, DipEd (Sydney), PhD (Princeton). FAPsS. Professor of Psychology, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1973 **RUSSELL**, Roger Wolcott. MA (Clark), PhD (Virginia), DSc (London), HonDSc (Newcastle, Flinders). HonFAPsS, HonFBPsS, HonSFdeP, FAPA, FACE. Emeritus Professor, The Flinders University of South Australia (Psychobiology). Center for the Neurobiology of Learning and Memory, University of California, Irvine, CA92717, USA
- 1976 **RUZICKA**, Lado Theodor. MA (Econ), PhD (Social Medicine) (Charles). Visiting Fellow, International Population Dynamics Programme, Department of Demography, The Australian National University. The Old School, George Street, Major's Creek, near Braidwood, NSW 2622
- 1978 **RYAN**, Kevin William. CBE, BA, LLB (Queensland), PhD (Cambridge), HonLLD (Queensland), QC. Judge's Chambers, Supreme Court, Brisbane, Qld 4000
- 1990 **SADURSKI**, Wojciech. LLM, PhD (Warsaw). Reader in the Department of Jurisprudence, Faculty of Law, University of Sydney, 173-175 Phillip Street, Sydney, NSW 2000
- 1952 **SAWER**, Geoffrey. AO, BA, LLM (Melbourne), HonDLitt (Australian National University), HonLLD (Monash, New South Wales). Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Law). PO, Malua Bay, NSW 2536
- 1987 **SCHEDVIN**, Carl Boris. PhD (Sydney). Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic), The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1964 **SCOTT**, Peter. AO, OBE, MSc (Econ), PhD (London), HonLLD (Tasmania), HonFAIUS. Emeritus Professor, The University of Tasmania. (Geography). The University of Tasmania, Box 252C, GPO, Hobart, Tas 7001
- 1977 **SCOTT**, William Abbott. BS (New Mexico), MS, PhD (Michigan). Emeritus Professor of Psychology, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1978 **SELLECK**, Richard Joseph Wheeler. BA, BEd, PhD (Melbourne). Professor of Education, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1973 **SERLE**, Alan Geoffrey. AO, BA (Melbourne), DPhil (Oxford). FAHA, FRHSV, FRAHS, Honorary Fellow, Museum of Victoria. Former General Editor, Australian Dictionary of Biography, The Australian National University. 31 Lisson Grove, Hawthorn, Vic 3122
- 1967 **SHAW**, Alan George Lewers. AO, BA (Melbourne), MA (Oxford), HonLittD (Newcastle). FAHA. Emeritus Professor, Monash University (History). 161 Domain Park, 193 Domian Road, South Yarra, Vic 3141



- 1978 **SHEEHAN**, Peter Winston. BA, PhD (Sydney).  
Professor of Psychology and Academic Director of Research, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld 4067  
President, Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.
- 1972 **SIMKIN**, Colin George Frederick. MA, DipSocSci (New Zealand), DPhil (Oxford).  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney (Economics).  
29/3 Bariston Avenue, Cremorne, NSW 2090
- 1974 **SINCLAIR**, Willaim Angus. MCom (Melbourne), DPhil (Oxford).  
Professor of Economics and Dean, Faculty of Economics, Commerce and Management, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1983 **SINGER**, George. MA, PhD (Sydney).  
Emeritus Professor, La Trobe University (Psychology).  
Director, Brain-Behaviour Research Institute, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1989 **SINGER**, Peter Albert David. MA (Melbourne), BPhil (Oxon).  
Director, Centre for Human Bioethics and Professor of Philosophy, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1988 **SKILBECK**, Malcolm. BA (Sydney), MA (Illinois), PhD (London).  
Deputy Director for Education, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education, OECD, 2 rue Andre, Pascal 75775, Paris
- 1974 **SMITH**, Robert Henry Tufrey. BA (New England), MA (Northwestern), PhD (Australian National University).  
Vice-Chancellor, The University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2351
- 1976 **SMOLICZ**, Jerzy Jaroslaw. AM, BSc, PhD (Edinburgh). FRSA, FRIC, FACE.  
Professor of Education and Director of Centre of Intercultural Studies and Multicultural Education, The University of Adelaide, Adelaide, SA 5000
- 1978 **SNAPE**, Richard Hal. BCom (Melbourne), PhD (London).  
Professor of Economics, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1954 **SPATE**, Oskar Hermann Khristian. Comendador da la Orden de Isabel la Catolica. MA, PhD (Cambridge), HonLLD (Papua New Guinea), HonLittD (Australian National University).  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Pacific History).  
Visiting Fellow, Department of Pacific and South-East Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601 (Honorary Fellow 1985)
- 1971 **SPEARRETT**, Donald. MA, MEd (Queensland), MEd (Sydney), EdD (Harvard), Honorary Member AARE.  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Sydney. (Education).  
29 Iluka Road, Clifton Gardens, NSW 2088
- 1987 **STEPHEN**, The Rt. Hon. Sir Ninian Martin. AK, GCMG, GCVO, KBE; Privy Councillor; HonLLD (Sydney); HonLLD (Melbourne); HonDr (Griffith); Governor-General of Australia 1982-89, Australian Ambassador for the Environment 1989-.  
4 Treasury Place, Melbourne, Vic 3000
- 1972 **STRETTON**, Hugh. MA (Oxford), HonDLitt (Australian National University).  
HonLLD (Monash), HonDUniv (Flinders), FAHA.  
61 Tynte Street, North Adelaide, SA 5006
- 1964 **SUTCLIFFE**, John Phillip. MA, PhD (Sydney).  
McCaughey Professor of Psychology, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006

- 1964 **TAFT**, Ronald. BA (Melbourne), MA (Columbia), PhD (California).  
Emeritus Professor, Monash University (Education).  
5 Charles Street, Kew, Vic 3101
- 1986 **TAY**, Alice Erh-Soon. AM, PhD (Australian National University), LLD (Edinburgh).  
Barrister-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn, New South Wales and Australian Capital Territory).  
Challis Professor of Jurisprudence, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1988 **THROSBY**, Charles David. BScAgr, MScAgr (Sydney), PhD (London).  
Professor of Economics, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW 2109
- 1986 **TISDELL**, Clement Alan. BCom (New South Wales), PhD (Australian National University).  
Professor of Economics, University of Queensland, Qld 4072
- 1988 **TONKINSON**, Robert. MA (Western Australia), PhD (British Columbia).  
Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009
- 1987 **TURNER**, Bryan S. PhD (Leeds), DLitt (Flinders).  
Department of Sociology, University of Essex, England (UK)
- 1989 **TURNER**, John Charles. BA (Sussex), PhD (Bristol).  
Head, Department of Psychology, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1976 **TURNOVSKY**, Stephen John. MA (Wellington), PhD (Harvard).  
Department of Economics, University of Washington, 301 Savery Hall, Seattle, WA. 98105, USA
- 1976 **VICKERS**, Douglas. BCom (Queensland), BSc (Econ), PhD (London), MA (Pennsylvania).  
Professor of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst MA01003, USA
- 1980 **WALLACE**, John Gilbert. MA, MEd (Glasgow), PhD (Bristol).  
Director, Swinburne Institute of Technology, John Street, Hawthorn, Vic 3122
- 1978 **WALLACE**, Robert Henry. BCom (Melbourne), BPhil (Oxford).  
Reader in Economics, School of Social Sciences, The Flinders University of South Australia, Bedford Park, SA 5042
- 1977 **WALLER**, Peter Louis. AO, LLB (Melbourne), BCL (Oxford). Barrister and Solicitor (Victoria).  
Sir Leo Cussen Chair of Law, Monash University, Clayton, Vic 3168
- 1971 **WARD**, Ralph Gerard. MA (New Zealand), PhD (London).  
Director, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1986 **WEBB**, Leslie Roy. BCom (Melbourne), PhD (London).  
Vice-Chancellor, Griffith University, Nathan, Qld 4111
- 1990 **WEBBER**, Michael John. BA (Cambridge), PhD (ANU).  
Professor of Geography, The University of Melbourne, 47 Bennett Street, North Fitzroy, Vic 3068
- 1972 **WELFORD**, Alan Traviss. MA, ScD (Cambridge), MA (Princeton), DSc (ad eundem gradum, Adelaide). FBPsS, FAPsS.  
Emeritus Professor, The University of Adelaide (Psychology).  
187a High Street, Aldeburgh, Suffolk, IP15 5AL



- 1984 **WELLS**, Murray Charles. MCom (Canterbury), PhD (Sydney).  
Ernst and Young Professor of Accounting, Director, Graduate School of Management and Public Policy, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1984 **WESTERN**, John Stuart. DipSocStud, MA (Melbourne), PhD (Columbia).  
Professor of Sociology, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld 4067
- 1943 **WHITE**, Sir Harold. CBE, MA (Melbourne). FLAA. HonFAHA.  
Fellow, Queen's College, The University of Melbourne.  
Formerly National and Parliamentary Librarian.  
27 Mugga Way, Red Hill, ACT 2603
- 1989 **WHITE**, Richard Thomas. BSc, BEd (Melbourne), PhD (Monash).  
Professor of Education, Monash University, Vic 3168
- 1968 **WILLIAMS**, Professor Sir Bruce Rodda. KBE, BA (Melbourne), MA (Adelaide), MA (Econ) (Manchester), HonDLitt (Keele, Sydney), HonDec (Queensland), HonLLD (Manchester, Melbourne), HonDSc (Aston), Hon FIE Aust.  
106 Grange Road, Ealing Common, London W5 3PJ
- 1987 **WILLIAMS**, Ross Alan. BCom (Melbourne), MSc (Econ), PhD (London).  
Professor of Econometrics, Department of Economics, The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic 3052
- 1972 **WILSON**, Sir Roland. KBE, BCom (Tasmania), DPhil (Oxford), PhD (Chicago), HonLLD (Tasmania).  
64 Empire Circuit, Forrest, ACT 2603  
(Honorary Fellow 1972)
- 1988 **WITHERS**, Glenn Alexander. BSc (Monash), AM, PhD (Harvard).  
Professor of Economics, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
- 1985 **WOODLAND**, Alan Donald. BA, PhD (New England).  
Professor of Econometrics, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006
- 1977 **WRIGHT**, Frederick Kenneth. BMetE, DCom (Melbourne). FCPA, FAIM.  
13 Lyric Grove, Camberwell, Vic 3124
- 1976 **WURM**, Stephen Adolphe. AM, DrPhil (Vienna). FAHA.  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Linguistics).  
President, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (UNESCO, Paris).  
Immediate Past President, Australian Academy of the Humanities.  
Immediate Past President, Union Academique Internationale.  
Member of Executive Council, Permanent International Committee of Linguists.  
GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1989 **YOUNG**, Michael Willis. BA (Hons) (London), MA (London), MA (Cantab), PhD (Australian National University).  
Senior Fellow, Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1987 **ZINES**, Leslie Ronald. LLB (Sydney), LLM (Harvard).  
Robert Garran Professor of Law, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601
- 1967 **ZUBRZYCKI**, Jerzy. AO, CBE, MSc (Econ) (London), PhD (Free Polish University).  
Emeritus Professor, The Australian National University (Sociology).  
68 Schlich Street, Yarralumla, ACT 2600

# FELLOWS OF THE ACADEMY BY PANEL AND DISCIPLINE

## A

### *Anthropology*

Allen, M.R.  
Austin-Broos, D.  
Berndt, C.H.  
Forge, J.A.W.  
Freeman, J.D.  
Hiatt, L.R.  
Kapferer, B.  
Maddock, K.J.  
Reay, M.  
Tonkinson, R.  
Young, M.

### *Demography*

Borrie, W.D.  
Caldwell, J.C.  
Jones, G.W.

Pollard, A.H.  
Pollard, J.H.  
Price, C.A.  
Ruzicka, L.T.

### *Sociology*

Barnes, J.A.  
Broom, L.  
Brown, R.G.  
Cass, B.  
Clegg, S.R.  
Encel, S.  
Etzioni-Halevy, E.S.  
Jones, F.L.  
Kendig, H.  
Marceau, F.J.  
Turner, B.S.  
Western, J.S.  
Zubrzycki, J.

### *Geography*

Brookfield, H.C.  
Gale, G.F.  
Heathcote, R.L.  
Hugo, G.J.  
Linge, G.J.R.  
Logan, M.I.  
McGee, T.  
Powell, J.M.  
Prescott, J.R.V.  
Scott, P.  
Smith, R.H.T.  
Ward, R.G.  
Webber, M.J.

### *Linguistics*

Clyne, M.  
Wurm, S.

## B

### *Economics*

Argy, V.E.  
Arndt, H.W.  
Blandy, R.J.  
Boxer, A.H.  
Brennan, H.G.  
Campbell, K.O.  
Coombs, H.C.  
Corden, W.M.  
Creedy, B.  
Dillon, J.L.  
Dixon, P.B.  
Drysdale, P.  
Edwards, H.R.  
Fisk, E.K.

Gates, R.C.  
Grant, J.McB.  
Gregory, R.G.  
Groenewegen, P.D.  
Gruen, F.H.G.  
Hagger, A.J.  
Hancock, K.J.  
Harcourt, G.C.  
Harris, S.F.  
Head, J.G.  
Hughes, H.  
Isaac, J.E.  
Jarrett, F.G.  
Jones, E.L.  
Jonson, P.  
Karmel, P.H.  
Lewis, M.K.  
Lloyd, P.J.  
Mathews, R.L.  
Melville, Sir Leslie  
Ng, Y.K.

Neutze, G.M.  
Nevile, J.W.  
Niland, J.R.  
Pagan, A.R.  
Parish, R.McD.  
Perkins, J.O.N.  
Pitchford, J.D.  
Powell, A.A.L.  
Simkin, C.G.F.  
Snape, R.H.  
Throsby, C.D.  
Tisdell, C.A.  
Turnovsky, S.J.  
Vickers, D.  
Wallace, R.H.  
Webb, L.R.  
Williams, Sir Bruce  
Williams, R.A.  
Wilson, Sir Roland  
Withers, G.A.  
Woodland, A.D.

### *Accounting*

Brown, P.R.  
Chambers, R.J.  
Goldberg, L.  
Officer, R.R.  
Wells, M.C.  
Wright, F.K.

### *Statistics*

Castles, I.  
Hannan, E.J.

### *Economic History*

Appleyard, R.T.  
Schedvin, C.B.  
Sinclair, W.A.



# FELLOWS OF THE ACADEMY BY PANEL AND DISCIPLINE

## C

### *History*

Alexander, F.  
Blainey, G.N.  
Bolton, G.C.  
Bourke, P.  
Davison, G.J.  
Denning, G.M.  
Fitzgerald, C.P.  
Gilbert, A.  
Hasluck, Sir Paul  
Hirst, J.B.  
Inglis, K.S.  
Isaac, R.L.  
Jalland, P.  
Legge, J.D.  
Low, D.A.

McBriar, A.M.  
McCarty, J.W.  
MacDonagh, O.O.G.  
Macintyre, S.F.  
Martin, A.W.  
Neale, R.G.  
Poynter, J.R.  
Prest, W.R.  
Richards, E.S.  
Serle, A.G.  
Shaw, A.G.L.  
Spate, O.H.K.  
Stretton, H.

### *Philosophy*

Brown, R.R.  
Goodin, R.E.  
Kamenka, E.  
Monro, D.H.  
Passmore, J.A.  
Pettit, P.N.  
Singer, P.A.D.

### *Political Science*

Aitkin, D.A.  
Ball, D.  
Bell, Coral  
Davis, S.R.  
Hindess, B.  
Hughes, C.A.  
Jupp, J.  
Loveday, P.  
Mackie, J.A.C.  
Millar, T.B.  
Miller, J.D.B.  
O'Neill, R.J.  
Parker, R.S.  
Pateman, C.  
Rawson, D.W.  
Rigby, T.H.

### *Law*

Braithwaite, J.  
Campbell, E.  
Cowen, Sir Zelman  
Finn, P.D.  
Ford, H.A.J.  
Mason, A.  
Neave, M.  
Morison, W.L.  
Ryan, K.W.  
Sadurski, W.  
Sawer, G.  
Stephen, Sir Ninian  
Tay, A.E-S.  
Waller, P.L.  
Zines, L.R.

### *Other*

Bryan, H.

## D

### *Psychology*

Bradshaw, G.L.  
Champion, R.A.  
Coltheart, M.  
Day, R.H.  
Feather, N.T.  
Forgas, J.P.  
Forster, K.I.  
Geffen, G.  
Gibb, C.A.  
Glow, P.H.  
Goodnow, J.  
Gregson, R.A.M.  
Halford, G.S.  
Keats, J.A.

Lovibond, S.H.  
Mann, L.  
Over, R.F.  
Richardson, A.  
Ross, J.  
Russell, R.W.  
Scott, W.A.  
Sheehan, P.W.  
Singer, G.S.  
Sutcliffe, J.P.  
Turner, J.C.  
Welford, A.T.

### *Education*

Andrich, D.  
Connell, W.F.  
Crittenden, B.S.  
Dunn, S.S.  
Fensham, P.J.  
Keeves, J.P.  
McDonald, R.P.  
McGaw, B.  
Marjoribanks, K.

Musgrave, P.W.  
Selleck, R.J.W.  
Skilbeck, M.  
Smolicz, J.J.  
Spearritt, D.  
Taft, R.  
Wallace, J.G.  
White, R.T.

### *Social Medicine*

Henderson, A.S.  
Pilowsky, I.  
Raphael, B.

### *Other*

Myer, K.  
White, Sir Harold





## Charles Manning Hope Clark, 1915–1991

It is an odd irony, as he might say, that Manning Clark was a member of this Academy for nearly forty years (counting in its time as Research Council) after calling historians to abandon 'the vain search for a science of society'. Perhaps it is odd that he belonged to *any* Academy, when 'the academics' were one of the tribes whom he was apt to count among the people who walked in darkness. Yet he was also a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Admission to the American body gave no less delight to the anti-academic academic and Australian patriot than Manning Clark the republican had experienced when he received the insignia of Companion of the Order of Australia at Yarralumla from the hands of the Queen.

Do I contradict myself? asked Walt Whitman. Very well then I contradict myself. Manning Clark's vision is characteristically modern in deriving from both a powerful urge to believe and a painful inability to choose between contending faiths, or even to know, sometimes, which voice from the skies was divine, which the tempter's. Pilgrim jester, Anglo-Australian and boy from the bush, reverent if non-communicant auditor of Moscow and Rome, Apollonian and Dionysian: in self-portrait he lived all of these antinomies. His six-volume *A History of Australia* derives richness from them, as we are helped to see by the two books of autobiography he wrote after the prodigious task was done, *The Puzzle of Childhood* and *The Quest for Grace*. No other Australian scholar has left so revealing an account of the mental life that yielded a magnum opus.

He was born in Sydney, his father an Anglican clergyman who was the son of a blacksmith in London and his mother 'a fine flower of patrician and genteel Sydney' descended from Samuel Marsden, pioneer parson, magistrate and sheepowner. His schooling was first in the Victorian state system and then at Melbourne Grammar, which he entered as a scholarship boy; for that and other reasons he endured miseries for which he was to exact literary revenge by turning the Grammarians into the Yarrasiders, the ones who expected to be in the members' stand at the resurrection. As student of history at the University of Melbourne he was there for the last year of Ernest Scott and the first of R. M. Crawford. Like Crawford, W. K. Hancock and John La Nauze before him he set off for Oxford, though unlike them he enrolled not for another B.A. but for the postgraduate degree of B.Litt. His subject was Alexis de Tocqueville, but the study was abandoned when war approached and he had to find paid employment after marrying Dymphna Lodewyckz, who had travelled with him from Melbourne as his fiancée on the way to postgraduate study in Germany. His discomfort among English patricians at Oxford, as among the Australian version at Melbourne Grammar, was mitigated by prowess at cricket.

In 1940 Manning and Dymphna Clark, with the first of their six children, returned to Melbourne, and for three years he taught history at Geelong Grammar, enthralling sons of the rich and alarming their parents and his colleagues. To his old university he was appointed in 1944, teaching first political science and then history, after Crawford invited him to create a course on Australia. While at Geelong he had been awarded a Melbourne M.A. for his



thesis 'The Ideal of Alexis de Tocqueville' and that great and divided liberal was one of the thinkers he invoked when inspiring students to find in their country's past more than the surveying of land and the carpentry of constitutions, to become aware that here, as in older centres of civilisation, the historian could explore the whole territory of the human condition.

In 1949 he went to the chair of history at the Canberra University College which he held until he retired in 1975, the college having become in 1960 the School of General Studies of the Australian National University. That admonition about a science of society was delivered at the end of his inaugural lecture in 1953, published as 'Rewriting Australian History' in T. A. G. Hungerford, ed., *Australian Signpost*, 1956. It is a severe farewell to the intellectual culture of Melbourne. The first object of his hostility was a Marxist orthodoxy which he believed had overtaken the university, or at least had occupied the commanding heights of the Arts building, during his years away, and which in his view denied truths about the human heart revealed by, among others in his voracious reading, Balzac, Stendhal and Ecclesiastes. The second was a Socratic enterprise of Cambridge-inspired philosophers who distracted historians from getting on with the job, so it seemed to him, by provoking them to worry whether their discipline was or was not properly scientific. When he attended the seminars in Theory and Method of History he wore what he would later call his granite face. Not only did he reject the social scientific hope of finding *laws* in history; he had little taste even for hunting particular *causes*. 'He did not write of causes: he gave no explanations . . . Like Carlyle he told the story so that the reader had moments of illumination . . .' Thus Clark on Tocqueville; but he could be describing his own practice as writer.

Or rather his aspiration. By 1959, aged 44, his principal publications were a two-part article on the origins of convicts, two volumes of *Select Documents in Australian History*, another volume of *Sources of Australian History*, and that inaugural lecture. These works encouraged anticipation. The essay on convicts spelt out a declaration in the lecture that the liberal illusion about the character of our founding felons was one of the comforters Australians must abandon. A passage in that essay saying that Australia was a 19th century creation influenced almost exclusively by the ideas of liberty, equality and the pursuit of happiness had a footnote observing that the writer 'has changed his opinion on this point'. How? Readers had to wait six years for the answer. Through the introductory sections to his second *Select Documents*, published in 1955, were scattered gnomic and quivering passages which burst the form. Such sentences were missing from *Sources*, 1957, for by then his intellectual passion was being directed into first drafts for the *History*. Unspectacularly but indispensably, these editions of documents enabled other teachers of Australian history to follow where he had led.

When John La Nauze addressed historians at the ANZAAS Congress of 1959 on 'The study of Australian history, 1929-1959' (*Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand* vol. 9, no. 33), he said of Clark: 'For me the importance of his work so far lies not in the apocalyptic vision of our history at which he sometimes hints, which I do not understand, and which I am sure I would disagree with if I did. It lies more in the particular flashes of interpretation which,



anticipating the detailed treatment of his work in progress, give a new appearance to familiar features . . . It lies most in his books of documents, the visible testimony to the wide and deep reading which has been a preparation for a larger task.'

That task was accomplished over the next thirty years, during which he wrote also *A Short History of Australia*, *In Search of Henry Lawson* and a book of short stories, delivered the ABC's Boyer Lectures (in 1976) published as *A Discovery of Australia*, taught history and on and off administered a department until he retired to an ANU Library Fellowship in 1975, sat on the Literature Board and other public bodies, and sent innumerable letters, postcards and telegrams to friends young and old, conveying encouragement and compassion and expressing his mood of the moment. He became, as no other university teacher in Australia had been, a sage, a prophet. The nearest equivalent, a long way off, was Walter Murdoch; in the UK, C. E. M. Joad and Bertrand Russell come to mind as figures given comparable regard, and in earlier times Clark's hero Carlyle, though not even he has yet been the subject of a musical.

'History was a drama', Clark recalls the young Professor Crawford encouraging him to think. 'History was what Thomas Hardy said it was – a rattling good yarn in which the mighty men of renown were brought to ruin by some mole in their being, some fatal flaw wherein they were not guilty.' That certainly describes Clark's own *History*. Like no other non-fictional account of Australia, it was full of scenes waiting to be animated on stage, of characters as ready as their maker, who loved popular music, to burst into song. *Manning Clark's History of Australia: The Musical* was the most fanciful of bicentennial happenings.

When the first volume appeared in 1962 readers discovered the meaning of that footnote in the published version of his inaugural lecture. The writer had come to see the making of Australia as an encounter between those ideas of the Enlightenment and the ideals of Protestant and Catholic Christianity. That triad was one organising principle of the series; the other was binary – the contest for and against an independent Australia, embodied in the second half of the work by the characters represented in frontispiece portraits: Henry Parkes and Henry Lawson (vol 4), Alfred Deakin and again Henry Lawson (vol. 5), R. G. Menzies and John Curtin (vol. 6). Tall poppies, all of them, with fatal flaws. This was history more for the people than about them; after vol. 1, which has dense and vivid detail about what convicts did, you do not turn to Clark for workaday accounts of Australian life, except in dramatic vignettes. You can find plenty of that in other writers. When M. H. Ellis, journalist and biographer, reviewed vol. 1 in the *Bulletin* he sneered that Clark was obsessed with little things of the mind and spirit. 'Little' was self-revelation; the rest was right, and it is as historian of mind and spirit in Australia that Manning Clark has touched readers unreached by other academic writers. Ellis also said that vol. 1 was 'history without facts'. Bede Nairn rebutted that charge in a magisterial essay; Crawford and Hancock spoke up for the book in terms which moved the author to dedicate vol. 2 to them. Some scholarly readers remained troubled on the score of accuracy; and as volume after volume appeared some expressed unease about the prose, and especially the use of incantatory repetitions and of archaisms which shaded into



paraphrase leaving readers uncertain when they were hearing the author's voice and when the subject's. Some did not respond to what John La Nauze had called the apocalyptic vision. Clark remained silent in the face of particular criticisms. Towards the end he would say disarmingly that yes, he should have been more careful, and yes, his powers had been inadequate to express what he had seen. But by now he knew that the achievement had worn its critics down. Whatever the academics said, artists and novelists – the true creators, he believed – admired the *History*: Arthur Boyd and Clifton Pugh painted its author, Patrick White launched Vol. 4, David Malouf and Thomas Kenneally paid obituary tribute. So did the Forrest Primary School his children had attended, which flew the flag at half mast, and the Operative Painters and Decorators Union, who put a notice in the paper. He and his works (the media, above all television, inevitably blurred the two) had become a kind of national cultural property.

The last two volumes of the *History*, published in 1981 and 1987, glow with a geniality which derives at least in part from the author's knowing that so many people had come to cherish his words and to share his vision of Australia as (in Lawson's phrase) 'the young tree green'. For Lawson that image stood opposed to 'the old green tree', and Manning Clark loved to proclaim the antithesis. Yet unlike Lawson he was thoroughly at home in, and revered, the traditional culture of Europe. Whether or not that amounts to a contradiction, he shared more ground with members of academies than was always evident in banter or in granite-faced demeanour at meetings. His hungry quest for truths both old and new is one more source of Manning Clark's singularity as an interpreter of Australian history.

K. S. INGLIS

### *Noel George Butlin, 1921–1991*

**N**oel George Butlin, who died on 2 April 1991, was far and away Australia's leading economic historian and one of its foremost social scientists.

He was born on 19 December 1921 into a large family five years before the death of his father. Despite the resultant financial stringency, he was able to follow his similarly gifted brother, Syd (S. J.) Butlin, to Maitland Boys High School and thence to the University of Sydney. Noel Butlin graduated in 1942 with a first class honours degree in economics and the award of the University Medal. From then until the end of the War, he served in the Commonwealth Public Service in a number of advisory capacities, mainly overseas. In 1946 he was appointed to a lectureship in economic history at the University of Sydney and proceeded to Harvard in 1949 as a Rockefeller Fellow. In 1951 his application for a scholarship at the Australian National University prompted an offer of a Senior Research Fellowship which he accepted.

This inspired appointment provided the environment for Noel Butlin to carry out the large body of research which was to transform the interpretation of Australian economic history. His estimates of the key economic variables for the period from the end of the gold rushes to the beginning of the Second World War were made contemporaneously and in more detailed fashion than those of



Simon Kuznets for which Kuznets was later awarded the Nobel Prize. The 'Butlin Revolution' was the focal point of economic history at the ANU and was revealed to the outside world in a celebrated article in the *Economic Record* in 1958. The companion volumes, *Australian Domestic Product, Investment and Foreign Borrowing 1861-1938/39* and *Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861 to 1900*, both published by Cambridge University Press in 1962 and 1964 respectively, put the seal on it.

Noel Butlin remained in the Research School of Social Sciences at the ANU for the rest of his academic career. In 1954 he was made Reader and in 1962 was appointed to the School's first Chair in Economic History. He fitted the role of a professor at a research institute to a tee. He led by example as well as by explicit utterance, tackling, and often anticipating, the big issues with scrupulous scholarship. His research into Australian economic development was a continuing pre-occupation punctuated by a number of sustained specific inquiries. From the Botany Bay project, which he directed in 1974-75, came a number of valuable studies of environmental problems. He was the prime mover in a major project on the role of government in Australia which led to the publication, jointly with Allan Barnard and Jonathan Pincus, of *Government and Capitalism* (Allen & Unwin) in 1982. He brought a new perspective to Aboriginal history with his *Our Original Aggression* (Allen & Unwin, 1983) and a number of papers and articles, including the results of his characteristically ingenious research into the migration of the Aboriginal peoples into Australia. In terms of the flow of his writing, the date of his retirement, 1986, is a formality. At the time of his death, he had almost completed an economic history of Australia to 1850 in which he brought together the themes of economic growth and the Aboriginal economy. During periods at overseas universities, most notably as Professor of Australian Studies at Harvard in 1979 and 1980, he also made contributions to American and British economic history. Even his demonstration that the early settlers of Australia were not excessive drinkers on British standards at the time was a statistical *tour de force*.

In the June 1991 Honours List, Noel Butlin was posthumously made a Companion of the Order of Australia. He had earlier been admitted to Fellowship of the British Academy and before that of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. Shortly before his death he was presented with the Silver Medal of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand.

Noel Butlin would have to be on any short list of scholars ranked according to their contribution to the understanding of Australian society. He made a vast addition, not only in his initial statistical estimates but in many later quantitative compilations, to our knowledge of the relevant economic magnitudes. It was Noel Butlin whose work implanted in the general consciousness the late nineteenth century as the high watermark of Australian living standards in international rankings and the subsequent fall from grace. The now well-established genre of urban history sprang from his revaluation of the economic importance of Australian cities in the nineteenth century. His findings on Aboriginal history are too weighty to be ignored by anyone interested in the full story. More generally, he enlarged our understandings of what is distinctive about Australian society. He had that necessary requirement for heavyweight



status as a social scientist, a capacity to combine meticulous attention to detail with imaginative sweep. His statistical estimates were the product of a scholar with a deep appreciation of the parameters within which they were calculated and were a means to the extension of that imaginative grasp. All his work was an expression of strong feelings, wide vision and social concern. The power of his writing was a facet of a more general authority he conveyed to all with whom he came in contact.

Noel Butlin's tough mind and clear-sightedness were common knowledge. Those closer to him were uplifted by his generosity of mind and spirit and his warm humanity. An essential element in a remarkably influential life was his marriage in 1946 to Joan Lindsay, who survives him. The happiness of his family life and the joy he derived from his talented children were the foundations of his wider outreach. To many of his fellow economic historians Noel Butlin was a shining beacon. Our indebtedness to him is much more than we can ever hope to repay.

W. A. SINCLAIR

### *William Mathew O'Neil, 1912–1991*

**E**meritus Professor William Mathew O'Neil, an Honorary Fellow of the Academy, died peacefully at his home in Sydney on 1 June, a few weeks before his seventy-ninth birthday. Bill O'Neil, as he was always known, was appointed to Membership of the Social Sciences Research Council, the precursor of the Academy, in 1944 and served as its Chairman during 1964–1966. He has been an Honorary Fellow since 1982.

Bill O'Neil was a leading figure and a major force in the development of academic and professional psychology in Australia during the post-war years. He was a distinguished scholar and university teacher and a skilful and respected administrator. His long association with the University of Sydney with which he was so closely identified began in 1930 with his enrolment for BA. The connection was broken by what he chose to call, 'my nine years' exile in applied psychology' between 1936 and 1945, resumed with his appointment to the McCaughey Chair of Psychology in 1945, and continued with his appointment to the Deputy Vice-Chancellorship of the University in 1965. After his retirement in 1977 Bill O'Neil spent a good deal of his time at the University indulging his interests in psychology and the history of astronomy. His long and distinguished service to the University was recognised in 1970 by an Honorary D.Litt. The Government honoured his services to education in 1978 by the award of an Officership of the Order of Australia and the Australian Psychological Society did so by making him an Honorary Fellow in 1969.

Bill O'Neil was brought up on his parents sheep-grazing property on the north-western plains of New South Wales. Until he was nine he was educated at home by his mother. After that he was enrolled in the NSW Correspondence School. Those who recall Bill's great love of scholarly disputation will recognise the man in the boy when in his autobiographical note he wrote:



I remember writing in response to a request for a one-page conversation between a cat and a canary 'Cats and canaries do not speak'. The patient teacher trying to encourage wrote 'Try to imagine what they would say if they could speak'. I wrote back stubbornly 'What's the use in imagining what can't happen?' The defeated teacher wrote back 'Write a composition about mustering sheep or about breaking in a bullock team or a horse team'.<sup>1</sup>

Always a realist, Bill was also good at winning arguments.

Bill O'Neil went on in due course to De La Salle College, Armidale, where he won both his Leaving Certificate and a Teachers' College Scholarship to the University of Sydney. His record at the University was a portent of things to come. He was awarded the Lithgow Scholarship and the Frank Albert Prize in Psychology and went on to graduate in 1932 with first class honours and the University Medal in Psychology, first class honours in English, and a pass in History. His record at Sydney Teachers' College was less even. He completed his Diploma of Education with the Burfit Prize but failed to qualify for a Teacher's Certificate. However, while there he undertook research for a MA at the University and this was awarded, again with first class honours and the University Medal, in 1935.

After his nine years in vocational psychology Bill O'Neil applied for and was appointed to a Lectureship in Psychology in the University of Sydney. However, before taking up his appointment and encouraged by Eric Ashby, then Professor of Botany, he applied for and in 1945 was appointed to the McCaughey Chair of Psychology. He was still only thirty two. In succeeding H. Tasman Lovell, Bill O'Neil became the second professor of psychology to be appointed in Australia.

Bill O'Neil's academic interests were never narrowly focused. In the mode of that time he was a generalist in both his scholarly pursuits and his teaching. In the latter he along with others had to be. In the early years of his professorship staff were few and students many as the post-war rush to the universities began. His strongest and most abiding interests were the methods, concepts and theories of psychology. He was concerned not only with these issues in the context of contemporary psychology but in their historical antecedents. He spoke and wrote about conceptual issues with insight and authority, subjecting them to close critical analysis. His two books, *An Introduction to Method in Psychology* (1957) and *Fact and Theory: An Aspect of the Philosophy of Science* (1969) reflect these interests and typify his intellectual style – coming to grips with an issue, explicating it, and then subjecting it to searching analysis.

Bill O'Neil wrote two books on the history of psychology *The Beginnings of Modern Psychology* (1968) which went into a second edition and *A Century of Psychology in Australia* (1987), the first book comprehensively to record the history of the subject in this country. For Bill O'Neil history was neither a record of people, events and ideas nor an attempt to explain the past. Rather, as he stated it, 'Studying the history of psychology does not so much provide answers, as point to questions and as how we might attempt answering them'.<sup>2</sup> He saw and appreciated the central problems of psychology as much in the context of their past as in that of the present and recognised the importance of solving them.

In administration Bill O'Neil was quick, efficient and seldom fussed, and he worked extraordinarily hard at it, frequently behind the scenes. As well as his heavy teaching load as a professor and the responsibility for one of the largest departments in the university Bill served terms of office as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Chairman of the Professorial Board. His success in these positions was, I believe, his ability always to see and deal with the main issues and not to be carried away by the peripheral ones. He was always clear-sighted about what was important and what was not. These qualities stood him in good stead when he served as the second Chairman of the Australian Research Grants Committee. He was responsible for developing some of the guidelines that are still in use by the Australian Research Council. Bill was also closely involved in the Foundation of the Australian Psychologists Society and its predecessor, the Australian Branch of the British Psychological Society.

Bill was the most companionable and engaging of men and a marvellous raconteur. His stories, usually protracted and often acted out with appropriate accents, seemed mostly to involve people with names like O'Reilly, Mulligan or O'Flaherty caught out by their misunderstandings, their own ignorance, or both. Of Irish descent himself he took licence to joke about the frailties of those of like origin. Behind his easy, friendly manner Bill O'Neil was high-principled, placing great store by commitment, involvement and intellectual integrity. He was intolerant of those who were intractably doctrinaire and more so of those who were shoddy and superficial in scholarly enterprises.

Throughout his long professional life Bill O'Neil was greatly sustained and assisted by his wife Kath, herself a Fellow of the University of Sydney, who with their daughter Judith and son James, survives him. Kath and Bill were generous in their hospitality to members of the department of Psychology, to visitors and, in particular, to new appointees. Many of us who joined the department from other places retain fond memories of being met and welcomed and of parties and dinners in Roseville.

When in due course another history of psychology in Australia is written the author of the first is bound to figure in it as one of the major pioneers. The discipline and the profession are greatly in his debt.

ROSS DAY

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<sup>1</sup> Autobiography (1978). In J. P. Sutcliffe (Ed.) *Conceptual Analysis and Method in Psychology*. Sydney University Press.

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<sup>2</sup> *The Beginnings of Modern Psychology*, 2nd Ed. (1982). Sydney University Press.



## *Sir Richard Moulton Eggleston, 1909–1991*

**D**ick Eggleston died in Melbourne on 16 January 1991, aged 81. He was a famous advocate who became one of the leaders of the Victorian Bar in the decade after the Second World War, appearing in most of the landmark industrial cases and in some of the great constitutional battles of the time, before the High Court and the Privy Council. In 1960 he was appointed a Judge of the Commonwealth Industrial Court (one of the predecessors of the Federal Court of Australia) and of the Supreme Courts of the Australian Capital Territory and of Norfolk Island. During his 14 years of judicial service, he played a major part in the inauguration of the federal trade practices legislation as the first President of the Trade Practices Tribunal. He presided over the Company Law Advisory Committee, and served as Pro-Chancellor of the ANU from 1968 to 1972. In the Queen's Birthday Honours in June 1971, he was awarded a knighthood.

It was after his retirement from the Court that Dick Eggleston returned to academic life. He had been Independent Lecturer in Equity in the University of Melbourne Law School between 1940 and 1949, one of a small, distinguished group of practising lawyers who complemented the full-time teachers: Bailey, Paton and Sawyer. In 1974 Monash University appointed him as special lecturer in law, and he remained a member of its Law School until he decided to end his active involvement in 1983. From late 1974 until early 1983, Dick was also Chancellor of Monash University, after the death of the second Chancellor, his friend and fellow barrister Sir Douglas Menzies, a Justice of the High Court of Australia. This unusual combination of the office of president of the University's chief governing body and of a teacher in its Law School, albeit employed in a succession of fixed-term appointments, was entirely successful.

During his period in the Monash Law School Dick established a course entitled Problems of Proof in the LL.M. program. The course emphasised the role of probability in the determination of uncertain or disputed facts, or events, and also canvassed other major issues in the law of evidence. Dick believed that lawyers must be able to count, as well as read. He prized, but did not over-value, mathematical insights in the service of law and justice. It was the chief but not the only area in Dick's scholarly interests. The most lasting result of his scholarship was his pioneering monograph *Evidence, Proof and Probability*, published in London in 1978 as one of the *Law in Context* series. A second edition, incorporating many revisions and responses to criticisms of the first, appeared in 1983. The book attracted very wide interest, and continues to be regarded as a most important contribution to the literature of the law of evidence in the common law world.

Dick also wrote, and spoke, about Australian constitutional issues, particularly those arising from the dismissal of Mr Whitlam as Prime Minister by the Governor-General on 11 November 1975. He regarded *Constitutional Seminar*, which he and Edward St John QC produced in 1977, as his most significant contribution to that on-going public controversy.

His scholarly distinction received appropriate recognition, in the awards of the degree of LL.D. *honoris causa* by Melbourne in 1973 and by Monash in

1983, the latter on his retirement as Chancellor. He was elected a Fellow of the Academy in 1981, the first Australian judge to achieve that distinction. His many friends remember him with respect and with affection.

LOUIS WALLER

### *Christopher Ian Higgins, 1943–1990*

Chris Higgins, Secretary to the Commonwealth Treasury, died suddenly on 6 December, 1990, aged only 47, from heart failure after competing in, and winning, a 3 km footrace in Canberra. The Treasurer, Mr Paul Keating, described his death at the time as 'a tragic loss, not only in a personal sense for his family and those who loved him but for the nation as a whole'.

Dr Higgins' appointment in September 1989 to succeed Mr Bernie Fraser as Secretary to the Treasury crowned a career as one of Australia's most respected economists, public policy advisers and administrators.

Born in Murwillumbah, NSW on 3 April, 1943 Chris Higgins came to what was then the Canberra University College as a Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics Cadet in 1960 and graduated four years later with first class Honours in economics and statistics. In 1964 a postgraduate scholarship took him to the University of Pennsylvania where he studied under Lawrence Klein to receive his Ph.D. in applied econometrics in 1967.

After returning to the Bureau in 1968 Dr Higgins worked there in the National Accounts Branch for two years or so before being promoted in 1970 to the Short-Term Forecasting Section of the General Financial and Economic Policy Division of the Treasury. Thereafter, despite occasional stints in academia and, for a few years, in the OECD, it was the Treasury which was to remain his first love.

As Mr Keating said when delivering, on 15 May, 1991, the inaugural Higgins Memorial Lecture:

'... his over-riding passion, which never left him, was public policy and the economic debate in particular.

'It was why, despite an interest in academia which he maintained all his life, he remained committed to public policy advising.'

In the early 1960s the Treasury had begun what was to prove the lengthy task of transforming not only the presentation of the Commonwealth's own budgetary accounts and associated economic policy material, but also the econometric techniques underlying the latter. To the prosecution of this task, after his arrival in the Treasury, Chris Higgins made an enormous personal contribution. He was the key designer of the Treasury's national income forecasting model, and contributed greatly to the development, and enhanced significance of, Statement No. 2, the economic policy document which, each year, accompanies the Treasurer's Budget Speech.



By 1973 this work was well advanced, and in 1973-74 Chris Higgins again took leave from the Public Service to spend 18 months in North America, first as a Senior Fulbright Hays Scholar at the University of Pennsylvania and then as a Visiting Associate Professor at the University of British Columbia.

On his return from overseas in 1975 Dr Higgins was promoted to what was then called the Second Division (now the Senior Executive Service), as Assistant Secretary in charge of, first, the Economic Branch and then, in 1976, the Fiscal and Monetary Policy Branch, of the General Financial and Economic Policy Division.

By the late 1970s it was already clear that, one day, Dr Higgins would almost certainly head the Treasury. With a view therefore to widening his experience beyond the General Financial and Economic Policy Division of the Department, where by that time he had served more or less continuously for nearly 11 years, he was appointed in early 1980 as Minister (Economic and Financial Affairs) within the Australian Mission to the OECD in Paris.

Although he had previously studied and taught overseas, and in that sense had experience outside Australia, Chris Higgins' work for the Treasury in Paris took him for the first time into the international economic policy scene. This was at a time when, following the second 'oil shock' and the coming to office of the Reagan Administration in the USA, that scene was undergoing major, and intellectually fascinating, change.

Thus, when Chris Higgins' period of duty in the Australian Mission was coming to an end towards the end of 1981, he sought (and, with the support of the Treasury, gained) appointment as Director of the General Economics Branch of the Economics and Statistics Department of the OECD itself, serving there (on leave from the Public Service) for almost three years, 1982-84. On his return to Canberra in 1984, he was almost immediately promoted by the then outgoing Secretary to the post of Deputy Secretary (Economic).

With John Stone's departure from the Treasury in September 1984, Chris Higgins was one of those then considered for the succession. Although judged, at the time, to have had too little administrative experience to equip him for the post, and also perhaps a less widely varied policy experience than the Treasurer's eventual choice (Mr Bernie Fraser), his claims to the post were even then under close consideration.

After having served for five years (1984-89) as Deputy Secretary (Economic) – during which period he was elected, in 1987, as a Fellow of the Academy – Chris Higgins finally became Secretary to the Treasury in 1989 on the departure of Mr Fraser to become Governor of the Reserve Bank.

Chris Higgins' life was enriched by his marriage to his wife Paula, a bright and lively New Yorker whom he met at the University of Pennsylvania, and by their two sons. Despite the heavy demands of the Treasury upon what might otherwise have been his leisure time, he not only developed interests in both music and long-distance running, but also maintained his interest in the academic economics profession. In the latter field he contributed many well-regarded articles and conference papers in Australia and abroad.

Chris Higgins' sharp, analytical mind blended with a friendly, unassuming manner; both qualities went hand in hand with a keen sense of fun. He was greatly liked – and respected – by his departmental colleagues, particularly but not only within the Treasury. He was in many ways a born teacher, and younger Treasury officers benefited enormously over the years from his friendly and painstaking guidance. Although in some respects a less strong personality than some of his predecessors as head of the Treasury, he was none the less respected. His death, as Mr Keating rightly said in those words quoted at the outset of this obituary, was a tragic loss in every sense of that term.

Two weeks before the death of Chris Higgins, Emeritus Professor Heinz Arndt, whose student he had been nearly 30 years earlier, happened to meet Lawrence Klein at a conference in Manila. They found they had one thing in common. Each of them thought Chris Higgins had been his best student.

JOHN STONE

### *Henry Mayer, 1919-1991*

Henry Mayer, one of the true founding fathers of Australian political science and an important figure in Australian intellectual life more generally, died on 7 May 1991, following a heart attack. He was 71 years old. He was Professor of Political Theory at the University of Sydney until his retirement in 1985 and since that date had held visiting appointments at the University of New South Wales and at Macquarie University. He had been a Fellow of ASSA since 1965.

Henry began his Australian career in an appropriately legendary fashion, having been one of the 'enemy aliens' deported from Britain to Australia on HMT *Dunera* in 1940, a ship which on that occasion carried what must surely have been the most valuable load ever to arrive in this country. Having been born in Germany, he completed his secondary education in England and, after the parenthesis of deportation and internment, obtained his bachelor's and master's degrees in political science at the University of Melbourne. From there he went almost immediately to the Department of Government at the University of Sydney, where he held various positions before becoming Professor of Political Theory in 1970.

He was throughout his life enormously productive. A collection of his publications of all kinds, made by Murray Goot in 1985 when Henry was far from an end, listed more than 700 items. Naturally, they varied in length, quality and importance. For the last twenty-five years of his life he concentrated largely, though by no means entirely, on various aspects of the media and was certainly the principal Australian academic authority in this area. Previously he had concerned himself with a wide range of political theory, on the sense both of political philosophy and of empirical theorising about politics. Throughout, he spoke and wrote profusely about the political issues of his various days and, to an even greater extent, sought to encourage others to deal with virtually every aspect of politics, whether or not it was of acute concern to him.



It is fair to say that his interests were too broad and too kaleidoscopic for him ever to adopt a settled theoretical position. In his earlier years, at Melbourne and perhaps beyond, he was a dissident and critical marxist. Before long, his passion for dissent and criticism overwhelmed his marxism, and this was never replaced by any other clear ideological position. During the 1960s he sponsored a 'group theory of politics' which led to useful outcomes, from his own pen and from others, but which never pretended to be high theory. In this respect, as in many such cases, the title of the chair which he held for so long was not particularly apposite. He was not a tidy man, in appearance or in intellect. But he had much greater qualities than tidiness.

Behind it all there was – to use a term which is not now as popular as in Mayer's earlier days – a deeply rooted sceptical pluralism. He suspected bigness, domination, complacency and even unity when he suspected that it was being used as a cover for these other qualities. This is perhaps as close as we can get to identifying a common theme in his life and work. It applied to his research from electoral studies through 'group theory' to media studies. It led to his wish to see political science as an autonomous but not independent study. And, at a personal level, it led him, like an even more notable figure, to seek to put down the mighty from their seats and to exalt the humble and meek – as long as the latter could be persuaded to take a share in exalting themselves.

His vitality and encyclopaedic knowledge always made him a popular and successful teacher. This was one aspect of his broader role as a prodigious encourager – of his students, of his colleagues near and far and of anyone who had the good sense to listen to him. There must be hundreds of people who have received his execrably-typed notes drawing their attention to subjects which they should deal with and the sources which would help them in the task.

He was at heart an immensely kind and generous man. He could sometimes be rude and destructive but only when he believed he was dealing with the pompous and self-satisfied who should be brought down a peg in their own interests. No doubt he sometimes made mistakes in such matters and wounded some who did not deserve it.

Mayer was one of those who became a force in Australian political science when it had become established but when its rate of growth was unsure. W. Macmahon Ball became only the second professor of the subject in Australia while Mayer was an undergraduate student in Melbourne. In Sydney, to which Henry moved, the discipline had a longer history. Elsewhere in Australia it hardly existed. From the 1950s he was one of the principal sponsors of its development and autonomy. He was a founder of the Australian (now Australasian) Politics Studies Association and for many years the main influence behind its journal *Politics* (now the *Australian Journal of Political Science*), for which he worked indefatigably.

Another such contribution was his editing of five successive editions of *Australian Politics: A Reader* between 1966 and 1980. These comprehensive – occasionally idiosyncratic – collections of new work on very many aspects of Australian politics together comprised perhaps the greatest single written contribution to the development of Australian political science during the period of its consolidation.

By the 1960s the task of establishing political science as a major discipline in its own right had been completed. Characteristically, Henry then turned to subjects which built upon the study of politics but which went beyond or ignored its boundaries – most obviously the study of the media but also others. One example is that in 1973 he was drawing attention to ‘Recent Work by Australian Social Psychologists of Interest to Political Scientists’. And at the end of his life, he held the positions of Visiting Professor of Sociology at the University of New South Wales and of Visiting Professor in Mass Communications at Macquarie.

His work on the media, from *The Press in Australia* in 1964, also continued to the end, when he remained editor of *Media Information Australia*. It is trite to say that it was the best and most substantial work of this kind in Australia, in that Henry had little sustained competition in this field. It is not at all trite to say that he was a unique figure in Australian social science and, by definition, we shall not look upon his like again.

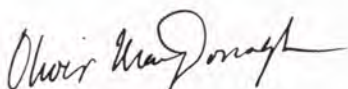
DON RAWSON



## FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The accompanying financial statements of The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia Incorporated are drawn up so as to give the results of the Academy for the year ended 30 June 1991.

To the best of our knowledge these statements give a true and fair view of the operation of the Academy.



O. O. G. MacDonagh  
*Executive Director*

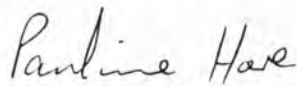


Stuart Harris  
*Honorary Treasurer*

### AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have audited the financial statements set out in the attached pages in accordance with Australian Auditing Standards. I have obtained all information and explanations which to the best of my brief were necessary for the purpose of my audit.

In my opinion the accompanying statements are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and fair view of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia Incorporated according to the information at my disposal and explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Academy at 30 June 1991.



Pauline Hore  
B.Ec.  
20 September 1991

# THE ACADEMY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN AUSTRALIA INCORPORATED

## BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30 JUNE 1991

1989/90		Notes		1990/91
\$	CURRENT ASSETS		\$	\$
	Cash in hand			
7997	C.S.B. — Current Account		4277	
50	Petty Cash		50	
647	Research Project Account		<u>NIL</u>	
8694				4327
	Debtors			
6783	Subscription Arrears		5304	
660	Less provisional doubtful debts		<u>2292</u>	
6123				3012
43044	Accrued interest	2		28028
175986	Investments	2		<u>213647</u>
233847	TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			249014
	FIXED ASSETS			
3268	Furniture and Fittings at cost		3268	
2378	Less Accumulated Depreciation		<u>2868</u>	
890				400
34048	Office Equipment at cost		34595	
17144	Less Accumulated Depreciation		<u>24063</u>	
17794	TOTAL FIXED ASSETS			<u>10532</u>
251641	TOTAL ASSETS			259946
	LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES			
1991	Accrued Salaries		2161	
1991	TOTAL LIABILITIES			<u>2161</u>
\$249650	NET ASSETS			<u>\$257785</u>
	ACCUMULATED FUNDS			
210739	Balance at Start of Year		249650	
38911	Surplus (Deficit) for the year		<u>8135</u>	
\$249650	Balance at end of year			<u>\$257785</u>



# THE ACADEMY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN AUSTRALIA INCORPORATED

## STATEMENT OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30 JUNE 1991

1989/90		1990/91	
\$	REVENUES	\$	\$
197469	Australian Government Grants	189742	
34176	Members' Subscriptions	32844	
43621	Interest	57418	
	Contributions from the Academies'		
4933	Australia-China Exchange	6282	
3000	Australia-Japan Exchange	—	
7965	Sundry Revenue	7907	
837	Donations	4282	
460	Symposium	625	
2790	Annual General Meeting	2680	
<u>295251</u>	TOTAL REVENUES	<u>310780</u>	

STATEMENT OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES  
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30 JUNE 1991

1989/90		1990/91
\$		\$
	ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	
93960	Salaries and Long Service Leave	111067
—	Superannuation	2174
3457	Printing and Stationery	4177
2412	Postage/Petty Cash	3443
4362	Fax/Telephone	4863
8715	Publications/Printing	8718
19743	Rent and Cleaning of Premises	22170
144	Insurance	2018
900	Audit and Accounting	900
182	Doubtful Debts	1633
180	Maintenance of Office Equipment	2442
6810	Depreciation of Office Equipment	6920
490	Furniture and Fittings	491
3010	Sundry Expenses	4898
324	Bank Charges	292
144689	TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	176206
	RESEARCH EXPENSES	
15390	Academy Project — Women and Music	—
33420	Workshops	13024
—	ASSA Research Project	30364 <sup>1</sup>
—	Academy Award Project	794
—	ANZAAS Project	5879
48810	TOTAL RESEARCH EXPENSES	50061
	MEETING EXPENSES	
—	Meetings	4543
26096	Committee Expenses	27810
26096	TOTAL MEETING EXPENSES	32353
	INTERNATIONAL EXPENSES	
23854	Australia-China Exchange	25190
12891	International Relations	9835
36745	TOTAL INTERNATIONAL EXPENSES	35025
256340	TOTAL EXPENSES	293645
\$38911	Surplus for the year	\$8135

Note 1: Includes \$25669 funds transfer to Research Project. Refer page 104.



**THE ACADEMY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN AUSTRALIA INCORPORATED****RESEARCH PROJECT ACCOUNT**

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30 JUNE 1991

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	1990/91
	\$
ASSETS	
Cash Management Call Account	25697
Cash at Bank	<u>30256</u>
	<u>55953</u>
ACCUMULATED FUNDS	
Surplus for year	<u>\$55953</u>

STATEMENT OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES  
FOR PERIOD ENDING 30 JUNE 1991

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	\$	\$	\$
REVENUES			
ASSA	25669		
ARC Grant	50000		
Interest	<u>760</u>		
		<u>76429</u>	
EXPENSES			
Salaries and Travel	19590		
Workshop	360		
Printing	373		
Stationery	60		
Sundries	<u>93</u>		
		<u>20476</u>	
EXCESS OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES			<u>\$55953</u>

NOTES TO AND FORMING PART OF THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE  
YEAR ENDED 30 JUNE 1991

**Note 1**

Statement of Accounting Policies:

The following is a summary of significant policies adopted by the Academy in preparation of the Accounts:

- (a) The accounts have been prepared on the basis of historical costs and do not take into account changing values or current valuations of non-current assets.
- (b) Fixed Assets: Fixed assets are included at cost less accumulated depreciation. All fixed assets are depreciated over their estimated useful life using straight line depreciation.

**Note 2**

Investments

	Amount Invested	Interest Accrued	Total Value Investment
	\$	\$	\$
Citicorp	15242	6998	22240
State Bank NSW	109099	13777	122876
Short Term Money Market	40000	5199	45199
Commonwealth Bank			
Main Account		531	531
Cash Management Account	49306	1523	50829
	<u>\$213647</u>	<u>\$28028</u>	<u>\$241675</u>



