Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom

50TH ANNIVERSARY

PSA
Political Studies Association
1950~2000
Fifty Years *of* Political Studies

Welcome

In 1951, its first complete year, the PSA had 100 members. Today we have 800 full members and 300 graduate members and numbers continue to rise. The first annual conference was held at the LSE in 1950 and 50 members attended. The 50th Anniversary Conference was also held at the LSE but this time 720 members attended.

By all conventional indicators, the Association has arrived at its 50th Birthday in good condition. Indeed, at the other side of an era in which the Social Science Research Council became the Economic and Social Research Council on ministerial whim, we should be grateful we survived.

The PSA exists to represent and promote the study of politics throughout higher education. To celebrate our healthy survival in pursuing these aims, the PSA's Executive Committee mounted *'Project 2000'*. It has four objectives.

- *To raise the profile and standing of the PSA*
- *To promote the study of politics*
- *To increase membership of the Association*
- *To improve the income and services of the Association*

This Awards Dinner seeks to raise the profile of the profession, not just the PSA. So, we honour not only members of the profession but also politicians and journalists who have made an outstanding contribution to the study and practice of politics over the past fifty years.

I must mention, if only briefly, the other events which are part of *'Project 2000'*. We have already held a successful annual conference at the LSE, which attracted distinguished scholars from around the world. To great controversy, we launched the Association's mug, which now adorns the nooks and crannies known as departmental kitchens throughout the land. There are two new publications, the brochure which you hold in your hand and a 'best of' collection of articles in Political Studies, edited by Patrick Dunleavy, Paul Kelly and Mick Moran. Finally, we introduced a major addition to the services for members; the new, expanded interactive PSA web site. Members can find information about all Association's events; update their personal information on the Association's member database; access electronic versions of *PSA News* and *Political Studies*.

It is my pleasant duty to thank the Awards jury, made up of past Presidents of the Association and past editors of Political Studies, who decided on their list with a startling lack of discord – a tribute to the winners. Also, I thank members of the Project 2000 Committee – Jack Arthurs, John Benyon, Charlie Jeffery and Jon Tonge – for their hard work.

With great pleasure, I welcome everyone to this Awards Dinner. It may well be true that 'experience of being disastrously wrong is salutary; no political scientist should be denied it, and not many are' (with apologies to J. K. Galbraith). Tonight, however, we abandon our normal, morbid interest in the inevitability of failure, don the gown of self-congratulation, and recognise the successes of our colleagues, whether academics, practitioners and commentators. If there are 'very few facts, at least ascertainable facts, in politics' (Robert Peel), then one of the few facts is the quality and enduring contribution of the PSA's Laski award winners.

It is ever the way of these events that everyone thanks everyone for everything. As chair of the PSA, I can suffer from appalling tunnel vision. World events come and go but I ponder whether we are doing what members want. As the late, great Duke Ellington would have said, 'I love you madly' for coming and making this event a success.

Professor R.A.W. Rhodes
Chair, Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

A message from the Prime Minister

I am delighted to congratulate the Political Studies Association on its 50th anniversary. The PSA is recognised throughout the world as being a leader in its field, and its members can take pride in its achievements.

The Government values highly the contribution of the academic community to serving the wider needs of society. British political scientists have contributed much in the last few years to key areas of policy such as citizenship education, and in carrying out research which feeds into evidence-based policy making.

As the PSA enters its second half-century, many challenges remain. Devolution and constitutional reform, and policy challenges as diverse as social exclusion, sustainable development and the new economy, can all benefit from research by political scientists. The same is true in international politics – the future of the EU, globalisation, and new, collective challenges in securing peace and stability in Europe and beyond.

The new global economy requires an increasingly skilled and educated society. Political studies at UK universities have a vitally important role in making sure we ally traditional critical skills in argument, evaluation and analysis with the power of new technologies.

Building on its record over the last fifty years, these are challenges I am confident the PSA and its members throughout the UK's universities can meet.

Tony Blair

A Guide to the **Political Studies Association**

The Political Studies Association exists to develop and promote the study of politics.

As it moves into its second fifty years, the PSA is the leading association in its field in the UK, with an international membership including academics in political science and current affairs, theorists and practitioners, policy-makers, researchers and students in higher education.

The PSA has a well-deserved reputation for serious scholarship. It is regularly consulted by higher education policy-makers and funding councils for its advice and expertise, and its research is used by the media, government, business and the voluntary sector in the UK and beyond.

Journals

The PSA provides a forum for scholarship through three quality journals, published in association with Blackwell Publishers:

- *Political Studies* is one of the most cited journals in the field and attracts contributions from academics of international standing. Through articles, reviews, debates and research notes, it reflects the vigour and importance of the discipline of politics and contributes significantly to the development of political science internationally

- *Politics* is a key teaching resource, identifying the topics that students really need to know about. It has established a reputation for lively writing, and contains debates and analyses by both established and new members of the political science community

- *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* is a new journal aimed at influencing international debates in political science. It encourages contributions from scholars in all parts of the discipline and from all parts of the globe, and is fast attaining a reputation for innovative interdisciplinary research.

Other publications

The PSA also provides information about politics and expertise through:

- *PSA News*, a regular newsletter containing short articles and commentaries, news from departments, information on research grants and projects, plus details of conferences, specialist groups and other activities

- *PSA Directory,* produced jointly with the British International Studies Association, an invaluable reference work listing all political scientists in the UK and Ireland by university and department. An online version of the directory is also available to members at the PSA website: www.psa.ac.uk

- *Media Register of Experts*, compiled by the PSA from the latest research information, the register lists experts on politics and political science in the UK

- *Studying Politics,* a highly successful booklet promoting the study of politics in higher education, distributed to all UK sixth-forms and colleges.

Activities

The PSA offers a unique arena for the exchange of ideas and expertise through its:

- Annual Conference, attracting leading politicians, civil servants and academics, and comprising more than 100 specialist discussion panels across the whole range of the discipline: from government and institutions, through to policy studies, international relations, gender studies and political theory

- Network of more than 40 Specialist Groups, covering all major fields of research in political science. Each provides a forum in which individuals with specialised research and teaching interests can develop their own seminars and conferences to supplement the Annual Conference

- Heads of Department Conferences, held to assist UK politics and political science departments with planning and training for research and teaching.

PSA online

www.psa.ac.uk
'Best Political Science Site in the World'
Lycos

The PSA's award-winning website features a range of services exclusive to PSA members, including access to electronic versions of all PSA journals, Annual Conference papers, and the PSA Directory, as well as offering many resources in political science to the wider community.

Awards

The PSA promotes the study of politics through a number of annual awards and prizes including:

- *The W.J.M. MacKenzie Prize for the Best Book published in political science*

- *Four prizes for Best Dissertation in any field of political studies*

- *The Bernard Crick Prize for Teaching in any field of political studies*

- *The Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for Lifetime Contribution to Political Studies.*

Graduate Network

The PSA is committed to supporting the next generation of political scientists through its Graduate Network, which exists to promote links between postgraduate students in Politics throughout the UK. The Graduate Network holds its own Annual Conference, regional group events and short conferences for members. All postgraduates are entitled to join the PSA at a reduced rate, including free Graduate Network membership.

Membership

PSA membership is open to teachers and researchers in the field of political science, both in the UK and overseas, to research students, university departments and to everyone interested in the study and practice of politics. There are separate categories of membership for people who are retired and for corporate institutions.

Contents

A Guide to the Political Studies Association 2

50 Years of the Political Studies Association 4

Political Studies Association Hall of Fame 12

Political Studies Association 50th Anniversary Award Winners 16

Teaching and Learning Politics 24

The Disciplines of Politics 26

Political Studies and User Relevance 31

50 Years of the Political Studies Association

Professor Charlie Jeffery

The Founding Conference

The PSA, oddly, owes its creation to UNESCO. In a flush of post-war enthusiasm about the possibilities of social science, UNESCO had initiated discussions on establishing international associations of scholars in economics, sociology, law and politics. The discussions on politics, in which the LSE professors G.D.H. Cole and William Robson were involved, led to the establishment of the International Political Science Association in September 1949. This was to be constituted on the basis of national bodies. The PSA, whose founding conference was held on 23-24 March 1950 in London, was the British response.

The committee that produced the international association had a clear and optimistic vision of what political studies were for: 'Students of politics combine fact-finding with value judgement and, from objective study, derive practical conclusions for the improved working of political institutions'. The fledgling PSA was less sure of itself. The letter drafted by Oxford's Norman Chester and the LSE's Charles Wilson in November 1949 to canvas support for the founding of the PSA was a masterpiece of limited ambition. There was no statement of rationale save for the fact that other disciplines already had an association in the UK and that the international association had been formed. Beyond that, the 'precise scope of the Association would require full consideration', and it was not suggested 'that the Association should immediately embark on any ambitious functions or projects'.

The modesty of the founders' ambition was perhaps understandable. Political studies was a fledgling discipline in UK universities with only Oxford, the LSE, Cambridge and Manchester having Chairs in subjects at least

Dear Sir

November 1949

Proposed formation of a Universities Political Studies Association

It has been proposed that a Political Studies Association should be formed for University teachers in the United Kingdom.

Teachers in many other branches of academic studies already have an Association. In recent years a considerable development has taken place in political studies in the Universities. The time would now appear opportune for the formation of an Association covering teachers in this field. The formation in September of an International Political Science Association supported in the first instance by a grant from UNESCO adds point to the need for the establishment of an Association in this country.

The precise scope of the Association would require full consideration. At the moment it is suggested that membership should be open to all University teachers in Political Theory and Institutions, Government and Public Administration, Constitutional and Administrative Law, International Relations, International Law and similar subjects.

It is not suggested that the Association should immediately embark on any ambitious functions or projects. An annual meeting for the discussion of papers and the exchange of ideas ought to be possible. The arranging of other meetings, the publication of some kind of research and information bulletin, perhaps even of a journal, would also come up for consideration.

If this letter meets with a favourable reception it is proposed to convene a first meeting early next year at which, in addition to the discussion of one or two papers, an Association could be formally constituted. We invite the cooperation of all University teachers in political studies.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Barker, D.W. Brogan, G.D.H. Cole, D.N. Chester, Hector Hetherington, H.J. Laski, Lindsay of Birker, W.J.M. Mackenzie, M. Oakeshott, W.A. Robson, K.B. Smellie, E.C.S. Wade, K.C. Wheare, C.H. Wilson

"Mixture of 'Egelianism and ooliganism'"

broadly definable as politics. Otherwise lectureships in political studies were scattered around departments of economics, philosophy and history. There was also an underlying directional dispute to negotiate. This broadly ranged an Oxford group struggling to legitimise a new subject in an ancient university ('always looking under the bed for historians', as the PSA veteran Frank Bealey once put it) against a London group lent more autonomy and self-confidence by the LSE's Fabian origins.

For these reasons the founders trod cautiously, rejecting the international association's (and the LSE's) notion of a political science for the more neutral political studies – and then even watering that down further with 'and allied subjects'! Tellingly, Jack Hayward described these early moves to institutionalise political studies as the 'dawn of a self-deprecating discipline'.

The inaugural conference also proceeded in difficult circumstances, with the country's highest profile politics professor and the conference's keynote speaker, Harold Laski, falling terminally ill on the eve of the conference. The PSA's response as David Butler recalls was both gallant and, as befits a fledgling organisation lacking secure reserves, financially cautious: 'My main memory is of Willie Robson getting us to vote a lifetime membership to the dying Harold Laski'.

Butler, now the doyen of British electoral studies, then a graduate student working with Norman Chester, has good cause to recall this having been 'asked' by Chester to organise the inaugural conference – even to the extent of running all of its financial transactions through his personal, student bank account! Butler evidently did a good job, with around 50 lecturers from twelve universities attending, passing a constitution and electing a Committee (with Chester as the inaugural PSA Chairman).

The Committee provided an organisational focus which established the PSA Conference as an annual event with, as Frank Bealey recalls, a series of memorable programmes including Ernest Barker's 1954 description of Nazism, delivered in an unreconstructed Lancashire accent, as a 'mixture of 'egelianism and 'ooliganism' and Edward Heath's speech in 1955 on 'The Art of Whipping'.

The PSA's Founding Committee (1950)

Norman Chester (Chairman)
Reg Bassett (Secretary)
A.H. Hanson
J.A. Mack
W.J.M. Mackenzie
R.S. Milne
K.B. Smellie
H. Street
David Thomson
Sir Charles Webster

Political Studies: the PSA's First Journal

The Committee also moved quickly beyond the caution of the PSA's founding letter to establish a PSA journal, *Political Studies,* which appeared for the first time in February 1953. In uncanny anticipation of the later practice of soliciting competitive tenders for the publication of Political Studies, the Committee flirted first with Blackwells, then with Kegan Paul before finally striking an agreement with Oxford University Press. The deal was for three numbers of 96 pages each per year to sell for 27s. 6d. or 25s. for members (the main part of an overall membership package of 30s.!).

Chronology

Fifty Years of UK Political History — and the Story of the Political Studies Association

1950 Labour holds on to power at the General Election, but with a narrow overall majority of 5. The Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom is formed, to popular acclaim. Its first conference is held in March.

1951 Winston Churchill returns as Prime Minister as the Conservatives win the General Election with an overall majority of 17. Labour polls 227,067 more votes than the Conservatives.

1952 Elizabeth II becomes Queen on 6 February.

1953 Political Studies, the PSA's house journal, makes its first appearance.

1954 Crichel Down case occurs, revisited in every British politics/civil service textbook ever since.

50 Years of the Political Studies Association

The founding Editor was Wilfrid Harrison from Oxford who took on the job – in his own words – 'in a fit of absence of mind' without prior experience and, indeed, without much experience at all in the PSA to be able to draw on. He nonetheless did an admirable job, laying the foundations from which *Political Studies* has developed into one of the world's leading politics journals. A review commissioned by the International Political Science Association in 1961 both captured Harrison's own contribution but also some of the enduring qualities of *Political Studies* which still apply today: 'Aided by his friends and colleagues Harrison has succeeded in making it informative in many ways. It does not cling to any special school of thought but is rather eclectic in what it prints. Political theory and foreign governmental systems are usual subjects, but others are not neglected. It is British in tone and sometimes in outlook, but fortunately signs of insularity are rare'. (On the matter of insularity, though, PSA founder member Douglas Verney does recall a 1951 PSA Conference paper by the Belgian John Goormaghtigh on the new European Coal and Steel Community. This provoked the comment from William Robson that 'he was expressing the sentiment of all present that there was little interest in this development'!)

Growth of a Discipline

The PSA was launched just at the point when politics expanded rapidly in British universities. By the mid-1950s most universities had established at least a couple of lectureships in political studies, with these typically then building the core of new departments of politics. The expansion of the university sector in the 1960s and the growing presence of courses on politics in the emerging polytechnic sector added further impetus. Despite a rather bleaker period of stagnation in the later 1970s and 1980s, the trajectory of growth has resumed with over 90 higher education institutions with 14,000 student places on politics courses by the year 2000. The subject matter of political studies in the UK has also broadened immensely. Early, rather anxious, debates about what the intellectual 'core' of political studies (or science) was, or should be, dissipated rapidly into a pragmatic and open-minded exploration of the boundaries of political analysis which has drawn heavily on US political science, but has largely avoided its periodic lapses into theoretical rigidity. An early emphasis was, naturally enough, on British politics. Richard Rose's recollection that there were simply 'very few books to read' when he began studying British politics in 1953 was quickly remedied (now one of the eminences grises of the profession, a glance at the list of over 400 books and other publications on his CV might suggest Rose had taken it entirely on himself to remedy the deficit!).

While teaching and research were typically organised around the classic triumvirate of political theory, government and international relations, new specialisms emerged through growing contacts with political scientists elsewhere and as new theories and issues became prominent. Over time comparative politics, area studies, gender studies, public policy research, environmentalism, European integration, development studies, political economy and public opinion research have all become established fields of enquiry.

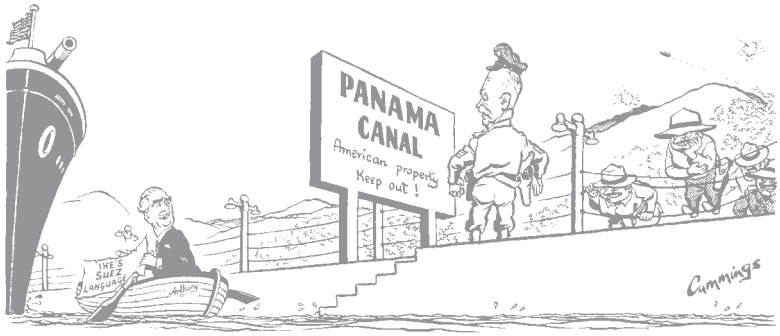
Perhaps the clearest indicator of the growth and differentiation of UK political studies is in the number of politics journals available to the discipline. When *Political Studies* was launched there were just four other British politics journals: *International Affairs, Public Administration, Political Quarterly* and *Parliamentary Affairs*. By the PSA's 25th anniversary in 1975, Norman Chester counted 'half a dozen more'. By the year 2000 even

GREETINGS TO THE PSA FROM IRELAND

Dear Colleagues

It is with great pleasure that the Political Studies Association of Ireland greets its sister association the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom on this the occasion of its 50th Anniversary. While the PSAI is a much younger organisation than the PSA it has taken inspiration from your success. The promotion of the development of political studies and the advancement of learning in the art and science of government and in other branches of political sciences has been an aim long associated with the PSA and is one that is shared by the PSAI. In these days of voter decline in the participation of politics it is more important than ever that national political studies associations foster the advancement of the study of politics and its related areas. It is through such education that national associations can make a difference. Throughout its 50-year history the PSA has made such a difference and long may it continue to do so.

Gary Murphy,
Political Studies Association of Ireland



"Canal trouble, Mr Eisenhower? Don't hesitate to ask my advice..."

MICHAEL CUMMINGS, *DAILY EXPRESS,* 27.4.59

individual publishers like Blackwells, Routledge and Oxford University Press – the current incarnations of the three publishers PSA had negotiated with in 1951-52 – were producing over 20 politics journals each.

Growth of the PSA

The challenge for the PSA has been to keep pace with the growth of the politics discipline, its changing nature and growing diversity. It has certainly done so in terms of membership. One year after its foundation conference in 1950 it had 100 members, by 1960 179 and by 1975 600. On its 50th Anniversary in 2000, the number had reached 1,100, spread across 95 institutions in the UK and ranging from graduate students to retired members. The spirit of inclusiveness was not always a generous one, with polytechnic lecturers only admitted in 1969, and no provision for postgraduate membership until the late 1970s. Nor did the growth of the Association mesh well with the rather clubbish atmosphere fostered by the founding fathers, which provoked a 'coup' in 1975 led by Brian Barry, now Professor at Columbia University in New York, and supported by Jack Hayward and Rod Rhodes, the latter becoming Secretary of the Association, and was in the saddle again

GREETINGS TO THE PSA FROM THE NETHERLANDS

Dear Colleagues

Sincere congratulations with your Association's fiftieth anniversary. The Dutch Political Science Association was created in 1950 as 'Nederlandse Kring voor Wetenschap der Politiek' (Dutch Circle for Political Science). Indeed, it was a small circle and only part of its early members were political science teachers. Its creation had been encouraged by the UNESCO and the International Political Science Association, set up in 1949 to bring together political scientists from various countries and to sharpen the outlines of political science, separate from such disciplines as law, history, and sociology. Jan Barents, since 1948 the holder of the chair of political science at the University of Amsterdam, was a member of the IPSA Executive Committee between 1949 and 1955 and in line with the IPSA program he initiated the foundation of the Dutch Association.

We appreciate the work done by your association, and are well aware of your performance as a national association, in particular the number of specialist groups. Congratulations. We send you our best wishes for the years to come and hope to meet at international conferences to discuss our common interests in the various branches of the political sciences.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H Liesbout, *President and* ***Bob Reinalda,*** *Secretary DPSA (Nederlandse Kring voor Wetenschap der Politiek)*

Chronology

1955 Churchill resigns as Prime Minister. The Conservatives under Anthony Eden win a majority of 54 over Labour and win almost half the total vote (49.7%). Attlee retires as Labour leader and is succeeded by Hugh Gaitskell.

1956 Suez crisis leads to futile Anglo-French military action against Colonel Nasser of Egypt (who had nationalised the Suez Canal Company). Eden explains Britain's position in a speech to the Commons on 4 November, declaring 'We are not at war with Egypt. We are in an armed conflict'.

1957 Eden resigns as PM, replaced by Macmillan.

1958 European Economic Community is born – without Britain.

1959 The Conservatives have never had it so good as they sweep to their third consecutive election victory with an overall majority of 100. The Liberals also achieve a hat-trick. They again win a mere 6 seats, although their vote more than doubles from the nadir of 722,405 votes four years earlier.

50 Years of the Political Studies Association

GREETINGS TO THE PSA FROM BELGIUM

50 Years Old: Time to Start Crossing the Channel!

Colleagues who turn 50 are sometimes already starting to feel old and grey and to feel like they are going to be slowly but surely pushed aside by those arrogant youngsters… The (methodologically dubious) comparison stops here. A 50-year old political science association is not necessarily an ageing one! It all depends on the extent to which it manages to inject enough fresh blood from time to time.

Our own association is both quite old and very young. It is old because its roots can be traced back to the Belgian national political association which existed between 1951 and 1979. It is young because it is only in 1996 that a mix of experienced academics and enthusiastic junior scholars created a brand new association on the French-speaking side, now bringing together the vast majority of active French-speaking Belgian political scientists.

What can we hope for the future development of the PSA? If I were to speak for myself, I would make two parallel wishes.

On the one hand, I wish that the PSA will open itself more to the rest of Europe (or to Europe tout court… I often feel like I am 2000 miles away from the continent when I stay in the UK…). It is surely a fact that political science in the UK – however excellent and established it may be – has this tendency to remain too "insular".

On the other hand, I wish that our colleagues from "the Isles" will open up more to other European languages (that includes French), and hence gain access to a whole "Latin" political science literature which is not a mere reproduction of the predominant English-language writings. There is clearly a lot to be gained in a "cross-fertilisation" of different research traditions, and national political associations should be able to help support initiatives in this respect.

This being said, I wish all the best to the PSA for the next 50 years, and hope to make it to the centennial ceremony in 2050 in London, by then the capital city of one of the 84 European federated region-states, the Republic of Southern England…

Prof. Benóit Riboux,
Secretary (1997-2000) of the Association Belge de Science Politique – Communauté française de Belgique (ABSP-CF).

25 years later as PSA Chair. In 1975, though, Rhodes' role was 'to shut up and be the Secretary and do as I was told'! Later Mike Goldsmith and John Benyon set about the transformation of PSA finances.

The PSA Executive Committee
(January 1975)

A.H. Birch (Chairman)
Geoffrey Marshall
Graeme Moodie
Fred Ridley
Peter Self
Peter Woodward (Secretary)

Naturally, the PSA Annual Conference has changed much since the inaugural event in 1950. Long-time PSA members like Frank Bealey, Nevil Johnson and Peter Pulzer all recall a cosy, club-like atmosphere in the early years, with everyone attending each presentation (with around 7-8 in total) and knowing each other. As the Association has grown, so the conference has grown and become more complex. A latter day David Butler's personal bank account would certainly not be up to the task of running today's conference. At the 50th Anniversary Conference held at the LSE in April 2000, there were some 154 panels, with at least 12 running in parallel at any one time, with well over 400 papers presented, and over 700 political scientists in attendance.

Key themes at the 2000 Conference included constitutional reform, the role of new media in elections, the British intelligence services, the performance of the Labour government, European Economic and Monetary Union, Russia 'Ten Years After', multiculturalism, and round tables led respectively by Brian Barry and Jack Hayward on Culture and Democracy and the British Study of Politics

"After 12 years I think the people will be very wise to say: Thankyou, carry on."

VICKY, *EVENING STANDARD,* 14.8.63

in the Twentieth Century. Keynote speakers included Kenneth Clarke, MP and Robert Dahl and Elinor Ostrom, both leading world figures in the discipline from the USA.

Much of the diversity of the contemporary conference can be attributed to the forty or so Specialist Groups the PSA runs to support research and debate on particular areas of study. These range from Alternative Electoral Systems to Women in Politics, from the Politics of Health to Diplomacy, from American Politics to Greek Political Thought. The diversity of conference also reflects the new ideas brought forward by a strong PSA Graduate Network which has developed into the major recruiting ground for the next generation of politics academics.

The wider portfolio of PSA activities has also expanded radically, supported by the proceeds of an extremely successful publishing partnership with Blackwell Publishers Ltd. The PSA now produces three journals with Blackwells: *Political Studies*, now in its 48th volume, with a circulation of 2,400, and one of the leading politics journals worldwide; *Politics,* focused on surveys and debates for use in teaching politics at university; and the new *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, now in its second volume, which is quickly establishing itself as a showcase for the work of the UK political studies community.

The PSA journals are supplemented by a range of publications and services designed to support the profession, including an award-winning website at http://www.psa.ac.uk, *PSA News,* and regular conferences of Heads of Department of Politics designed to discuss developments in higher education policy.

GREETINGS TO THE PSA FROM SWITZERLAND

Dear Colleagues

On the behalf of the Swiss Political Science Association (Association Suisse de Science Politique/Schweizerische Vereinigung for Politische Wissenschaft) I send fraternal greetings to the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom commemorating its foundation 50 years ago.

The integration of European nation states, the emergence of a European political system and the persistence of national political systems pose challenges to political actors but also to political scientists. As scientists we have to analyse political structures and processes. For that we need infrastructure. Out national professional associations, like the Political Studies Association, are of particular importance in that regard. In future we will need much closer co-operation between the European national scientific communities. I am sure the Political Studies Association will cope successfully and efficiently with that challenge, as it has done with the challenge of creating a British scientific community in political science in the past 50 years.

Prof. Dr Klaus Armingeon
Chair Swiss Political Science Association

Chronology

1960 Gaitskell promises to 'fight, fight and fight again' for the Labour Party against unilateralists and the Left.

1962 Macmillan 'loses' one third of his cabinet in the 'Night of the Long Knives'.

1963 Macmillan resigns. Alec Douglas-Hume later 'emerges' as leader. Harold Wilson becomes new leader of the Labour Party following the death of Gaitskell. Britain applies unsuccessfully to join the European Economic Community.

1964 Labour wins an overall majority of 5 (as in 1950) at the General Election.

1965 Douglas-Hume resigns and Edward Heath is elected under new rules as Conservative leader.

1966 Labour wins a substantial majority of 96 under its manifesto slogan 'Time for Decision'.

1967 Jeremy Thorpe replaces Jo Grimond as Liberal leader.

50 Years of the Political Studies Association

GREETINGS TO THE PSA FROM THE ECPR

Dear Colleagues

The PSA is fifty years old. In contrast the European Consortium for Political Research is a mere stripling of barely thirty, so this is a fraternal message of appreciation and congratulations from the younger generation to its revered and respected elders.

The PSA is not among the very oldest political science associations in the world. The American and Canadian associations predate it by many decades, the Finnish Association was founded in 1935, and the French association was set up a year before the PSA, but it stands out for two admirable features.

The PSA is one of the larger and certainly one of the most active and impressively organised professional associations in political science, not just in Western Europe, but across the globe. In this sense it is something of a model of what can and should be done, even when resources have been drastically reduced, when numbers have fallen, and pressures to reduce activity and enthusiasm are building up all around.

Second, the members of the PSA show an admirable quality. They are international and outward looking. Various studies have shown that Political Studies, like the British economy, is more open to the world than many other national journals. As IPSA and the ECPR know from long experience, the British political scientists are more likely to get involved in international organisations, and to attend international conferences than most other national groups in the profession. In this respect, the internationalist record of British political scientists stands in curious contrast to the UK's reputation as isolated from Europe and as the 'Awkward Partner' of the EU.

The ECPR sends its warmest congratulations to the PSA and wishes it well in its next fifty years.

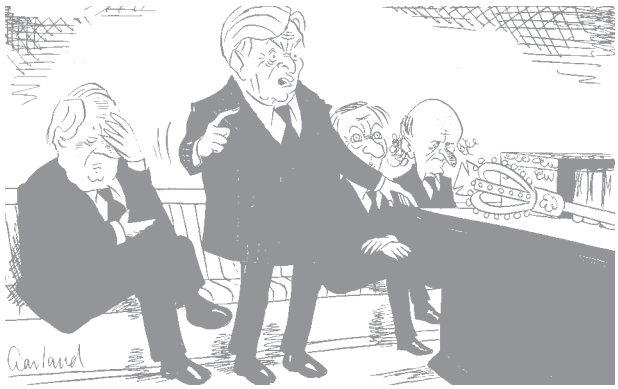
Ken Newton
Executive Director, European Consortium for Political Research

The PSA also maintains a dialogue with 'sister' associations worldwide and has a strong presence at meetings of the American Political Science Association, the European Consortium for Political Research and its once parental body, the International Political Science Association. All this is – and needs to be – run by a much larger Executive Committee.

The PSA Executive Committee (2000)

Prof Rod Rhodes (Chair)
Prof John Benyon (Treasurer)
Dr Paul Carmichael (Secretary)
Dr Lynn Bennie
Prof Terrell Carver
Mr Philip Cowley
Prof David Denver
Prof Patrick Dunleavy
Dr David Dunn
Dr Justin Fisher
Dr Lucy James
Prof Jeremy Jennings
Dr Paul Kelly
Dr Charles Lees
Dr Jennifer Lees-Marshment
Mr Sean McGough
Dr Eric Shaw
Prof David Marsh
Dr Paul Taggart
Dr Jonathan Tonge
Prof Richard Topf
Dr Ursula Vogel

Increasingly important is the growing engagement of the PSA and politics academics with policy-makers. On the one hand the PSA is an established intermediary for feeding advice, ideas and knowledge to agencies involved in teaching quality and research assessment, and in research funding. On the other, politics research is increasingly addressed to a dialogue with 'users', practitioners and opinion-formers in politics,



"The Upper Clyde is a special lame duck."

NICHOLAS GARLAND, *DAILY TELEGRAPH*

the civil service, the media and the private and voluntary sectors. Much of this has to do with a fuller openness of government to social science research throughout the 1990s, although the effort that the PSA has made in reshaping understandings of politics research in co-operation with key bodies like the Economic and Social Research Council has also been of great importance.

The Outlook

On its 25th Anniversary in 1975 – to which two editions of *Political Studies* were dedicated – the assessments of the PSA's future prospects given by the Chairman Norman Chester and Secretary Peter Woodward were surprisingly downbeat. Chester was concerned both about the prestige of political studies ('our professional services are not greatly in demand') and by the 'failure of any central core of accepted learning or theory to emerge' in the study of politics. Woodward's concerns, befitting the position of Secretary, were more down to earth, pointing out 'the financial difficulties that a body like the PSA could face simply continuing with current activities' in the then prevailing 'mood of austerity'.

The current assessment could hardly be more different. The insights and findings of political studies research are now strongly 'in demand' by policy-makers and opinion-formers, and the discipline and the PSA are at ease with the diversity and pluralism of political studies, with few seeing the need to search for the Holy Grail of a general disciplinary 'core'. And the PSA now has the capacity, based on effective partnerships and good financial management, not just simply to continue but to go on developing and diversifying its portfolio of activities. The PSA is certainly no longer representative of a 'self-deprecating' discipline, but is rather entering its second fifty years with confidence and unusual vigour.

This piece has drawn from the contributions by: *Norman Chester, Wilfrid Harrison and Peter Woodward to Political Studies, Vol. 23, Nos. 2-3 (1975); Frank Bealey, Jack Hayward and Richard Rose to PSA News, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1990); Jack Hayward, 'British Approaches to Politics', in Jack Hayward, Brian Barry, Archie Brown (eds), The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century, Oxford University Press, 2000; and information supplied by Hugh Berrington, David Butler, George Jones, Nevil Johnson, Geraint Parry, Peter Pulzer, Rod Rhodes and Douglas Verney.*

GREETINGS TO THE PSA FROM SWEDEN

Dear Colleagues

For human beings, the age of 50 is usually described as the meridian altitude of life. For the British Political Studies Association (PSA), however, 50 surely is just a beginning. The Swedish Political Science Association (SWEPSA) – which has still not celebrated its 30th anniversary – hereby convey its most sincere congratulations to the PSA.
Political science is still a growing subject and the national associations have an important role to play, as gardeners in the garden of political science.

Swedish Political Science Association

Chronology

1969 British troops are sent to Northern Ireland. Street fighting also breaks out within the PSA as Polytechnic lecturers are admitted to the Association.

The voting age is lowered to 18.

1970 All change as the Conservatives score a surprise election victory with a majority of 30 seats. Britain again applies to join the EEC.

1971 Industrial Relations Act introduced in an attempt to curb union power.

1972 Widespread violence in Northern Ireland leads to the suspension of its parliament. Direct rule is introduced.

1973 Britain joins the EEC. Three day week introduced amid fuel crisis. Heath Government floats the pound and dashes for growth, attempting to rescue ailing industries.

1974 The Conservatives poll 226,000 votes more than Labour, but gain 4 fewer seats and leave office. Labour achieve an overall majority of 3 at a second election later that year.

Political Studies Association
Hall of Fame

Although the Political Studies Association has been in existence for a 'mere' fifty years, scholarly work in the area of political studies has a much longer life. Here the PSA pays tribute to several deceased influential thinkers and writers within the discipline.

Harold J. Laski (1893-1950)

Harold J. Laski was one of the founders of the PSA. And the fiftieth anniversary awards have affectionately been named 'The Laskis'. He is an ideal figure after which to name an award since he was interesting, influential and dangerous. Laski knew many major leaders intimately, such as Churchill, Nehru and F. D. Roosevelt. He was chair of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee during the 1945 election. He was a thorn in the side of the leadership, but half the Cabinet turned out for his funeral in 1950. Laski wrote endlessly and on a wide range of subjects. He was a successful journalist and public lecturer, who earned large sums for tours of America. He was a radical, in later life a quasi-Marxist, and the author of many overtly political tracts.

As such he sounds like a cross between a modern academic superstar and a leftist activist. If he had been no more than this he would now be entirely forgotten, and perhaps justly so. However, he was also a brilliant and dedicated university teacher. Generations of students at the LSE found him an inspirational teacher, and numerous PhD students a diligent supervisor. Laski was revered by the students from the colonies who came to the LSE whilst the British Empire remained intact. Born into a wealthy and cultured Jewish family in Manchester, Laski rebelled early and made his own way. He was unstuffy and in no way racist or patronising. No wonder then that there is still a Laski Centre in India, committed to promoting his works and his memory. Laski was also committed to the cause of workers' education in Britain and tirelessly lectured to working class audiences up and down the country.

Laski was also a scholar. After his death his reputation declined sharply, but since the 1980s and 1990s it has risen steadily. Two major biographies were published in 1993. His early work was devoted to political pluralism, to the critique of state sovereignty and to the idea that all authority is by nature federative. His magisterial A Grammar of Politics (1925) attempted to combine this pluralism with a hard headed analysis of the modern state. His Introduction to Politics (1931) and The Rise of European Liberalism (1936) are still excellent introductions to their subjects and brilliantly written.

Laski's political writings are interventions in conditions now long past. The price of such contemporary relevance is often to become no more than an historical document to later readers. But many of his later works are still worth reading. Anyone interested in constitutional reform in modern Britain can benefit from and be cautioned by his Reflections on the Constitution (1951). The American Presidency (1938) remains a useful starting point. Many of his essays, such as those collected in The Danger of Being a Gentleman (1939), are gems. The Holmes-Laski letters are fascinating.

Laski was a worthy, if complex, founder. He is also still relevant. As we try to cope with understanding the increasing complexity of government both nationally and supra-nationally his views on the plural nature of politics and the necessity of a federal division of labour in governance remain a starting point for new thinking.

Paul Hirst

Ernest Barker (1874-1960)

Ernest Barker was the first occupant of the Cambridge Chair in Political Science which was founded in 1928 with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. He held the chair for eleven years until his retirement. He came to the Chair comparatively late in his professional life: born in 1874, he was an established scholar and able administrator, having served prior to his appointment at Cambridge as Principal of King's College since 1920. Some of his best work was to follow, both during his tenure of the Chair, and in the long and productive retirement which he enjoyed afterwards.

Barker was the eldest of seven children born to a miner turned farm labourer. At his village school he was fortunate to serve as a 'pace-maker' for the son of a local businessman who was working for a scholarship and began ascending one of few educational ladders then available to an Oxford scholarship, fellowship and lectureship.

Barker brought to the discipline of Politics a wealth of learning, a lively and lucid expression, and an exemplary even-handedness. His forte lay in the history of political thought, a specialism which had grown out of his early works on Greek political thought and twenty-one years' membership of the Oxford History Faculty preceding his time at King's College London. But – inspired by such Victorian polymaths as Lord Bryce – Barker straddled the ideas/institutions boundary in political studies with considerable ease. His studies of the political systems of the emergent totalitarian regimes of continental Europe in the inter-war period are particularly illuminating, focused, as they were, by the relevant doctrines.

Like his Victorian mentors, too, Barker was no narrow academic political scientist. He cared deeply for the well-being of a wider public, both national and international, and devoted himself to numerous cultural and educational causes throughout his career. He was knighted in 1944

"I'm a bit worried about those polls."

NICHOLAS GARLAND, *DAILY TELEGRAPH,* 1.10.74

for his contribution to the Books Commission of the Allied Ministers of Education. He admired the character and achievements of England/Britain, perceptions of which informed his abiding liberalism and his scholarship.

Julia Stapleton

Sammy Finer

Sammy Finer began and ended his career in Oxford but his most creative years were spent at the University of Keele (where he was the first Professor of Political Institutions, from 1951-1966) and in retirement. He published A Primer of Public Administration and his biography of Edwin Chadwick. He went on to write innovative books on pressure groups (Anonymous Empire) and The Man on Horseback a wide ranging comparative study of political intervention by the military. His popular textbook on Comparative Government was based on his Keele undergraduate lectures. In the 1970s, Finer turned his attention to the British party system and its adversarial features. He devoted his retirement to a monumental three volume comparative study of The History of Government from the Earliest Times. This reflected his intellectual boldness and grasp of essentials, combining empirical reference points with conceptual comprehensiveness. Finer offered sureness of touch and felicity of phrase.

In a profession where prudent specialisation tended to dominate, Finer stood out for his imaginative range of conception and panache in execution. Innovation was couched in a swashbuckiling style, stimulating to read. He was Chair of the PSA Executive from 1965-68. Advocates of the new institutionalism have much to learn from a protagonist of the best of old institutionalism.

Jack Hayward

G. D. H. Cole (1889-1959)

George Douglas Howard Cole, usually known by his initials, joins this pantheon because in 1944 he became the first

Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford, a post he held until retirement in 1957. Yet in other respects his life and work is a challenge to today's academic political science (a term he always resisted, which is one reason why this association 'studies' politics). Instead of a narrow discipline, talking to itself in an obscure language, Cole wanted relevance, engagement, accessibility and breadth.

His own work exemplified these characteristics. A polymath who ignored academic boundary lines, he held academic posts in three different disciplines (philosophy, economics, and social and political theory) and could well have held posts in at least two others (history and literature). His output was prodigious, including over a hundred books and an endless stream of articles and pamphlets. 'Mr. Cole's whole life would appear to be a protest against the doctrine of restriction of output,' declared one reviewer in 1920, when this output had scarcely started. He was a one-person research assessment exercise.

Along with figures such as Harold Laski and R. H. Tawney, Cole was a leading intellectual of the left in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century. He came to prominence early in the century as the exponent of guild socialism, a doctrine of industrial and social self-government, in opposition to the Webbian version of state socialism; and he retained an enduring commitment to these ideas. This is the link between his first book The World of Labour (1913) and his final multi-volume History of Socialist Thought (1953-60).

Chronology

The Liberal revival continues, with the party gaining over 6 million votes in each election.

The Sunningdale Agreement introduces devolved power sharing to Northern Ireland, but collapses after 5 months.

1975 Heath quits as Conservative leader after being outpolled by Thatcher. The Political Studies Association launches a 25th Anniversary edition of Political Studies. Rod Rhodes becomes PSA Secretary.

1976 Wilson resigns and is replaced by Jim Callaghan as Labour leader. David Steel is elected Liberal leader. Lord Hailsham complains of 'elective dictatorship'.

1977 Labour relies upon a pact with the Liberals to remain in office as its majority disappears.

1978-79 Winter of Discontent with large number of strikes.

1979 The Conservatives sweep to power with an overall majority of 43 in a landmark election. Margaret Thatcher becomes the first woman PM. The Labour manifesto 'The Labour Way is the Better Way' (it attacked tax cuts, by the way)

Political Studies Association Hall of Fame

Between these books was a lifetime of intellectual (and political) activity on behalf of the labour movement and its various institutions, from a perspective he liked to describe as 'sensible extremism', and a commitment to politics as an enterprise of public philosophy – including the academic practitioners of the discipline.

Tony Wright

Michael Oakeshott (1901-1990)

Michael Oakeshott was a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge from 1925 to 1951 and Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics from 1951 until his retirement in 1968. Four major philosophical concerns run through his writings. He was deeply interested in the nature of philosophy, which he systematically explored in Experience and its Modes (1933), the nature of rationality, which he explored in Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays (1962) the nature of human conduct, most systematically analysed in On Human Conduct (1975), and the nature of historical inquiry, articulated in a number of essays collected in his On History and Other Essays (1983).

For Oakeshott philosophy was uniquely concerned to undertake a relentless critique of assumptions with a view to offering a comprehensive and presuppositionless account of human experience. Rationality was not a natural or transcendental faculty or power but a form of behaviour, and was embedded in and structured by traditions governing an activity. As for human conduct, it consisted in pursuit of wished-for satisfaction within a given social context in consonance with established practices. History was a disinterested attempt to construct a coherent account of the past in its own terms.

For Oakeshott all human associations were structured in terms of practices. Since the latter were instrumental and pragmatic or non-instrumental and moral in nature, all associations were enterprise or moral associations. For him political community belonged to the latter category. To highlight this fact he called it civil association, an association of equals united in terms of their subscription to common principles of civility. Although Oakeshott's conception of civil association bears a considerable resemblance to those of Hobbes and Kant, it is distinctive in crucial respects and represents a highly original contribution to political philosophy.

Oakeshott was one of the finest, though not the most influential, of political philosophers of the twentieth century. He developed a distinct style of philosophising and an almost entirely new language, the hallmark of a truly creative mind. He challenged the positivist view of rationality, the collectivist and individualist conceptions of human beings, the functional view of legitimacy, the recurrent confusion between power and authority and between individuality and individualism, and offered a persuasive political theory base on the ideas of individuality, civility and conversational politics.

Lord Parekh

Ramsay Muir (1872-1941)

Ramsay Muir deservedly may be regarded as one of the forerunners of British social science. Like Laski and Cole, he inhabited both the world of letters (he produced some 29 publications) and the world of affairs (he was briefly MP for Rochdale, and President of the Liberal Party). He was a lecturer and professor of modern history at both Manchester and Liverpool universities. His publications were extensive, ranging from international and commonwealth affairs to municipal government in Liverpool; most significant, perhaps, was his How Britain is Governed (1930), arguably the first textbook on the subject and which W. J. M. Mackenzie, S. E. Finer and other founders of British political science read as undergraduates. Some of its themes (e.g. regional devolution and reform of the Upper House) were to become unfashionable in the 1950s and 1960s, but now, once again, are mainstream concerns of the academic and public agenda.

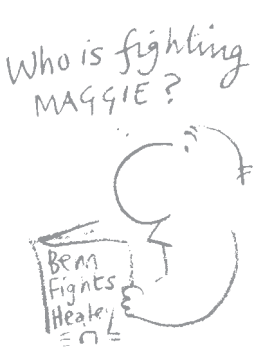
He was also an educationist, helping to promote Liverpool to full university status and being a member of the Calcutta Commission on the reform of Indian universities. As a journalist, he became editor of *The Saturday Westminster* for a while, and he contributed to public policy and political debate as an influential co-author of *Britain's Industrial Future* – the famous *Yellow Book* (1928) – and as a stalwart of the Liberal Summer School.

As his exact contemporary, Sir Ernest Barker, said of him: "He was a professor in politics and a politician among professors. The mixture made his essence, as he, by the fire of his conviction, made it a living unity… a scholar prophet".

Lord Smith of Clifton

John P. Mackintosh (1926-1978)

John Mackintosh belonged to the classic tradition of British political studies in the tradition of Bagehot, Bryce, Graham Wallas and Harold Laski. He was, at one and the same time, a scholar, a prolific journalist, and a political activist and Member of Parliament. Above all, he was an educator. To all these activities he brought the same mixture of originality, lucidity, intellectual breadth and rhetorical force. Not for him the dead hand of academic jargon or the hermetic exclusiveness of the self-proclaimed professional. He had no patience with the imitative faddism of American-style 1960s behaviourism or, for that matter, with the ponderous scholasticism of 1970s neo-Marxism. He did not live to see the rise of public choice theory in the 1980s and 1990s or the proliferating Rawls industry of the same period, but it is a safe bet that he would have been equally impatient with them.



MEL CALMAN, *THE TIMES*, 6.9.81

The notion that academics should write only for other academics was, for him, the negation of what the study of politics should be about. In his eyes, political action, political study, political education and political comment were a seamless web. The John Mackintosh who filled the Chamber of the House of Commons when he got up to speak was the same John Mackintosh whose lectures enthralled the first-year Politics students at Edinburgh and whose studies of the British Cabinet and what he called the 'Westminster Model' achieved classic status.

Running through all his activities were a passionate concern for parliamentary democracy and a deep anxiety about its future. The first edition of his study of the Cabinet ended with the haunting question: 'Is the decline of Parliament to be regretted?' His own answer was an emphatic 'yes'; and the key both to his politics and to his academic work lies in his search for solutions to the theoretical and practical problems which that answer implied. His tragic death at 49 left the search unfinished. Nothing has happened since to invalidate the concerns which led him to embark on it.

David Marquand

W. J. M. MacKenzie (1909-1996)

Bill MacKenzie was a big man in every sense, intellectually, physically and morally. Scotland was where he was born and raised, and his outlook on life reflected his roots. At Oxford he took a double first in Greats, and was appointed to one of the earliest politics fellowships in Oxford at Magdalen College. As a Scot, Bill MacKenzie assumed that universities were about scholarship. On becoming a politics don, he sought the critical apparatus; it was not in German, as was the case for classics, but in the American Political Science Review to which he began a subscription in 1932, virtually the only person in England who did so. During the war he was a temporary civil servant. When asked what he did during the war, he answered: "I was jobbed into the Ministry of Aircraft Production by Tizard to help hold down Bomber Harris, who was mad". There he learned that science is politics, quoting Mr. Dooley, that "politics ain't bean bag".

In 1949 MacKenzie went to the Victoria University of Manchester to establish a Government Department. With a nominal staff of ten, he hired more than two dozen people who ended up professors, including Tony Birch, Jean Blondel, David Donnison, John Erickson and Roger Williams. Scholarship was the reason for being at Manchester. Until the expansion of the university, Manchester had a faculty seminar of world class social scientists. Whoever spoke was treated to straight questions in plain language drawing on vast knowledge and experience of life. Everyone shared the civic pride embodied in the saying 'Manchester made me', and WJMM made Manchester. In 1966 he moved to Glasgow University. There he hired his last bright young men, Chris Hood and Stephen White.

Intellectually, Bill MacKenzie was a radical, going to the root of things. The starting point was usually an intellectual puzzle. The next step was a big leap, often from an unexpected angle. His way of explaining what he found was novel as evident in his 'translation' of the Plowden Report from the Mandarin. MacKenzie was never a 'true believer' in political science as science. Half a lifetime of talking philosophy with people as different as Scottish moralists, Ludwig Wittgenstein, John Austin and Freddie Ayer had left their mark. Nor was he an apologist for the powers that be. When asked him how Her Majesty's Government could do something that seemed palpably wrong, his answer was, "I can explain it, but I can't justify it". His epitaph was written in early Roman times: Humani nil a me alienum puto (Nothing that concerns man is alien to me).

Richard Rose

Chronology

became one of the most redundant documents in British political history as the party was removed from power for a generation. Earlier, a majority is not a majority in Scotland, as electors vote for devolution in a referendum, but not in sufficient numbers. The Welsh decisively reject the idea.

1980 Michael Foot replaces Callaghan as Labour leader, defeating Denis Healey as Labour swings leftwards.

The PSA launches its second journal Poilitics

1981 The Social Democratic Party is formed. Ten republican prisoners die on hunger strike in Northern Ireland. Tony Benn loses narrowly to Dennis Healey in the Labour Party deputy leadership contest.

Rioting occurs in several British cities during the summer.

1982 Britain wins the Falklands War.

1983 The Conservatives win the General Election with a crushing 144 seat majority. Labour's New Hope for Britain manifesto is described as the longest suicide note in history.

1984 The Provisional IRA bombs the Grand Hotel in Brighton, nearly killing many of the Cabinet.

The Political Studies Association
of the United Kingdom

Fiftieth Anniversary Award Winners

Award Sponsors: ***British Academy; Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust; Chelgate Ltd***

The Rt Hon Lord Jenkins of Hillhead OM FBA

Lifetime Achievement in Politics

Born November 11, 1920, in Abersychan, Monmouthshire, Wales. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1941, he served in the Royal Artillery in World War II and first entered Parliament in 1948. He could claim family roots in the Labour movement: his father had been a miners' union official, a member of Parliament, and Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee. Jenkins at one time considered giving up politics for writing, but in the formation of the 1964 government

of Harold Wilson he joined the Cabinet as Air Minister (1964-65); he then became Home Secretary (1965-67) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1967-70). In 1972 he resigned as from the Labour Shadow Cabinet in protest at its decision to support a referendum on whether Britain should remain in the Common Market. He re-entered the Shadow Cabinet in 1973 as Shadow Home Secretary and became Home Secretary after Labour's victory in 1974.

In 1976 he resigned from the Cabinet and Parliament to become president of the European Commission and remained in that post until 1981. The issue of Europe remained close to Jenkins's heart right through his political career and he had an extremely successful tenure as Commission President. In 1981 he made an explosive return to national politics as he and a number of other dissidents from within the Labour Party formed the Social Democratic Party (SDP), of which he was briefly leader, in the attempt at provoking a realignment of Britain's two-party system. Although the SDP did not itself make the breakthrough, the refashioning of the centre ground of British politics which followed the SDP's foundation enabled the Liberal Democrats to become a potent third force in British politics.

In 1987 Jenkins accepted a life peerage and moved from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, where he was a leader of Liberal Democrats. Most recently, the Labour Government invited him to Chair the Commission on Electoral Reform which reported in 1999, recommending the adoption of a system of proportional representation for the House of Commons.

Lord Jenkins is a prolific and acclaimed author. His most famous works include: *Mr. Balfour's Poodle* (1954), *The Labour Case* (1959), *Asquith* (1964), *Baldwin* (1987), *A Life at the Centre* (autobiog.) (1991), *Gladstone* (Whitbread Biography Award) (1995), *The Chancellors* (1998).

The Rt Hon Tony Benn MP

Outstanding Parliamentarian

Born April 3, 1925, London. Though a fierce critic of the British class system, Tony Benn came from a moneyed and privileged family. Both of his grandfathers had been members of Parliament, and his father, William Wedgwood Benn (1877-1960), had been a Liberal and then a Labour MP who in 1942 entered the House of Lords as the 1st Viscount Stansgate. The younger Benn joined the Labour Party in 1943, attended New College, Oxford and was first elected to Parliament in 1950. Anticipating that inheritance of his father's title would immediately disqualify him from continuing to serve in the House of Commons, he introduced a personal bill to permit him to renounce the title. The bill was defeated; but, after his father's death in 1960, he continued the struggle, and in 1963 the Peerage Act enabled peers to renounce their titles for their lifetimes. Benn renounced his viscountcy (July

31, 1963) to become simply Tony Benn.

When Labour formed a government under Harold Wilson in 1964, Benn became Postmaster General and was Minister of Technology from 1966 to 1970. He also served as Secretary of State for Industry, Minister for Posts and Telecommunications (1974-75) and Secretary of State for Energy (1975-79). Benn lost his parliamentary seat in the elections of 1983 but returned to the Commons in a by-election in 1984.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Benn often found himself at odds with the leaders of the party.

He set out his ideas in the seminal *Arguments for Socialism,* published in 1979. Benn remains to this day a passionate defender of the sovereignty of Parliament, particularly in the face of increasing Europeanisation of policy making and the overbearing power of the Executive branch of Government. He has long stressed that British parliamentary democracy needs to be reinvigorated and that the powers of Parliament need to be reasserted.

Benn's publications include: *Arguments for Socialism* (1979): *Arguments for Democracy* (1981): *Out of the Wilderness, Diaries 1963-1967* (1987): *Office Without Power: Diaries*

1968-72 (1988): *Conflicts of Interest: Diaries 1977-80* (1990): *A Future for Socialism* (1991): *The End of an Era, Diaries 1980-1990* (1992): *Years of Hope: Diaries, Letters and Papers 1940-1962* (1994): *The Benn Diaries 1940-1990* (1995).

He is soon to retire from the House of Commons 'to spend more time in politics'.

The Rt Hon Baroness Thatcher of Finchley LG OM FRS

Breaking The Mould

Born October 13, 1925, in Grantham. Margaret Thatcher was educated at Somerville College, Oxford (B.A., 1946; B.Sc., 1949; M.A., 1950), where she became the first female President of the Oxford University Conservative Association. She subsequently worked as a research chemist. Her marriage to Denis Thatcher, a prosperous businessman, also enabled her to read for the bar, and she specialised in tax law. She first stood for Parliament in 1950 but was unsuccessful, despite increasing the local Conservative vote by 50 percent. She finally entered Parliament in 1959, as member for Finchley. She was joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance (1961-64) and Secretary of State for Education and Science, becoming only the second woman ever to become a Conservative cabinet minister.

Thatcher succeeded Edward Heath as Conservative leader in 1975 after the party's loss of two general elections in 1974. The Conservatives' decisive victory in the general elections of 1979 was thought partly to have resulted from her denunciation of trade-union-induced chaos in the previous winter's strikes and led to her becoming the first (and so far only) female Prime Minister of the UK.

Abroad, Britain successfully recaptured the Falkland Islands following a 10-week Argentinian occupation in 1982. The electorate's memories of Thatcher's decisive leadership during the Falklands conflict helped give her a landslide victory in the general election of June 1983. This was foolowed by a further landslide success in 1987.

Thatcher personified the newly energetic right wing of the Conservative Party. She advocated greater independence of the individual from the state, a radical reduction of government intervention in the economy, reductions in public expenditure (enabling personal taxes to be cut) and a tough monetary policy. Thatcher represented a clear and decisive break with what had come before her, changing the terrain of British politics so profoundly that the effects of her 11 years in power remain evident in the nature of British politics to this day. This can be seen in a range of issues, such as New Labour's emphasis on personal enterprise and the Euro-scepticism of the Conservative Party.

Throughout her terms, Thatcher pursued the policies that earned her the appellation of 'Iron Lady'. As she herself once famously commented, "standing in the middle of the road is very dangerous: you get knocked down by traffic from both sides"! She affirmed Britain's strong commitment to NATO and Britain's independent nuclear deterrent, a stance that proved popular with the electorate, given the Labour Party's repudiation of Britain's traditional nuclear and defence policies. A split in Conservative ranks over her policy regarding European integration led to her resignation from party leadership late in 1990, as her leadership was challenged. In 1990 Thatcher received the Order of Merit, and in 1992 she was made a Baroness.

Fawcett Society

Setting the Political Agenda

The Fawcett Society has been in existence for over 130 years and is the UK's leading organisation campaigning for equality between women and men in Britain today. Their vision is of a society where women and men are equal partners at home, at work and in public life. The Fawcett Society takes its name from Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929), who was the first prominent, non-violent, campaigner on behalf of British women. The roots of the present day organisation are therefore to be found in the suffrage movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and their campaign to grant women the right to vote.

Today the Fawcett Society is a growing organisation with over 3000 members – men and women, 23 local groups around the country and over 800 individual activists. The Fawcett Society has always been a pro-active organisation, looking to push equal rights onto the political agenda by drawing popular attention by vocally articulating salient issues of the time. It aims principally to do this by running campaigns, raising issues in the media and working directly with politicians to achieve positive change for women. Principally this work focuses on employment, including issues of low and equal pay as well as the need for family

Fiftieth Anniversary Award Winners

friendly working practices for women and men, poverty and financial fecurity. True to its roots, the Fawcett Society also attempts to place greater emphasis on the importance of more female participation (as voters and as representatives) in democracy.

After the 1997 General Election Clare Short MP, writing in The Times, credited Fawcett with sparking increased interest in women voters and Fawcett's reports on women's priorities ("Winning Women's Votes; It's not like picking a football team") and ("Winning Women's Votes in Europe") received extremely wide media coverage.

GREENPEACE

Setting the Political Agenda

Greenpeace was originally founded in 1971 in Canadian British Columbia to oppose U.S. nuclear testing on Amchitka Island in Alaska, but has since developed into a high profile global organisation campaigning to preserve endangered species, to prevent environmental degradation and the general misuse of Earth's resources. Greenpeace has successfully championed the effective use of direct action, on occasions with no more than a handful of activists being present, and standing up in the face of large corporations or government authorities. Greenpeace remains, as it has always been, a loose-knit organisation. It has actively supported campaigns from ecologically minded individuals as well as undertaking campaigns seeking, among other things, to protect endangered whales and seals from hunting, to aim to halt the dumping of toxic chemical and radioactive wastes at sea, and to end nuclear-weapons testing.

The primary tactic of Greenpeace has been such "direct, nonviolent actions" as steering small inflatable craft between the harpoon guns of whalers and their prey and the plugging of industrial pipes discharging toxic wastes into the oceans and the atmosphere. Such dangerous and dramatic actions brought Greenpeace wide media exposure and helped mobilise public opinion against environmentally destructive practices.

Possibly the most famous incident involving Greenpeace came on July 10, 1985, as the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, which was due to sail to Moruroa Atoll to protest French atmospheric nuclear-weapons tests, was sunk by two bomb explosions while berthed in Auckland Harbour, N.Z. Subsequent revelations that French intelligence agents had planted the bombs caused a major international scandal and led not only to resignations within the French government, but also to the rise of Greenpeace into a globally recognisable movement.

Charter88
Unlocking Democracy

Setting the Political Agenda

Charter 88 was formed, as the name suggests, in 1988 in order to try and prompt reform of the British political system. Charter 88 has no affiliation to a political party. The original charter was published in 1988 with 348 signatures, whereas by 2000 over 80,000 people had added their names.

Charter 88 have vociferously campaigned for the creation of a fair and modern democracy, with the principal aims being fundamental reform of the structures of government. Their principal goals include the creation of open and accountable political institutions, a culture which respects and protects the individual rights and liberties of citizens as well as increased citizen participation in the democratic process. In policy terms, these demands have been shaped by calls for a more proportional voting system, the creation of a Bill of Rights, a Freedom of Information Act and a decentralisation of power. While it is clear that Charter 88 have not seen all of their demands met, their demands are much nearer to reality now than they were back in 1988.

The Rt Hon Lord Healey of Riddlesden CH MBE

Lifetime Achievement in Politics

Born August 30, 1917, Eltham, Kent.
Denis Healey grew up in Bradford, Yorkshire, and had a brilliant academic career at

the University of Oxford. Immediately after World War II he moved into Labour Party politics with a job in the party secretariat. He was head of its international department for seven years before becoming a Member of Parliament in 1952. From the early 1950s Healey established his firmly pro-European credentials, serving as the British delegate to the Consultative Assembly for the Council of Europe (1952-54). He became Secretary of State for Defence (1964-70) and later Chancellor of the Exchequer when Labour returned to power in 1974. He remained at the Treasury after James Callaghan succeeded Harold Wilson as Prime Minister in April 1976.

As Chancellor (1974-79), he presented a record number of budgets in very trying economic times, as the IMF dictated that British economic policy take a more monetarist turn. From 1980 to 1983 he was deputy leader of the Labour Party serving in the Shadow Cabinet as spokesman on Treasury matters (1979-81) and foreign affairs (1981-87). He was consistent in his opposition to the party's endorsement of unilateral British nuclear disarmament and vehement in his opposition to the party's drift leftwards. He retired from the party's leadership circles in 1987. In 1992 he was created a life peer. His writing career included a number of works on his two great interests (defence and foreign affairs) and his autobiography (published in 1989) also received widespread popular acclaim. His published works include: *The Curtain Falls* (1951), *NATO and American Security* (1959),

The Race Against The H Bomb (1960), *Beyond Nuclear Deterrence* (1986) and *The Time of My Life* (Autobiog.) (1986).

Neal Ascherson

Outstanding Political Journalist

Born on October 5, 1932 and educated at Eton and Kings College, Cambridge. Before beginning his illustrious career in journalism, he served in the Royal Marines (1950-52). However, he quickly left the Armed Forces, joining the *Manchester Guardian* as Reporter and Leader Writer (1956-58). He then moved to the *Scotsman*, where he became Commonwealth Correspondent (1959-60), before he joined the *Observer* in 1960. He held a number of positions in his 24 years there, including Central European Correspondent, Eastern European Correspondent and Foreign Writer. In 1985 he became Associate Editor, before leaving for the *Independent on Sunday* in 1990. He remained with the IOS for eight years as a columnist, before returning to the *Observer* in 1998.

He has received three honorary doctorates (Strathclyde, 1988; Edinburgh, 1990; Open University, 1991) and he has been the recipient of numerous awards and accolades

for his journalistic work. These include Reporter of the Year in 1982, Journalist of the Year in 1987, Granada Awards James Cameron Award in 1989 and the Golden Insignia Order of Merit Award of Poland (1992). He has also published a number of books, including *The King Incorporated* (1963), *The Polish August* (1981) and *The Struggles for Poland* (1987).

Analysis

Outstanding Broadcast Journalism

BBC Radio 4's *Analysis* is a documentary series which was first broadcast on April 10, 1970. *Analysis* asks experts to present programmes in their particular field, seeking to explain the implications of policy issues and political, economic and social trends in Britain and abroad. Today the programmes are half an hour in length and there are up to 30 each year covering political, economic and social issues reaching as many as 500,000 listeners weekly.

'Analysis' is remarkable because of the significance and importance of participants and the depth of its coverage. The documentary form is described by the present Editor, Nicola Meyrick as the 'the journalism of ideas' and the exploration of key political and social issues, including those which underpin policy decisions, is *Analysis'* major contribution to broadening the scope of broadcast journalism.

It has received plaudits from such varied sources as the *Daily Mail* ('the most incisive and challenging current affairs strand on radio or television') and the *Financial Times* ("ever excellent").

World in Action

Outstanding Broadcast Journalism

World in Action began in January 1963 and quickly introduced a style of journalism hitherto unknown on British television. *World in Action* set out to investigate controversial topics and issues that had previously received scant coverage on national television. Some of its most controversial investigations looked at the treatment of the elderly in hospitals, the effects of smoking, the spread of venereal disease, the question of Royal taxes, the issue of the Birmingham Six, the Vietnam War, John Poulson, Jonathan Aitken and there was even a famous debate with Mick Jagger about drugs. *World in Action* thrived on unveiling corruption and highlighting underhand dealings. *World in Action* came to be seen as hard-hitting investigative journalism at its best.

World in Action also displayed an eye for a softer style of analysis. It created, for example, a piece of television which, perhaps unknowingly, provided the basis for the development of easily the most ambitious, significant and influential television documentary project ever. In 1963 *Seven Up* was intended to afford the viewer a

unique insight into how the significant question of nurture and upbringing impacted on the shape of a seven year old child's destiny. This original programme spawned follow-up programmes (the most recent of which was *Forty Two Up,* shown in July 1998) which provided a fascinating insight into the development of 'normal people'.

The programme also spawned some of the finest documentary producers and directors of the post-war period. These included, amongst others, Tim Hewat, David Plowright, Brian Lapping, Ray Fitzwalter, Gus MacDonald, David Boulton, Michael Apted, Claudia Milne, Steve Morrison and Dorothy Byrne.

The Rt Hon Sir Edward Heath KG MBE MP

Lifetime Achievement in Politics

Born 9 July 1916 in Broadstairs, Kent. Of modest origins, Heath was educated at Oxford, where he was elected President of the University Conservative Association in 1937. In 1938, as chairman of the Federation of University Conservative Associations and President of the Oxford Union, he actively opposed the policy of appeasement toward Nazi Germany pursued by the Conservative Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. He served

Fiftieth Anniversary Award Winners

in the army during World War II, worked in the Ministry of Civil Aviation in 1946-47 and was editor of the *Church Times* from January 1948 to October 1949.

Heath was elected to Parliament as a Conservative in the election of February 1950 he was Chief Whip (1955-59) and Minister of

Labour in the government of Harold Macmillan from October 1959 to July 1960, when he became Lord Privy Seal with Foreign Office responsibilities. In this capacity he represented Britain in negotiations for entry into the European Economic Community. Fittingly, Heath eventually took the UK into the European Community in 1973.

In October 1963 he became Secretary of State for Industry, Trade, and Regional Development and President of the Board of Trade. After the Conservative defeat in October 1964, Heath was elected leader in July 1965. His party suffered a decisive defeat in the March 1966 General Election but won an unexpected victory in the election of June 1970. As Prime Minister, Heath had to face the crisis of violent conflict in Northern Ireland, over which he imposed direct British rule in 1972. Hoping to win a new mandate, Heath called for a General Election on February 28, 1974, but was narrowly defeated by Wilson's Labour party. After a further election defeat in 1974, Heath lost the party leadership to Margaret Thatcher in 1975.

Edward Heath has remained active within the Conservative Party and has, particularly during the 1990s, grown to be seen as the party's elder statesman. He remains a passionate advocate of closer European integration, largely in opposition to his party's official line. His publications include: *One Nation – A Tory Approach to Social Problems* (1950), *Old World, New Horizons* (1970), *Our Community* (1977), *The Course of My Life* (autobiog.) (1999).

Mary Robinson

Outstanding Contribution to International Politics and Civil Society

Born on 21 May, 1944, in Ballina, County Mayo. Mary Robinson is a barrister by profession and was appointed Reid Professor of Criminal Law in Trinity College Dublin when she was 25 years of age. With her husband, Nicholas (married 1970) she founded the Irish Centre for European Law in 1988. Elected as a representative of the University of Dublin, she was a member of Seanad Eireann (Upper House of Parliament) from 1969-89.

Mary Robinson served as President of Ireland from 1990 until September 12 1997, acting as a potent symbol of the modernisation of Irish society. She resigned eleven weeks short of her full term in office in order to accept the position of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. In 1990 she became the first woman to become President of Ireland, and, at that time, was one of only three female Heads of State in the world. Mrs Robinson served as a member of the International Commission of Jurists (1987-1990) and of the Advisory Commission of Inter-Rights (1984-1990).

Among the numerous international activities relating to human rights in which she participated, Mrs Robinson served as Special

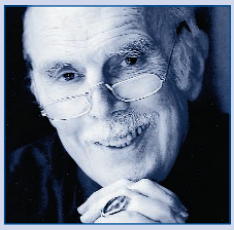
Rapporteur to the Interregional Meeting organised in 1993 by the Council of Europe on the theme "Human rights at the Dawn of the 21st Century", as part of its preparation for the 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights.

Mrs Robinson was the first Head of State to visit Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide there. While in Rwanda she was briefed by agencies and the United Nations Human Rights Monitors. She was also the first Head of State to visit the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, as well as the first Head of State to visit Somalia following the crisis there in 1992. Mrs Robinson also received the Special CARE Humanitarian Award in recognition of her efforts for Somalia.

Professor Bernard Crick

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

Bernard Crick was born on 16 December 1929. Bernard Crick was educated at Whitgift School and University College, London and



the LSE. His first academic post was at Harvard, where he was a Teaching Fellow from 1952-1954. He went on to be a Visiting Fellow at Berkeley, before returning to England to take up a position as Assistant Lecturer then Lecturer and Senior Lecturer (1957-65) at the LSE and then becoming Professor of Political Theory and Institutions at Sheffield, a post he held for 6 years between 1965 and 1971. He moved back south to become Professor of Politics at Birkbeck College, London – where he remained until 1984, later becoming Emeritus Professor.

His academic achievements have been complemented by his activities in the wider world of political studies. He has been literary editor of The Political Quarterly since 1993, following a 14 year period as joint editor. He was Chairman of the Political Quarterly Publishing Company between 1980 and 1993, as well as Joint Chairman of the British South Africa Commission (1991-1995). He was Honorary President of the Politics Association (1970-76) and is currently a Vice President of the PSA (1995-). He has also made important contributions in the fields of political education and citizenship, recognised

in 1997 when he became Chair of the Committee on Teaching Citizenship in English Schools (1997-98). His other distinctions include being a Honorary Member of the Hansard Society (1993) and a Visiting Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Centre (1995-96).

His publications include: *The American Science of Politics* (1958), *The Reform of Parliament* (1964 & 1968), *Essays on Reform* (jointly, 1967), *Political Theory and Practice* (1972), *George Orwell: A Life* (1978 & 1992 (Third Edition)), *In Defence of Politics* (1982), *Socialism* (1987), *Essays on Politics and Literature* (1989), *Political Thoughts and Polemics* (1990), *National Identity* (1991), *Essays on Citizenship* (2000).

Professor Brian Barry FBA

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

Born in London on 7 August, 1936. Brian Barry was educated at Taunton's School, Southampton University and Queen's College

Oxford. He was a Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, from 1966-69, and from 1972-1975. His time there was broken by a three year period (1969-72) as Professor of Government at the University of Essex. He moved to Chicago in 1977 in order to take up the post of Professor of Political Science and Philosophy at the University of Chicago before moving westwards to California, taking the post of Professor of Philosophy at the California Institute of Technology (1982-86). Having spent nine years in the USA, Professor Barry returned to Europe in 1986 in order to take up positions in the European University Institute in Florence (1986-87), and subsequently the LSE. Presently he is Affiliate Professor at the University of Columbia, New York. He has published widely on both British politics and the relationship between democracy, power and justice and his work on social justice remains of primary importance in the field. His publications include *Political Argument* (1965), *Sociologists, Economist and Democracy* (1970), *The Liberal Theory of Justice* (1973), *Democracy, Power and Justice* (1989), *Democracy and Power* (1991), *A Treatise on Social Justice (Volumes 1 and 2)* (1989 and 1995) and *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century* (with Jack Hayward and Archie Brown, eds.) (1999).

Professor Jean Blondel

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

Born in Toulon (France) in 1929. Jean Blondel graduated from the Institute d'Etudes Politiques of Paris in 1953 and from St Antony's College (Oxford) where he stayed from 1953 to 1955. He was a lecturer at Keele University from 1958 to 1963, went to Yale as an ACLS fellow in 1963-64 and became Professor of Government at the University of Essex in 1964. He played a major role in founding the European Consortium for Political Research in 1969 and directed it for ten years. Having left Essex in 1984, he was appointed scholar of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York in 1984 before becoming Professor of Political Science at the European University Institute in Florence from 1985 to 1994. He is now external Professor at the European University Institute in Florence and visiting Professor at the University of Siena.

Professor Blondel is a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and of the Academia Europaea. His key contributions to the study of politics have undoubtedly been his lucid and enlightening work on the mechanics of Government and his publications in this field include: *Voters, Parties, and Leaders* (first edition, 1963), *Comparative Legislatures* (1973), *Political Parties* (1978), *World Leaders* (1980), *The Discipline of Politics* (1981), *The Organization of Governments* (1982), *Government Ministers in the Contemporary World* (1985), *Political Leadership* (1987), *Comparative Government* (revised editions, 1990, 1995), *The Profession of Government Minister in Western Europe*, (with J.L. Thiebault) (1991), *Governing Together* (with F. Muller-Rommel) (1993).

Dr David Butler CBE FBA

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

Born in 1924, David Butler was educated at St Paul's School and New College Oxford, after which he spent two years as J. E. Procter

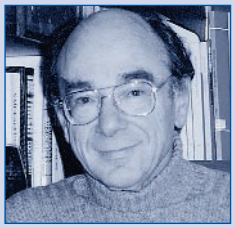
Visiting Fellow at Princeton (1947-48). He returned to Oxford, to Nuffield College, where he organised the inaugural PSA conference in 1950 and became Research Fellow (1951-54), Fellow (1954-) and then Dean and Senior Tutor (1956-64). His career took a short diversion away from academia, as he took up the post of Personal Assistant to the British Ambassador in Washington (1955-56). However, it was to Nuffield College that he returned, where he continues to serve as Emeritus Fellow. He has received three honorary doctorates (Paris, 1978; Queens, Belfast, 1985; Essex, 1993) as well as many accolades for his published works. He has been co-author (mostly with Dennis Kavanagh) of possibly the most famous series of books published on contemporary politics over the last 40 years, as, with a selection of different authors, Butler catalogued 13 British elections in his "British General Election series". Butler's other major publications include: *The British Electoral System since 1918* (1963), *The Study of Political Behaviour* (1958), *Political Change in Britain* (1969), *Coalitions in British Politics* (1978), *Referendums Around the World* (ed., jointly) (1995), *British Politics and European Elections* (with Martin Westlake) (1995).

Fiftieth Anniversary Award Winners

Professor Stanley Hoffmann

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

Stanley Hoffmann is the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor at Harvard, where he has taught since 1955. He was the



Chairman of Harvard's Center for European Studies from its creation in 1969 to 1995. Professor Hoffmann was born in Vienna in 1928. He lived and studied in France from 1929 to 1955; he has taught at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris, from which he graduated, and at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. He bases his approach to international relations on a number of key convictions. He stresses solid historical foundations and the importance of structural factors that limit the leeway of states in their manoeuvrings. In all his work he emphasises that the study of international relations and of foreign policy are therefore inseparable. He has also illustrated that domestic factors play important roles in explaining state actions and that, because of the continuing twin dangers of violence and chaos, IR is the domain where the greatest ethical dilemmas exist. Among Hoffmann's publications are *Decline or Renewal? France Since the 30's* (1974), *Primacy or World Order: American Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (1978), *Duties Beyond Borders* (1981), *Janus and Minerva* (1986), *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention* (1997) and *World Disorder* (1998) and he is co-author of *The Mitterrand Experiment* (1987); *The New European Community* (1991); and *After the Cold War* (1993). His Tanner lectures of 1993, on the French nation and nationalism, were published in 1994.

Professor Richard Rose FBA

Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

Born in 1933 in St Louis, Missouri, Richard Rose was educated at Johns Hopkins University, the LSE and Oxford. His first academic appointment was to the University of Manchester in 1966, where he lectured in Government. After five years he moved to Scotland where he became Professor of Politics at Strathclyde – a position he has retained to this day. In 1976 he became Professor of Public Policy at Strathclyde, as well as Director of the Centre of Public Policy. Although he has remained loyal to Strathclyde for over 30 years, Professor Rose has also been associated with many other institutions. These include the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, where he was Hinkley Distinguished Professor (1987), the Wissenschaftszentrum in Berlin (1988-1990) and the Central European University in Prague (1992-1995).

He has supplemented his academic work with numerous other professional activities. He has acted as a consultant for the OECD (1980)

and the World Bank (1991), as well as acting as Chair and consultant on a large number of other committees and steering groups across the world. He has been a prolific producer of books and articles, at the last count well over 400, on a wide and varied range of subjects. Some of his most well known are: *Politics in England* (1965), *Can Government go Bankrupt?* (with Guy Peters) (1979), *Do Parties make a Difference?* (1980), *The Loyalties of Voters: A Lifetime-Learning Model* (with Ian McAllister) (1990), *How Russia Votes* (with Stephen White and Ian McAllister, 1997), *Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies* (with William Mishler and Christian Haerpfer, 1998).

Yes Minister

Outstanding Political Satire

Yes Minister was a hugely popular 1980s British comedy series illustrating the, at times hilarious, relationship between the incompetent Jim Hacker MP (Minister for the Department of Administrative Affairs), his Parliamentary Private Secretary (Bernard Woolley) and a scheming Permanent Private Secretary (Sir Humphrey Appleby). The Yes Minister series started airing on BBC2 in 1980 and consisted of 3 series, each with 7 episodes.

In 1984, almost two years after the last series of Yes Minister, the BBC aired the final episode of Yes Minister. Sir Humphrey moved up the

civil service hierarchy to become Cabinet Secretary while Jim Hacker became what he always dreamt of: Prime Minister of Great Britain.

This started (in 1986) Yes Prime Minister. It ran over 2 series, each with 8 episodes. The Yes Minister and Yes Prime Minister series were admired for showing what many perceived to be uncanny realities of political life combined with a very British sense of ironic humour. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was impressed with the series and once stated: "Its closely observed portrayal of what goes on in the corridors of power has given me hours of pure joy"!

Beyond the Fringe

Outstanding Political Satire

Beyond the Fringe was written and performed by four young graduates, two from Cambridge (Jonathan Miller and Peter Cook) and two from Oxford (Alan Bennett and Dudley Moore) as a satirical revue at the Edinburgh Festival in 1961. It went on to sell-out in London's West

End and successfully transferred to Broadway. It kick-started the sixties satire boom and led to numerous imitations including one, Behind the Fridge, from two of the original cast themselves! Prior to Beyond the Fringe, with the exception of radio's Goon Show (featuring Spike Milligan, Harry Secombe and Peter Sellers), British comedy rarely courted the outrageous. Beyond the Fringe broke this mould and paved the way for the likes of Monty Python to take this humour into the mainstream.

Even though Beyond the Fringe was made over thirty-five years ago, the anarchic brilliance of the late Peter Cook ensured that the Fringe's

scripts remain characterised by an intellectual exuberance that is not out of date today. Alongside Cook, Dudley Moore in particular became famed for his piano playing, mixing humour and music in a way previously unheard of. Cook disarmingly admitted that for him "there is only one depressing side effect of thinking about Beyond the Fringe again – "I may have done some other things as good but I am sure none better!"

Spitting Image

Outstanding Political Satire

Spitting Image remains one of the most memorable political satire programmes of the post-war era, mixing as it did contemporary news, the truth as it was perceived by Britons up and down the land, and the antics of a number of rubber puppets to create an enduring cocktail of humour and biting cynicism. Spitting Image created niche for itself, ensuring that where the news and political commentators attempted to be diplomatic about sensitive situations, Spitting Image displayed a forthrightness the likes of which had never been seen in a TV programme before.

Spitting Image was created by Roger Law and Peter Fluck, two satirists who met at Anglia Polytechnic, and who went on to create the

Luck and Flaw model-making team which produced 3D caricatures for newspapers and magazines around the world. Eventually they moved into puppetry and animatronics, satirising public figures throughout the nineties. The world famous Spitting Image puppets were of personalities drawn from real-life who dominated the media, arts, sports and politics during the 1980s and early 90s and many were auctioned off at handsome prices in the summer of 2000. Some of the most famous included Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, OJ Simpson, Mick Jagger, Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and Roy Hattersley, who came with a spitting mechanism. In the 18 series running over 14 years few public figures avoided a scathing appraisal of their public personae. Reaction from the victims ranged from pride to pure outrage and, for some, to be caricatured in latex by a Spitting Image puppet was an indication that you had finally made it. As Conservative MP Kenneth Baker famously once told the House of Commons: 'the important thing is to be on Spitting Image – even if it is as a slug!'

Sir Robin Day

Outstanding Political Interviewer

Sir Robin Day was born in London on the 24 October 1923 and grew to become one of Britain's most famous television and radio journalists. His long career first took off in the 1950s, and he will be remembered for shaking up the journalistic status quo and bringing in a new and less deferential approach to quizzing the nation's leaders. He had a profound effect on the nature of political interviewing in the UK, opening the door for the more combative styles of presenters such as Jeremy Paxman and John Humphreys.

Educated at Bembridge School and Oxford, he was President of the Oxford Union in 1950. After being called to the Bar in 1952, he chose to change direction and move into journalism. He first appeared on television in 1955, becoming an ITN newscaster and political correspondent. He was named personality of the year by the Guild of Television Producers in 1957. He achieved great scoops including an interview with President Nasser of Egypt, becoming the first British reporter to talk to him after Suez.

Robin Day presented BBC Radio's World at One from 1979 to 1987 and Panorama from 1967-72. He also chaired Question Time, a show

that was originally scheduled to run only for a few months, from 1979 until 1989, winning the Broadcasting Press Guild award in 1980 for his contribution to its success. Active until his death in 2000, Sir Robin hosted a lively series of 'elder statesman' debates during the 1997 General Election campaign on breakfast television.

Alongside his journalistic skills he also sat on a number of high profile committees. These included the Phillimore Committee on the Law of Contempt (1971-74). He also chaired the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government (1981-83). He received a number of awards for his contribution to political journalism including the Richard Dimbleby Award from the Society of Film and TV Arts (1974) and the RTS Judges Award for 30 years outstanding TV journalism (1985). His publications reflect his major contributions to political journalism and include Television: *A Personal Report* (1961), *The Case for Televising Parliament* (1963), *Day by Day* (1975), *Grand Inquisitor* (memoirs) (1989), *But With Respect: Memorable Interviews* (1993).

Citations: Dan Hough and Charlie Jeffery

Teaching and Learning Politics

The study of politics has been popular in schools, colleges and universities for several decades. In this section, Professor Bernard Crick outlines the thinking behind the introduction of citizenship classes in schools and university.

Citizenship

The study of politics has every right to be as academic as any other subject or discipline, whether in philosophical, historical or scientific mode. We can say as sincerely as natural scientists that one never knows when theory can lead to useful practical results, or to a more rational understanding of the world we inhabit. But since the time of Aristotle it is clear that the study can be, I think should be and must be, something more as well. It can be a temperate critic of political arrangements – temperate not merely out of intellectual integrity but also in order to be taken seriously. It should analyse the mechanics of undemocratic regimes objectively, but it is fundamentally committed to freedom – if only for the preservation of free learning and its publicity. And it can, of course, offer some advice on the practicality of policies, or more subtly on what questions to ask and how in surveys and opinion studies.

I have always been interested in the relations between theory and practice, illustrated by my book of essays with the title of Political Theory and Practice in the 1970s and before that in the 1960s the first edition of my In Defence of Politics (aimed at a general, not a professional readership and still in print) and my The Reform of Parliament. Although working on an historical volume on the interrelations of the four historical nations of these islands, I took time out (as now for nearly twenty years an incomer in Scotland) to write in collaboration the first draft of rules of procedure for the Scottish Parliament. And I have given evidence to Select Committees on Procedure in Westminster several times, to the old Houghton Committee on the public funding of parties and to the recent Wakeham commission on the House of Lords.

But in the late 1960s I became aware of a glaring gap in studies or proposals relating to political theory and practice. Like many discoveries it was simple and obvious, once one thought of it. There was virtually no study of what effect upon different kinds of school education might have political participation or knowledge of what went on in schools in respect of anything one might call political or citizenship education. The first is, only now, beginning to be studied and the second only assumed importance if one thought that something should be done. I wrote one essay in 1968 called "On the Teaching of Politics" which soon caught the attention of a scattered group of teachers who, in those far off days before the national curriculum, were able to give the occasional citizenship lesson. They wanted to come together somehow, even if only for mutual comfort and support. Professor Harry Hanham of Leeds, Derek Heater of the then Brighton Polytechnic, and I got together to found a Politics Association. By one vote, as I remember, at a well-attended inaugural meeting, they voted for that name rather than "Citizenship Association". The wrong choice, I thought, but it did not worry me at the time. Ten years later came the Hansard Society's report the working party of which I chaired, Political Education and Political Literacy. The latter term was invented by Professor Graeme Moodie but stolen or developed by Ian Lister and myself to mean the skills, knowledge and values needed to have a responsible effect in public affairs, whether national, local or international, whether in public or voluntary bodies. Kenneth Baker, MP was chairman of the Hansard Society then and he and I waited on Shirley Williams, then Minister of Education, and extracted a cautious blessing from her ("unfair to commit my successor too far so close an election"). There was a rapidly growing movement in schools, actually encouraged by Keith Joseph, so carefully balanced and cross-bench was both methodology and sponsorship; but after he left office, the movement lost impetus as the build-up towards a national curriculum began. When it came, Citizenship was not included, although one of the six excellent cross-curricular advisory papers was on Citizenship; fine on paper but in practice lacking teeth, ear-marked resources or space in a very crowded timetable, so generally ignored.

Citizenship in Schools

In the summer of 1997 David Blunkett called me out of retirement to chair an advisory group on the teaching of citizenship in schools. He had been an early member of the Politics Association but held a broader view than political education alone, which I by then found wholly sensible, that citizenship meant active participation of all kinds at all levels. The three strands to the report were: social and moral responsibility; community involvement and political literacy. We were unanimous that it should be a core subject for secondary schools. This the Government accepted. It has been legislated for. My own Hobbesean and Burkean realism led me to steer my group away from recommending that participation in school and community should be part of an order, but should remain simply advisory. I didn't think the Government would take that. Blunkett did, however, and it became part of the order. Perhaps a wider life-long learning agenda is emerging. "We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting!", said the Citizenship Post-16 report.

Bernard Crick

Heseltine challenges Thatcher.

Why study politics?

To find out what it is like to study politics a number of university students described their experiences to the PSA.

Tarig Halil, a third year undergraduate at the University of Nottingham:

"Politics interested me before I came to University. I actually started out on a joint honours course but transferred to politics single honours in my second year because I wanted to study so many of the politics modules on offer. It is one of those subjects that combine theory and practice. Political theory and political philosophy involve speculation and ideas, but politics is also practical in that it provides insight into current political events and life in general.

All the politics modules I've studied so far have been interesting but I've particularly enjoyed the History of Political Thought, Feminism, and Hammer and Sickle (a module on Soviet politics).

As to my career prospects? Well I've already made some inquiries about entering the diplomatic side or journalism. I hope to be able to utilise my Sudanese family background, my knowledge of politics and the analytical, research and presentation skills I've developed while doing my degree."

Elaine Ibbotson, a third year undergraduate at Birmingham University studying for degree in political science.

"In studying politics I have covered a wide range of topics, such as how political systems operate, theories of power and contemporary issues such as European integration and terrorism.

A degree in Politics provides you with a deeper understanding of both current affairs and historical processes. Skills of research and formulating and defending arguments are the key to studying politics and will be of great use in any career. For me, politics has paved the way for a career in law where I am sure my skills of argument will really be put to the test."

Justin Crump, second year single honours politics undergraduate University of Durham:

"I originally started my University career as an engineer but soon saw the light! My specialised interest in politics lies in the field of international relations because I enjoy finding out out how the world ticks. My study in this field helped me to gain a summer job working for the Conflict Studies Research Centre at Sandhurst, which was a very good experience. As for the other parts of my course, I have been studying topics as diverse as the American Constitution and the Utopian influences on Swift's famous novel, Gulliver's Travels. Currently, I am working on a project comparing George Orwell's superb book 1984 to Stalinist Russia.

The best part of studying politics is the debate – everyone likes a good argument and the experience can be quite eye opening, especially when the subject is close to home. Politics is all about the conflict of ideas and this makes for a fascinating course. There is no such thing as a right answer – it all depends upon your point of view. I have had a great time with this course so far. I hope it all continues for my last year."

Chronology

1985 The Miners' Strike ends in failure. The House of Lords is televised live for the first time.

1987 Election victory number three for Margaret Thatcher. A rogue BBC exit poll early on election night leads to talk of the end of Thatcherism. Conservative overall majority? A mere 102.

1988 PSA News is launched under editor John Benyon.

1989 The poll tax is introduced in Scotland. The House of Commons is televised. Nigel Lawson resigns as Chancellor, after clashes with the PM's special adviser over monetary policy, notably regarding the ERM.

1990 The introduction of the poll tax in England and Wales produces a community charge – in the Trafalgar Square riots. Geoffrey Howe's resignation leads to Heseltine's challenge to Thatcher for the Conservative leadership. After two ballots, John Major emerges as the new party leader. All this is of course overshadowed by the publication of a 40th Anniversary edition of PSA News.

The Disciplines of Politics

The study of politics involves examination of a number of sub-disciplines. Fashions and priorities may change, but all scholars of politics, whether undergraduate students or distinguished professors, will draw upon several of these disciplines. Here, a number of eminent scholars outline the contribution that their favoured sub-discipline makes to the overall study of politics.

Political Theory

'Does political theory still exist?'. This was the famous question posed by Sir Isaiah Berlin in 1961. The grounds for doing so were that 'no commanding work of political philosophy has appeared in the twentieth century' and that political theory ran the risk of being 'converted into an applied science', the 'business of experts' whose sole task was to decide the best means to attain agreed and easily identified ends.

Berlin, however, always believed that there could not be an age without political philosophy, such was the irreducible plurality of human values and ends. As there was not (and never had been) universal consent about the purposes and goals of human action, the study of politics could not be reduced to empirical questions alone.

It took the publication of John Rawls' A Theory of Justice in 1971 to provide decisive proof that Berlin was correct and that political philosophy in the grand manner was not extinct. Recognizing that what is thought just or unjust in a society is usually the subject of prolonged dispute and disagreement, Rawls not only set out what he took to be the principles of justice but also set out an agenda that has arguably dominated political theory ever since.

Here was the irony. At the very moment that our politicians were prepared to abandon talk of social justice, political philosophers took up this theme with a vengeance and did so believing that questions of political philosophy not only impacted upon the wider study of politics in general but were also vital to the proper undertaking of politics as a practical activity.

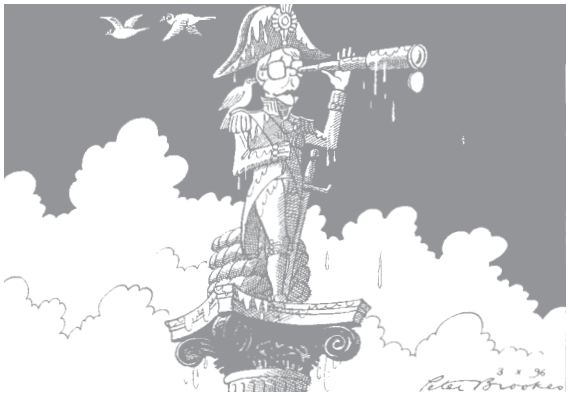
The change of political agenda has given these philosophical concerns even clearer relevance to issues of contemporary politics

In short, the justification for political philosophy is that politics cannot be divorced from the normative questions that inform (or should inform) the very goals that we, as citizens and political actors, seek to realize. To ask, for example, if a particular policy which seeks to redistribute wealth from the richer to the poorer sections of society is a just (as opposed to a purely efficient) one is immediately to confront a philosophical question that is not capable of empirical resolution and which will remain resolutely philosophical in character.

The change of political agenda has given these philosophical concerns even clearer relevance to issues of contemporary politics, both at a domestic and international level. Jolted by the challenge of Thatcherism, political theory now displays an astonishing vibrancy and diversity within the British academic community. Take, for example, Brian Barry's Justice as Impartiality (1996), a work whose ambition is nothing less than to substantiate 'a universally valid case in favour of liberal egalitarian principles'. To this has been added the awareness that the daily reality of ethical and religious diversity in Britain demands further response from political theorists. Feminist calls for what Anne Phillips has termed 'a politics of presence' have to be placed by the side of other attempts to accommodate difference and recognition into the design of a concept of citizenship appropriate to a pluralist and multicultural society.

Here then is sufficient proof to indicate that political theory in Britain has not been reduced, as Sir Isaiah Berlin feared, to an 'applied science'. It is still with us and continues to flourish in a world that remains divided over issues of substantive philosophical significance. Britain, as elsewhere, finds itself facing not only the more traditional political issues associated with redistribution, public ownership and individual rights, but also new and pressing concerns relating to constitutional and welfare reform, national sovereignty and globalisation, gender and sexuality, the position of disadvantaged ethnic minorities and those that arise from mounting environmental damage. On all of these important issues not only does political theory have something to say and contribute but without it their discussion will be immeasurably impoverished.

Prof Jeremy Jennings



"I see no sleaze my dearest Hamilton."

PETER BROOKES, *THE TIMES,* 3.10.96

The (changing) Place of Women and Research About Women in the Political Studies Profession.

Changes have undoubtedly occurred in the position of women in the political studies profession and in research about women – but there is still a long way to go. Gender politics research in the 1990s continued its excavations of women's political history; its analyses of contemporary women's movements; the collection of data on political behaviour and the re-theorising of politics. Trenchant critiques have now been made of both the approach and subject matter of much of discipline. In the 1990s feminist political scientists, perhaps in keeping with the renewed emphasis on institutions in the discipline more generally, also turned their attention to the analysis of institutions (widely defined) as gendered structures with gendered norms and rules. New studies have looked at political parties, legislatures and the state in general.

The discipline itself has become more receptive to research on women as a legitimate part of its enterprise. Recently new journals such as the International Feminist Journal of Politics have been launched and a large number of publishers now have lively women and politics lists. Political theory and International Relations (IR) have both been particularly open to feminist critiques. Feminist political theorists are beginning to fashion a feminist political theory and, in IR, feminist ideas have taken their place within the critical approaches that are seen as legitimate challengers to realist models.

Significant challenges remain. There is still resistance from much of the profession to the notion that the mainstream should be gendered both in terms of research and the curriculum. The majority of work published in the mainstream political studies journals often makes no reference to the gendered political studies literature even where it is directly relevant. In terms of the curriculum, while many departments offer some kind of women and politics course, many staff are unwilling to accept the idea that the compulsory building blocks of a politics degree should have gendered analyses at their core.

This situation may change now that more women are being appointed to senior positions in universities. But there are still not enough younger women coming in at the bottom and progressing upwards. The United Kingdom figures are low in comparison to the United States where about a third of 'new hires' in political science are women. Too few women in the UK are making the transition from undergraduate to postgraduate and then on to become an academic. First is it the nature of the discipline in terms of its subject matter and approach? Second is it due to a lack of encouragement given to female students by predominantly male academics

The discipline itself has become more receptive to research on women as a legitimate part of its enterprise.

Chronology

1991 The Political Studies Association launches its Graduate Network, attracting the brightest wannabes in the profession.

1992 The Conservatives win a fourth term with a majority of 21. Neil Kinnock quits as Labour leader and is replaced by John Smith. Britain is forced to leave the ERM.

1993 Elizabeth Meehan becomes the first woman Chair of the Political Studies Association.

1994 Tony Blair becomes Labour leader after the death of John Smith. Nolan Commission on standards in public life is established.

1995 Blair introduces a new, improved Clause 4 to Labour's constitution.

1997 A landslide as 'New' Labour wins an overall majority of 197, after a carefully managed campaign.

who, without thinking, mentor those fashioned in their own image? Or third is it a rational decision about low salaries and poor career prospects?

Therefore while there have been significant advances, women in politics have not yet reached the 'critical mass' needed to achieve the kinds of changes seen in other disciplines such as English Literature or even Sociology. The task ahead of women and politics, having established itself as a legitimate area of study at the end of the first 50 years of the PSA, is to put gender in the mainstream. Let's hope that it doesn't take the next 50 years.

Dr Georgina Waylen

Electorial Behaviour Political Polling in Britain

Dr Henry Durant, the man who introduced opinion polling to Britain, once described it as "the stupidest of professions" – for who else is stupid enough to publish a prediction on Thursday morning that may be proved wrong on Thursday evening?

Political opinion polling in Britain pre-dates the birth of the Political Studies Association – but only just. Durant ran the first polls for British Gallup (originally the British Institute of Public Opinion) in 1937, just two years after its American forefather was founded. Gallup began in both the USA and in Britain as a means of journalism, but it quickly expanded its horizons. Durant explained:

People constantly asked us to put questions on our regular surveys, and at the beginning I was stupid enough to regard these as a nuisance: then I suddenly realised that this was a beautiful way of making money. It grew and soon had its own omnibus survey: today it's one of the things that researchers live off.

Even in the early days the questions covered a wide-ranging subject matter, but the directly political questions quickly won their place. By October 1938, they had begun testing the public's satisfaction with the Prime Minister (57% were satisfied with Neville Chamberlain, 43% dissatisfied), and the first national voting intention question was introduced in February 1939 (when 64% answered that they would vote for the Government "if there were a general election tomorrow"). Meanwhile, just as George Gallup and his rivals had established their position in the USA by successful prediction of the 1936 Presidential election, so Durant's British Gallup polls moved into election polling, at the behest of the News Chronicle, and secured a firm foothold by correctly challenging the received wisdom. An early triumph was to forecast Edith Summerskill's victory at the West Fulham by-election in 1938. Even more unexpected, of course, was Churchill's defeat at the 1945 General Election.

Gallup showed us that Attlee was going to win with the Labour Party. Nobody believed us, including all the News Chronicle people.

But in the event Gallup was right, in fact slightly underestimating Labour's lead. Despite the occasional hiccup, the polls generally since then have a good record of election 'prediction': only twice in 15 elections has the average error of the "poll of polls" in measuring the parties' vote shares exceeded 2%, or the error on the Conservative-Labour lead exceeded 6%.

In 1945, Gallup was the only player in the field, but rivals soon began to move in, and many – ICM, MORI, NOP and Harris – are now household names. All produce regular polls commissioned by and published in the media. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, too, have become used to more or less regular polling for their own media, both by the London-based pollsters and by smaller local companies equally well-known within their own markets.

Meanwhile, the political parties finally woke up to the potential of polling for their own purposes (finding out in private what they could do to win the next election instead of reading in the newspaper how certain it was they were going to lose it). Both main parties were commissioning research by the end of the fifties, and all the main polling firms have worked for one or other at some period since then – or, indeed, for both, though not of course at the same time! Academia, too, began to use polling techniques to generate data for political research, especially the British Election Study under Butler and Stokes and their successors.

Focus Groups

One technique which has remained mainly confined to private polling, but which over the last few years has come to the fore, is the use of focus groups. This is not because they mark a sea change with the methods of the past: focus groups have a long history in social and market research. What has moved them into the headlines is the use of focus groups by Tony Blair to explore voter attitudes and test key messages in the period leading up to the 1997 election – something which has continued in Government. In The Unfinished Revolution, Blair's polling advisor, Philip Gould, talks about the use of focus groups:

I nearly always learn something new and surprising. People do not think in traditional

Dozens of hostages held.

PETER BROOKES, *THE TIMES,* 24.4.97

ways or conform to conventional prejudice. In a group it is possible to test out the strength and depth of feeling about an issue, which can be more difficult, although not impossible, in a conventional poll.

On the other hand:

Not all groups work as they should. On one occasion, two strangers seduced each other as the group was going on. Everyone pretended not to notice.

Most published polling, though, remains based on the quantitative survey. Gallup's first polls were postal surveys, but these were quickly supplanted by the familiar pen and clipboard for face-to-face interviews. Telephone polling came later – indeed, it was not until 1997 that the majority of the main monthly newspaper polling series switched to telephone interviews – and the nineties also saw the increasing replacement of the clipboard with Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) for face-to-face interviews. At the same time, unfortunately, has come the explosion of the meaningless but ubiquitous self-selecting polls, at first by mail-in coupons, then newspaper phone-in polls (far too easily and too frequently misreported as "a telephone poll"), and now increasingly similar polls on the Internet, often given spurious credibility by association with otherwise reputable sites or publications.

Misreporting

But the misreporting or simplification of our data is a cross we always have to bear. Some simplifications seem to catch the imagination of the press, and stick – for example, as ideotypes of the key swing voters, "Essex Man", "Mondeo Man" or "Worcester Woman". Press reports this year have brought us "Swindon Man" – apparently some market researchers have come to the conclusion that Swindon is ideally representative of Britain as a whole, and have descended upon this almost blameless town in droves. The story is all too reminiscent of "Magic Town", surely the only Hollywood feature film about political research methodology: James Stewart, the pollster-hero, discovers a town that is the perfect microcosm of the USA, bases all his polls there (with consequent savings in time and cost), and eventually learns a harsh lesson about panel-conditioning effects.

But in the end, it is a simple business, really – all we have to do is ask the right questions, to the right people, and add up the figures correctly; and if we can get all the figures within 1%, as Henry Durant did in that first poll at West Fulham, we may even get some credit for it. But even Dr Durant called that "beginner's luck".

Roger Mortimore and Simon Atkinson, MORI

International Relations in Britain – after the 'fall'.

No subject in the social sciences exists separately from the real world and the academic study of international relations in Britain is no exception to this particular rule. Born as a liberal project in the aftermath of World War One, with the onset of the Cold War its pre-occupations changed dramatically as the search for peace after the carnage of the trenches gave way after 1947 to an almost rigid obsession with the East-West conflict and deterrence under conditions of bipolarity. Ralph Miliband once observed that 'IR' was a conservative subject whose high-priests provided little more than a gloss on the Cold War. There was some truth to this. However, it was not the whole truth and

Chronology

1998 Devolved parliament for Scotland established (74% in favour in the 1997 referendum); devolved assembly created for Wales (50.3% of voters in favour).

1999 A devolved assembly is established in Northern Ireland following yes votes north and south of the border in the 1998 referendum on the Good Friday Agreement.

Professor Rod Rhodes is elected Chair of the Political Studies Association, to popular acclaim.

PSA launches its third journal The British Journal of Politics and International Relations. The PSA's website (www.psa.ac.uk) is voted the Best in the World by the Lycos search engine.

2000 The PSA celebrates its fiftieth anniversary.

Politics Departments savour Quality Assurance inspections.

The Disciplines of Politics

not all of the subject's practitioners were the hand-maidens of the powerful. Nor were they all hard-nosed realists with no interest in change (as some have later charged) or naive positivists with little understanding of their own normative biases. In fact, there were many who challenged the logic of containment, and in the heady days of the 1980s played a vital part in that great debate about the role of nuclear weapons and the position Europe could, or should, occupy in a world still dominated by the superpowers.

But even the critics got one thing wrong: the Cold War itself whose passing in 1989 left many a self-confident analyst with theoretical egg on his or her face. Nor could they have anticipated the impact which the end of the Cold War would then have on the subject of international relations. Certainly, someone entering the profession in the 1980s would not recognize, and may be not even feel at home in, the 'discipline' (if discipline it can now be called) in 2000.

Big changes therefore have taken place over the last ten years making international relations in Britain an intellectually more diverse and less rigidly defined subject than it was before. There have of course been casualties along the way. Strategic studies, for instance, has gone into steep decline in the post-Cold War era. Interest in the history of war has waned too. And there has been a marked turn away from diplomacy and diplomatic history. The state as a specific point of academic interest has not done very well either, and one of the most repeated mantras of the 1990s was that we now needed to move beyond the state and the old traditional way of thinking about international relations as a subject solely concerned with what went on between states under conditions of anarchy. In this way, old definitions of what defined security tended to be superseded, accompanied by a surge of interest in those sources of insecurity – poverty, environmental degradation, migration, refugee movement and the like – that had very little to do with what states did in the international system.

American Accents

But if there have been losers, there were winners too. Theory and an interest in theory (feminism, post-modernism and constructivism in particular) has undoubtedly been one. Globalization as the new organizing idea of international relations has certainly been another. Cold War international history has also experienced something of a renaissance. So too has European integration. For the first half of the 1990's there was a great flood of interest in the United Nations. This rapidly receded however as events in the former Yugoslavia revealed the limits of the organization's capabilities. Asia-Pacific has also had its ups and downs. The regional destination of choice after the collapse of the USSR, since the great financial crisis of 1997 there appears to be rather less interest in the area than there was in those intoxicating days when nearly everybody felt we were heading for a new Pacific Century – one that would challenge both European and American pre-eminence. How strange that particular forecast now sounds!

This leads us, inevitably, to the United States. It too has suffered from certain misconceptions, the most embarrassing one of all being the once popular notion – touted with great skill by the English historian Paul Kennedy – that the United States was in (relative) decline. In Britain there are few students writing on US foreign policy. It is an unfortunate lacuna, not just because the rebirth of American power is a challenge in its own right, but because the majority of voices in the field of international relations still happen to speak with American accents.

This is where British international relations has a vital part to play, not as enemy, or even as America's interlocutor in some cosy 'special relationship', but as an alternative point of reference. In many ways it already plays that role: first through its many journals like the Review of International Studies, Millennium, Survival and International Affairs, then through its own publications including the massively successful Cambridge Series in International Relations, and finally through regular appearances at key international conferences in both the US and western Europe. Significantly, the largest overseas contingent attending the International Studies Association in the US on an annual basis, hails from the UK.

So what is the current state of play? Anarchic? To some extent. Lacking a central question? Almost certainly. Fragmented? Very much so. Yet there is much more life to the subject now than there was before, much less deference to the great and good, and much more we can legitimately call the subject then we could back in 1989 or before. For some of us older hands at least the last few years have been extraordinarily exciting, not to mention unnerving. The subject has never been as open or vibrant. British IR is at least one field that appears to have benefited from the collapse of old certainties, even if its practitioners back then were unaware that the old order was about to go under. Whether the new generation prove to be any more prescient remains to be seen.

Professor Michael Cox

User Relevance and Political Studies

Professor Charlie Jeffery

The relationship between political studies research and the practice of politics in the UK is now a close and positive one. Indeed, a new language of 'policy relevance', 'research users' and 'user engagement' has grown up to describe the interactions which now exist between politics research and the policy practitioners who 'use' it.

Politics Research and Policy Relevance

Interaction between researchers and practitioners had been one of the aspirations of the founding generation of the PSA. Lord (Sandie) Lindsay for example saw the creation of Nuffield College at Oxford in the 1930s as helping to deepen practitioner-researcher link. As Jack Hayward recalls, Lindsay hoped to establish a 'meeting of minds between social scientists and men of action – central and local government officials, politicians and businessmen' which 'could revolutionise the study of contemporary society by the effect it would have in making the theorist and practical man accustomed to helping and consulting one another'.

The experience of many university lecturers during World War II in Whitehall and other branches of public administration had also laid strong foundations. As Norman Chester, the inaugural PSA Chairman, put it: 'wartime experience had shown the importance of the social sciences in public affairs'. Chester's view was reinforced by the findings of a Committee under Sir John Clapham on the Provision for Social and Economic Research, which found in 1946 that: 'Political science, the study of the institutions of government and public administration, is a subject in which sufficient work has been done to demonstrate its utility and importance'.

That 'utility and importance' was, however only sporadically mobilised in subsequent years. Only in a small number of fields did political scientists develop regular and fruitful working relationships with practitioners. Election studies were one, where a succession of key figures like Bob Mackenzie, David Butler and Anthony King made a genuine impact by bringing scholarship to general election nights. A close relationship also developed between major centres for research on local government in Birmingham, Newcastle, Strathclyde and, later, De Montfort and practitioners in local government. Some individual specialists in international relations and European politics – e.g. Malcolm Anderson, Lawrence Freedman, Willie Paterson and Helen Wallace – became important interlocutors in foreign policy-making.

Otherwise, though, enduring interaction between scholarship and practice was rare, with Norman Chester gloomily complaining in 1975 that 'our professional services are not greatly in demand and generally speaking are not recognised as giving us claims to speak with special authority on the subjects we teach'.

The 1980's: a turning point

The radical reforms in policy direction and public administration launched by the Thatcher governments opened up new political territory for practitioners to chart and negotiate. Demand for research on the practical implications of policy change grew in turn, though was not fully released during a Thatcher era notable for government scepticism about social science. Since then, though, government has been rather more open to cooperation and consultation with social scientists.

One factor in this new relationship has been the funding policies of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). ESRC funds social science research to the value of over £45 million annually. And it has increasingly required applicants to justify their research in terms of 'the needs of users and beneficiaries' by showing how it contributes to competitiveness, more effective public services and improved quality of life.

Though this user focus has not been received uncritically, with some seeing limits to academic freedom, it is now a central element of much politics research. Research projects, whether funded by ESRC or not, now routinely have 'user advisory groups', are carried out in regular consultation with relevant bodies in the public and private sectors, and take care present their findings in ways attuned to a practitioner environment. Rowntree's Briefings are the market leaders in profiling results in this way.

The move towards this kind of practitioner-oriented research has accelerated during the 1990s and into the new century. In part responding to ideas generated by politics academics, ESRC has launched a range of research programmes centred on key areas of political studies. The ESRC's Whitehall Programme ran, for example, from 1994-1999 with the aim of describing, explaining and creating a better understanding of changes in British government. Like a number of similar initiatives, its aim was to bridge scholarship and practice by – as its Director, Rod Rhodes, put it – 'appreciating one another's problems and learning one another's languages'.

Other ESRC Programmes currently under way in the field of political studies include One Europe or Several? The Dynamics of Change across Europe, led by Helen Wallace, Democracy and Participation (Paul Whiteley), and the Future of Governance (Ed Page). One Europe or Several? explores parallel processes of integration and fragmentation in contemporary Europe; Democracy and

User Relevance

Participation the effectiveness of democratic institutions in the UK and the ways they need to change to meet the needs of a rapidly changing society in the 21st century; and Future of Governance the ways governments adapt ideas and practices developed elsewhere to address their domestic policy problems. Each runs over 20 different research projects and an extensive programme of events and publications designed to 'reach in' to user communities.

A final area in which politics academics have done much to bridge scholarship and practice is in the field of constitutional reform. The Blair government elected in 1997 came to power committed to the most radical constitutional reform programme for centuries. This is of course a field which strikes right at the heart of the discipline of political studies: the institutional arrangements of government, and the relationship of state to society. It has opened up enormous opportunities for political studies to shape and influence public affairs. Political scientists like Alice Brown in Scotland, Kevin Morgan in Wales and Elizabeth Meehan in Northern Ireland were central figures in shaping debates about the purpose and structure of devolution. Patrick Dunleavy, Helen Margetts and others delivered much of the thinking which lies behind new electoral systems in Scotland and Wales and the ongoing debate about electoral reform for the House of Commons.

Countless others have fed into the work of key think-tanks on constitutional matters like the Constitution Unit, Democratic Dialogue and the Institute for Public Policy Research. Parallel research programmes run by ESRC, the Leverhulme Trust and the Rowntree Foundation have ensured the momentum has been maintained. The net result has been a dense and deepening engagement of politics research with a policy practitioner community forced to negotiate virgin territory by the sheer scope of the reform programme.

The late Norman Chester might, in other words, be surprised by how much 'our professional services' are now 'in demand' and how much they are 'recognised as giving us special claim to speak with special authority on the subjects we teach' and research about.

Some current programmes are now briefly explored.

The ESRC's Whitehall Programme

The ESRC's Whitehall Programme ran from 1994 to 1999. It aimed to describe, to explain and to create a better understanding of both recent and long-term changes in British government. It also compared these changes with those in other EU member states and other states with a 'Westminster' system of government. It had six strands: developing theories about the new governance; analysing the hollowing out of the state; providing an anthology of what is going on, especially up-to-date accounts of the impact of change on central departments and on the changing roles and relationships of ministers and civil servants; analysing changing patterns of accountability and of regulation; and analysing new forms of service delivery.

Although the Programme responded to the ESRC's call for policy relevant research and involved users in their work, it was also an example of 'curiosity research' – that is, it reflected academic interests and concerns. The ESRC and the Cabinet Office agreed that its primary objective was not to provide policy relevant advice. In practice, it combined basic research on the evolution of British government with policy relevant research on present-day practice in Britain and Europe. The Westminster model and the new public management (NPM) are familiar stories about British government. Governance or 'steering by networks', challenges both. It also captures the shift from line bureaucracies to networks and fragmented service delivery. It has become one of the defining stories about British government at the turn of the century. The Whitehall Programme provides a language for describing a world in which networks rival markets and bureaucracy as the apt way of delivering services.

The phrase 'interdisciplinary work' often commands obeisance, but little else. The Whitehall Programme had 5 historians working on it and they showed an exemplary willingness to debate with their political science and put flesh on the bare bones that is the rhetoric of interdisciplinary work. The Programme had three comparative projects and wide-ranging international links with, for example, equivalent research projects in Denmark and Australia.

The Whitehall Programme research was communicated via seminars at the LSE, chaired by Ben Pimlott, Sir Robin Butler and Sir Richard Wilson and via a large range of publications.

Professor Rod Rhodes

The Future Governance Programme

Governments increasingly seek to adapt ideas and practices developed outside their jurisdictions to address domestic public policy problems. This process of policy learning takes a variety of forms. In some cases it is voluntary, as politicians and government officials look to the experience of other countries for alternative ways of dealing with problems;

in other cases it results from outside incentives, such as through international aid packages. Policies may also be adopted almost compulsorily, such as with international treaty obligations. The agents of transfer might be international organisations, think tanks, firms, academics, politicians or government officials. This programme examines how lessons can be drawn, and have been drawn, from cross-national experience.

The central ambition of the programmme is to increase the contribution of comparative analysis to contemporary academic and political debates. This contribution will extend across many disciplines (among the researchers on the programme are economists, geographers, accountants, political scientists, anthropologists, historians and health and social policy specialists), policy areas, and contexts. Comparisons do not focus exclusively on Europe or the developed world, but also include less developed nations.

The programme brings together academics and practitioners to examine the potential contribution of cross-national experience to developing public policy initiatives. Early meetings organised under this include the use of social experiments in policy making, how to improve the legal implementation of EU legislation, financial regulation, social welfare reform, the care of mentally disordered offenders, child care and the future of cities. The Programme is also pursuing collaborative ventures with organisations such as the National Audit Office, European Policy Forum and the European Consortium for Political Research.

Overall the programme's 30 projects will allow us to answer key questions about the circumstances under which cross-national lessons are sought, the conditions under which policies can be transferred, how the process of transfer works and the political, social, economic and cultural variables that affect how lessons drawn from experiences in one jurisdiction can be applied in another.

Professor Ed Page

ESRC Democracy and Participation Programme

The ESRC's Democracy and Participation Programme addresses a number of key concerns about the current state of British democracy and participation. The five core questions that the Programme seeks to explore and answer are: Is there a crisis of participation and democratic legitimacy in Britain? Why do some people participate when others do not? What are the effects of a changing environment, particularly constitutional and political changes, on participation? What are the links between participation, governance and democratic accountability? What participation is taking place?

The central objective of the 21 projects under the programme is to examine participation in Britain. Participation is often seen rather narrowly in terms of citizens voting in elections. Taking a broad view, participation can be defined as unpaid voluntary activity undertaken by citizens that influences government, policy-making and democratic accountability. This definition encompasses:participation in elections, parties and interest groups; unorthodox activities such as road protests and campaigns over planning enquiries; voluntary activities such as participation in parent-teacher associations, community groups, works councils and cultural organisations, which develop social capital and influence policy-making and the delivery of services.

It excludes participation linked to financial rewards, such as labour force participation, since it is unpaid voluntary activity that underpins democracy.

Traditional notions of democratic representation in Britain are under some strain. Some of the current challenges facing British democracy are: the dominance of the executive over the legislature; the rise of global and regional sources of power; the marginalisation of elected local government; and the decline in traditional institutions of democratic representation such as political parties.

A major theme of the Programme will be to examine the effectiveness of the institutions that support democracy, and to evaluate the forms of democratic representation appropriate for the rapidly changing society of the 21st century.

The reasons for the timeliness of this Programme are clear. The Government has embarked on a very ambitious Programme of constitutional reforms. By the time the Programme is completed it should provide: New conceptual thinking about the nature of democracy and representation in a technologically advanced and rapidly changing society; More powerful theoretical explanations about why some people are involved in voluntary activity when others are not; Evaluations of the effectiveness of some of the key constitutional reforms such as the new assemblies and changes in local and regional government; Answers to the question of whether there is a crisis of democracy and participation in Britain; Evaluations of the increasing role of the voluntary sector in policy-making; Comprehensive information about the scope and range of voluntary activities in Britain.

Professor Paul Whiteley

The Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust Limited, founded in 1904, by the Liberal Quaker philanthropist, Joseph Rowntree, was deliberately set up as a company which pays tax on its income and is therefore free to give grants for political purposes, to promote political reform and constitutional change. Joseph Rowntree was concerned inter alia with maintaining the purity of elections and the freedom of the press and consequently in the past two decades the main focus of the Trust's grant making has been directed towards these areas. Over the past ten years the Trust has taken regular samplings of public opinion on constitutional reform and other related matters in its State of the Nation polls.

While the Trust does not normally give grants for research and other charitable purposes it necessarily has a close interest in the work of political scientists and extends its congratulations to the Political Studies Association for its Golden Jubilee.

JRRT
THE Joseph Rowntree
REFORM TRUST LTD

Politics Journals From

TAYLOR & FRANCIS

Leading journals in political analysis

Contemporary Politics
Editor: Kate Hudson, *South Bank University, UK*
2000, Volume 6 (4 issues) ISSN 1356-9775

Journal of Political Ideologies
Editor: Michael Freeden, *Mansfield College, Oxford, UK*
2000, Volume 5 (3 issues) ISSN 1356-9317

International Feminist Journal of Politics
Editors: Jan Jindy Pettman, *Australian National University, Australia;* **Kathleen B. Jones,** *San Diego State University, USA and* **Gillian Youngs**, *University of Leicester, UK*
2000, Volume 2 (3 issues) ISSN 1461-6742

Review of International Political Economy
Editors: Ash Amin, *Durham University, UK;* **Helen Milner**, *Columbia University, USA;* **Ronen Palen,** *Sussex University, UK and* **Jan Nederveen Pieterse,** *ISS, The Hague, The Netherlands*
2000, Volume 7 (4 issues) ISSN 0969-2290

All of these journals are available online, for more information visit: www.tandf.co.uk/journals

For further details on these and other journals, or to request free sample copies, please contact:

Brant Emery
Taylor & Francis Ltd
PO Box 25
Abingdon
Oxfordshire
OX14 3UE, UK
Tel: + 44 (0)1235 401065
Fax: + 44 (0)1235 401550
Email: brant.emery@tandf.co.uk

Taylor & Francis incorporates Carfax, Spon Press, and Routledge

Cartoons

Votes and Violence

Cartoon from the London Daily Mirror, 2 July 1909, by William Kerridge Haselden (1872-1953)

The Centre for the Study of Cartoons and Caricature is happy to join in the peaceful celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Political Studies Association!

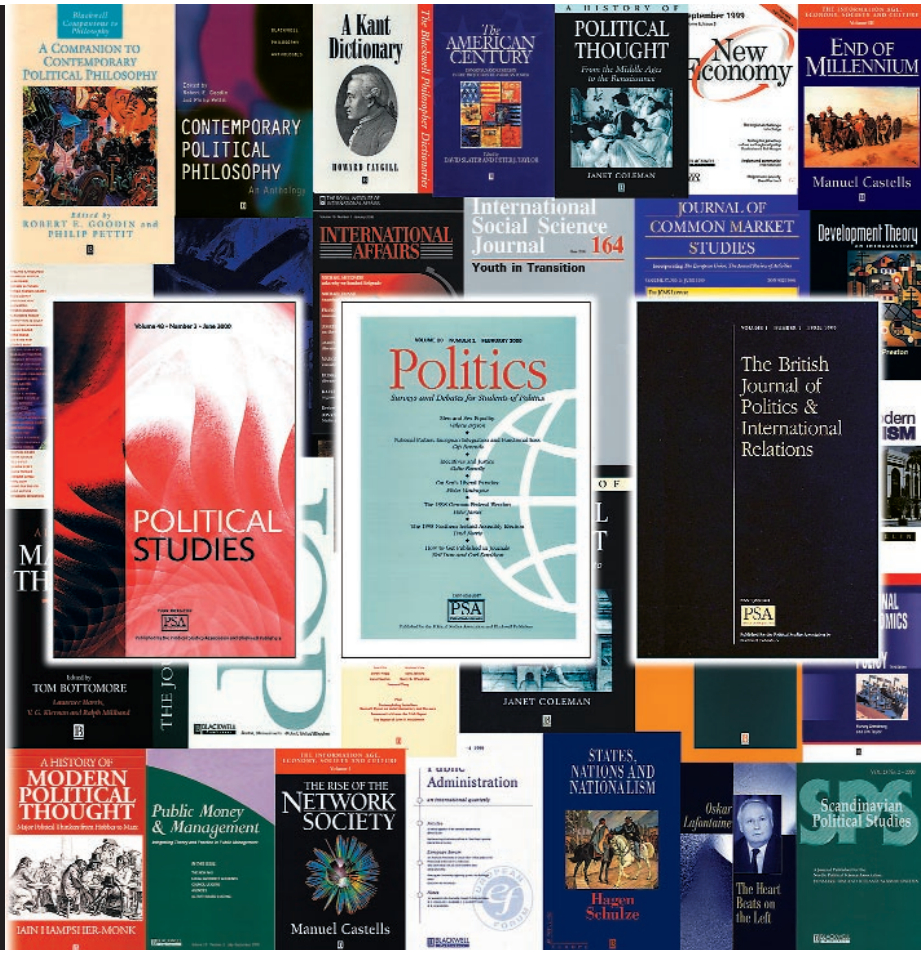
The Centre was established in 1973 to encourage the study of cartoons of political and social comment from British newspapers and magazines. The Centre's collection includes 80,000 original cartoons and strips, 65,000 cartoon cuttings, a photo library of 60,000 images for publication and research, and a reference library of books and magazines.

In 1990 the Centre also began digitising the cartoons in its collection, and its website at http://library.ukc.ac.uk/cartoons/ now holds 38,000 fully-searchable images covering British politics throughout the twentieth century.

UNIVERSITY OF KENT
AT CANTERBURY

For information on the Centre's resources, publications, and exhibitions, contact:
Dr Nicholas Hiley, Head of the Centre for the Study of Cartoons and Caricature,
Templeman Library, University of Kent at Canterbury, Canterbury CT2 7NU, Kent, United Kingdom.
Tel. +44 1227 827138, fax. +44 1227 823127, email N.P.Hiley@ukc.ac.uk. http://library.ukc.ac.uk/cartoons/

A Tradition of Excellence in Political Studies



www.blackwellpub.com

BLACKWELL Publishers

Blackwell Publishers,
108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JF, UK
Tel: 01865 791100

palgrave
Macmillan's global academic publishing

PALGRAVE – THE NEW NAME FOR THE BEST POLITICS TEXTBOOKS

For information about these, or any other Palgrave politics title, please contact **Fiona Wyatt** at **Palgrave, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS** tel **+44 (0)1256 302864**, fax **+44 (0)1256 330688** or e-mail **f.wyatt@palgrave.com**

A full catalogue and other resources for the politics student and lecturer can be found at

www.palgrave.com/politics

The ESRC is the UK's largest funding agency for research and postgraduate training relating to social and economic issues. We have a track record of providing high-quality, relevant research to business, the public sector and government.

The ESRC and the research we fund have made a significant contribution to the understanding of electoral and political behaviour in the UK.

Major research investments include:

ESRC Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends (CREST)

CREST was set up to monitor trends in social and political attitudes at an individual, national and international level.

The Centre Director is Professor Roger Jowell from The National Centre for Social Research.

ESRC Democracy and Participation Programme

Directed by Professor Paul Whitely, Sheffield University, the programme is investigating citizen participation and voluntary activity, addressing a number of key themes concerning the present state of British democracy and participation.

Devolution and Constitutional Change Programme

The programme explores the major constitutional changes to the UK and provides a timely and unrepeatable opportunity for political analysis and economic and social research. It is directed by Professor Charlie Jeffery, University of Birmingham.

Future Governance: Lessons from Comparative Public Policy

This multi-disciplinary programme is developing our understanding of how policies devised in one jurisdiction can be transferred and applied elsewhere. Projects cover a wide range of policy areas, including the environment, law and order, taxation, health, social welfare, education, and business regulation. Professor Ed Page, University of Hull, directs the programme.

For further information about ESRC and the research it funds
E-mail: exrel@esrc.ac.uk exrel@esrc.ac.uk or see http://www.esrc.ac.uk

Official Sponsors

Awards Ceremony Organisers

PSA Co-ordinators: Professor Charlie Jeffery and Professor John Benyon

Event Management: Maxine Vlieland and Jenny Fowler, Specialist Conferences Ltd

Stage design: Simon Coote, Simage Communications

50th Anniversary Brochure

Editor: Dr Jon Tonge;
Assisted by: Professor Charlie Jeffery, Professor John Benyon, Dr Dan Hough and Jack Arthurs

Cover illustration: New Statesman

Design: Infinite Design

Printed by: Statex Print

Cartoons courtesy of the Centre for the Study of Cartoons, University of Kent at Canterbury:

Page 7: Michael Cummings, Daily Express, 27 April 1959, © Express Newspapers

Page 9: Vicky, Evening Standard, 14 August 1963, © Atlantic Syndication Partners

Page 11: Nicholas Garland, Daily Telegraph, not dated, © Ewan McNaughton Associates

Page 13: Nicholas Garland, Daily Telegraph, 1 October 1974, © Ewan McNaughton Associates

Page 15: Mel Calman, Sunday Times, 6 September 1981, © S & C Calman

Page 27: Peter Brookes, The Times, 3 October 1996, © Peter Brookes/The Times

Page 29: Peter Brookes, The Times, 24 April 1997, © Peter Brookes/The Times

The PSA is a Registered Charity no. 1071825 and a Company Limited by guarantee in England and Wales no. 3628986.

Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom

Chairs 1950-2000

Norman Chester (1950-57)

K.B. Smellie (1957-60)

W.J.M. MacKenzie (1960-63)

Wilfrid Harrison (1963-65)

S.E. Finer (1965-69)

Graeme Moodie (1969-72)

A.H. Birch (1972-75)

J.E.S. Hayward (1975-77)

Hugh Berrington (1977-80)

Geraint Parry (1980-83)

Maurice M. Goldsmith (1983-86)

Raymond Plant (1986-88)

Trevor Smith (1988-89)

M.J.F. Goldsmith (1989-93)

Elizabeth Meehan (1993-96)

Ian Forbes (1996-99)

Rod Rhodes (1999-)

Political Studies Association
Department of Politics, University of Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU, UK

Tel: 0191 222 8021 Fax: 0191 222 5069 E-mail: psa@ncl.ac.uk
www.psa.ac.uk